

47

1 – 31 March 1959

Second Series

# Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

1 – 31 March 1959

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47

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



The *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* has established its position as the single most important, authoritative, and reliable source on Nehru's life, work, and thought. It is indispensable to the scholar, fascinating to the layperson, and at times something of a primer in politics, democracy, and world affairs, as Nehru intended his periodic letters to his chief ministers to be. It provides a panorama of home and the world as seen from the centre of power in India by an acutely sensitive observer and skilful player. Given the literary talent, creative urge, and singular position of the author, it is a continuous source of pleasure, sometimes of amusement, and always of enlightenment.

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**Selected Works  
of  
Jawaharlal Nehru**





WITH DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD, NEW DELHI, 18 MARCH 1959

# **Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

*SECOND SERIES*

Volume Forty Seven (1 – 31 March 1959)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'JN', with a long, sweeping underline.

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## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

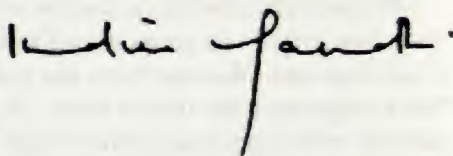
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund



## EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume deals with the month of March 1959, when Nehru was engaged especially with the turbulence in Tibet, Master Tara Singh's Gurdwara politics, Congress dissidence, and charges of corruption against Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. But many other matters dogged him. He was distressed to find that his party had not paid for the Congress session of 1953 at Hyderabad, that Sheikh Abdullah faced so many difficulties getting his lawyer for the defence, and that tea planters in the north east could be used by Naga insurgents to publicise their cause in the British press. However, he toured the country and spoke at every opportunity on the industrial development policy, on the need for cooperation in agriculture, and the importance of science and technology. Pakistan is an irritant and China looms over the mountains.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. The letters to the chief ministers are reprints from an earlier series, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, ed. G. Parthasarathi (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985-1989), 5 vols. Emendations have been made where necessary, but the annotations differ in some respects. Unless otherwise noted, all items are from Delhi or New Delhi. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B.C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from *White Paper II* of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives are housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and are known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, and the Press Information Bureau, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly* and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Geeta Kudaisya, helped by Fareena Ikhlās Faridi. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Neelabh; the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari and finalised by Neelabh. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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## I. GENERAL

### (a) Chief Ministers

#### 1. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

March 25, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

In a few days' time you will be coming to Delhi for a meeting of the National Development Council, and I hope to meet you then.<sup>2</sup> The matters to be discussed before the National Development Council are important. Probably you have received many papers in this connection from the Planning Commission. Indeed, we are being overwhelmed with notes and memoranda and other papers from the Planning Commission. This indicates how much thought is being given to these questions.

2. There is the approach to the Third Five Year Plan, which is slowly taking shape in our minds. Fortunately, we have started thinking about this matter early. Every avenue of thought has led to the conclusion that this Plan should be so framed as to aim at laying down a sound and solid foundation both on the food front and the industrial front. I drew your attention to what the President had said in his Address to Parliament,<sup>3</sup> where he had expressed the hope that, by the end of the Third Plan period, we should have a more or less self-reliant and self-generating economy. It is clear that this will necessitate a very considerable effort and the husbanding of our resources to our utmost capacity. It would also necessitate considerable help from foreign sources, more particularly in regard to foreign exchange. Any attempt to lower our aim and to lessen the speed of our advance does not merely delay the realisation of our goal, but actually endangers it. If progress is too slow, it does not catch up with population growth or with the other necessities of the situation. Merely to maintain our present level, we require a two per cent per annum growth. Thus, we have to aim at about five per cent per annum so as to allow for an adequate surplus.

1. File No. 25 (30)/59-PMS. Also published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 219-232.

2. It met on 3-4 April. The full text of this meeting is available on the Planning Commission website: [planningcommission.nic.in/reports](http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports).

3. On 9 February.



3. We cannot rely on an indefinite period of foreign assistance. That is most unsatisfactory from our point of view as well as those who may be in a position to assist us. We must, therefore, aim at an adequate advance during a limited period, so as to build up internal resources and be in a position not to require any large scale foreign aid. It is from this point of view that we have to think of the Third Five Year Plan and the result to be achieved at the end of that period. Naturally, this requires considerable resources, and to raise these resources requires a great effort. These coming years are going to be a testing time for us.

4. To plan for industrial advance is relatively easy except, of course, for the resources needed. Given those resource, the rest becomes plain-sailing. To plan for a considerable increase in our food production is a more complicated operation. Here we have to deal not only with millions of farmers but also, inevitably, have to depend to a considerable extent on the vagaries of the monsoons. Ultimately, we hope to reach a situation when even a bad monsoon would not cause us much uneasiness. But for some time the monsoon is going to be an important factor. All this necessitates the greatest concentration on a higher yield per acre of foodgrains. Oddly enough, a promising feature of the situation is that our average yield at present is very low. That means that our potential is big. The way to convert that potential into actual production is in theory not difficult. We know all the steps that have to be taken. We know also that where those steps have been taken, the yield has grown greatly. Only yesterday two farmers from Delhi State came to present me with some sheaves of wheat which they are now harvesting. They told me that they were getting about forty maunds of wheat from an acre of land. Wherever a real attempt has been made, production has grown rapidly. It must be remembered that the all-India average yield of wheat is about ten maunds per acre.

5. I am convinced more and more that our main problem in agriculture now is proper organisation as well as, of course, to convince the farmers what to do. A lack of proper organisational and institutional approach in the past has done us much harm. Because of the vital importance of foodgrains, the Departments of Agriculture in the States as well as at the Centre have assumed an overriding importance. On the success of their efforts depends almost everything that we are working for. The Five Year Plan and industrialisation ultimately depend on food production. I hope that your Government will always keep this in view and strengthen and vitalise your Department of Agriculture.

6. This involves not only competent experts to be intimately connected with this work, but also practical farmers. The best of experts may not help much if he has not got the experience or the eye of a practical farmer. Indeed, the person who is only a theoretical expert cannot easily succeed in entering

the mind of the farmer. Even the theoretical experts must show their capacity for practical work. If they cannot do so, they cannot explain anything adequately.

7. The community development movement is meant to be the institutional approach to the farmer. That movement, therefore, has to be strictly on the practical level and not live in the upper air of an office or in the stratosphere of pure theory. A farmer has to be dealt with on his own level and not in a superior way which is sometimes associated with official approaches. It is for this reason that it has long been felt to be essential for the community development blocks not to be officialised too much but rather to depend more and more on non-official help and guidance and ultimately on the agriculturists and others living in the villages. We have to undertake a vast scheme of practical education at all levels.

8. Recently, a study camp was organised at Pattancheru, a place situated about twenty miles from Hyderabad.<sup>4</sup> About fifty MPs and MLAs attended this camp and discussed every aspect of the community development movement. From all accounts, this camp was a very successful one, and the Community Development Ministry and the Andhra Pradesh Government are to be congratulated. That camp probably did more good to those who attended it than the numerous discussions that take place in Parliament or elsewhere. One of the important decisions of that camp was that people's institutions at lower levels should be actively associated with the work and that the village representative institutions should have more power and authority conferred upon them. Rightly the camp did not merely indulge in discussions, but did some positive manual work. It is this kind of approach that brings reality to the problems we often discuss in our Legislatures and Congress Committees. I hope that similar camps will be held in every State and members of the State Legislature concerned as well as MPs from that State will participate in them.

9. The increase in our food production has become, and will continue to remain, the first and basic item in our programme. This depends on the numerous measures which have been so often suggested as well as on the understanding and enthusiasm of the agriculturist. It also depends upon the basic structure of the village and the farm. Because of this, the recent decisions in regard to village panchayats and village cooperatives become of high importance. The form of structure and functions are intimately allied. We did away with the zamindari and jagirdari systems of land tenure, partly because they were out of date and not in keeping with modern ideas of social justice but, even more so, because no real agricultural progress could be achieved so long as those old systems did not give place to new ones. We are now aiming at ceilings on land

4. 29 January-4 February 1959. See also item 127, p. 301.



and village cooperatives.<sup>5</sup> There has been a good deal of criticism of these decisions from two classes of people. One comes from those persons who still happen to hold fairly large areas of land and who will thus be affected by the ceiling; the other comes from town dwellers who have no direct contact with the land, but who fear that any such step forward may affect their own interests later. I have no doubt that the vast majority of peasants and farmers will welcome both these decisions and it is in terms of that vast majority that we must think. I can conceive of a country with a sparse population and a large land area having big farms but, in the conditions existing in India, the average holding is pitifully small and, with the best efforts in the world, it cannot make very much progress if it remains as it is. The advocates of no-change must, therefore, accept the necessary consequence of the vast majority of our farmers continuing to live at the margin of subsistence. That surely is not an acceptable objective.

10. We are thus driven inevitably to cooperatives, which should first be service and multi-purpose, later leading to joint cultivation. Logically, this is obvious. It may be that the human factor and a certain inertia come in the way of this change. I do not think that there is that inertia or that our farmers are not prepared to change their methods if they are properly approached. While joint cultivation on a village scale has to be the final objective, our present programme should concentrate on service cooperatives. It must be realised that even service cooperatives need not be exactly similar, and there may be varieties of them. So also joint cultivation. We need not, therefore, lay down some kind of a rigid and inflexible rule. I am glad that a great deal of thought is being given to this matter. But I would suggest that the best preparation for anything is to do it. We have a habit of discussing such matters at inordinate length till the question becomes almost a stale one and we have missed the opportunity of creating a psychological situation in favour of what we are aiming at.

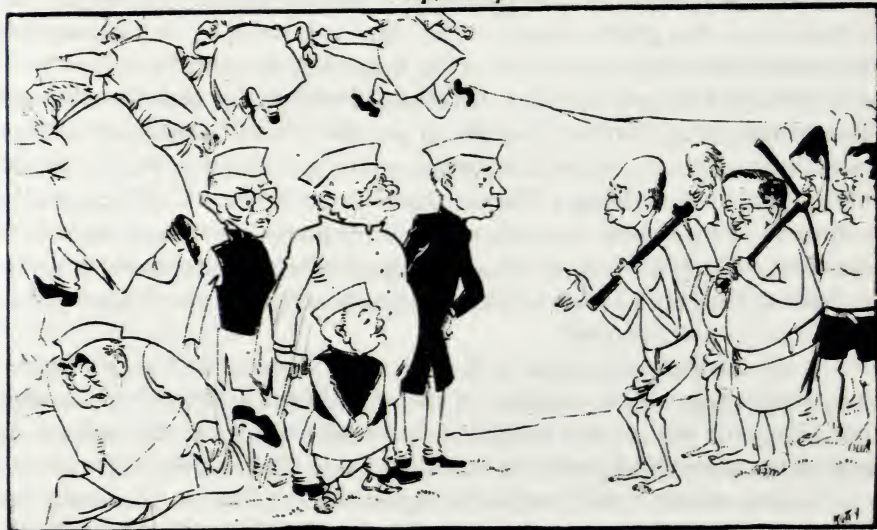
11. I have often wondered why there has been so much opposition to this proposal to have village cooperatives.<sup>6</sup> Much of this opposition has come from

5. The Congress Session at Nagpur in January 1959 passed a resolution on agricultural organisation. See SWJN/SS/46/pp.173-174.
6. For example, M. R. Masani, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Ranchi-East, Bihar, (1 March), on the Nagpur Congress resolution: "a red herring across the nation's trail" leading to "collective farming" and "surplus value [...] squeezed out of the peasants so that industrialisation of the country could be effected through such exploitation;" A. B. Vajpayee, Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Balrampur, UP, (17 February), that a village cooperative could "neither be practical nor could it increase production." For objections by N. G. Ranga, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh; C. Rajagopalachari, Congressman and former Chief Minister of Madras State; and K. M. Munshi, former Governor of UP, among others, see SWJN/SS/46/pp. 11 & 148.

people having little to do with land. Opposition is thus not so much to the actual proposal for village cooperatives, but rather to its later implications. It is an opposition to the basic idea of a socialist approach which, it is feared, may be extended to other fields of national activity. We are thus up against an even more fundamental issue than land cooperatives. All the fear and tenacity of vested interests are showing themselves now. That is rather a good sign because this clarifies the issues before the country and makes people think.

12. The National Congress decided, after long thinking and argument, in favour of ceilings and village cooperatives. It decided this by a very big majority. Some other parties in the country have also expressed themselves in favour of these.<sup>7</sup> It is true that some conservative and communal parties are against it as

*'Help, Help!'*



*The Communist Party has offered its cooperation to the Congress in implementing the land policies the latter laid down at Nagpur.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 1 MARCH 1959)

7. At its session in New Delhi from 21 to 25 February 1959, the Central Executive Committee of the CPI, adopted three resolutions on early land reforms, strengthening the public sector, and cooperating with "all democratic forces" within and outside the Congress. On 8 March, Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary, asked Nehru to secure the cooperation of "all democratic and progressive parties" for implementing policies on which there was "general agreement."



they are bound to oppose every forward movement.<sup>8</sup> But essentially this is not a party programme, but as near an approach to a national programme as any such subject can be. I have laid stress repeatedly that the question of food production should be treated on a national basis and not on a party basis. So says everybody. Nevertheless, some parties have indulged in activities which are constantly coming in the way of food production or indeed of any big developmental effort. Recently, there was the agitation against the betterment levy in the Punjab which was later withdrawn.<sup>9</sup> That was a significant example of how deeds belie words and assurances.

13. I should like to emphasise one aspect of our programme for cooperatives. The success of this depends very largely on trained personnel. Everyone cannot be a high specialist in cooperatives, but every State should have some such persons and a much larger number of partially trained people. Beyond these two grades should be the third consisting of farmers in each village who have had a chance of learning something about the basic objectives and methods of cooperatives. It is necessary, therefore, for each State to start these training programmes as rapidly as possible. Every agricultural college should have a full course of training in cooperatives. There may also be special courses outside these colleges. The training of the actual farmer will necessarily be limited, and probably the community development movement could best take charge of it. But, in any event, a number of actual farmers should be given the fuller training also. This is a matter of urgency as the success of this depends entirely on trained personnel.

14. I think that cooperation in its elementary forms as well as in its wider aspects governing various activities of life, should form a subject in our school education. The boy or girl should be made to understand the outlook of cooperation, not only in particular activities, but in the business of life itself.

15. One matter I must emphasise again. This is the law governing the formation of cooperative societies. So many times and by so many people has

8. The All India Hindu Mahasabha on 20 February described the Nagpur resolution as "defective" and "impracticable"; the Bharatiya Jan Sangh on 16 March observed that the Nagpur resolution would destroy the Indian tradition of individuality and personal freedom to hold and manage property.

9. The Punjab Betterment Charges and Acreage Rates (Amendment) Ordinance 1959 fixed dues (levy) from landowners who benefited from the Bhakra-Nangal and other new irrigation schemes. Peasant agitators claimed that the betterment levy was too high; under Communist leadership, entire villages refused to pay the levy and clashed with the police. The betterment levy bill passed on 20 March 1959 reduced levy amounts and all agitators were freed.



it been said that the present law is not good enough. It is restrictive and narrow in scope. Further, that many of those who are concerned with its working as Registrars and the like have little understanding or conception of the wider aspects of cooperation. I receive reports of obstructive and delaying methods. A person who is in charge of cooperation should have the spirit of a crusader and not be merely an official going through a certain routine.

16. Much is happening in the international sphere and Prime Ministers and Heads of States are rushing about from one country to another and conferring, more especially about the Berlin and German situation.<sup>10</sup> The situation continues to be grave, but I feel that the sting has gone out of it and some way out will be found, even though that may only lead to a provisional adjustment. Probably the Summit meeting, so long talked about, will take place in the course of the coming summer.<sup>11</sup> Possibly, also a Foreign Ministers' meeting will precede it.

17. But a foreign event which has attracted most attention in India has been the recent happenings in Tibet.<sup>12</sup> It is our policy not to interfere in other countries, and indeed we are not in a position to interfere. But Tibet has been a country with which India has had emotional ties for a long time past. Therefore, occurrences in Tibet lead to emotional responses in our people. The situation thus created is a difficult and delicate one for us as for others. It is not much good for us to give expression to our wishes in strong language. We have to act so as to help in easing the situation and, as far as possible, in helping the Tibetans to have a square deal.

18. Some people imagine that we have been deliberately suppressing information from Tibet. That is not correct except insofar as petty incidents are concerned. As soon as we learned of the major development of firing there, our Foreign Office immediately communicated it to the press and I took the first opportunity to make a statement in the Lok Sabha.<sup>13</sup> It is obvious that large numbers of people in Tibet have not been happy with the state of affairs that exist there today.

10. Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, visited the USSR from 21 February to 3 March 1959 and Paris, Bonn, Ottawa, and Washington between 9 and 23 March to discuss Khrushchev's proposal for a Foreign Ministers' meeting at Geneva on 11 May to consider the German question. The Italian Foreign Minister visited London on 16 March to confer with Macmillan.

11. See item 186, p. 437, fn 19.

12. In the course of conflict between the Tibetans and the Chinese forces, the Dalai Lama left Lhasa on 17 March.

13. On 23 March 1959. See item 191, pp. 455-459.

19. In 1951 an agreement was arrived at between the Chinese Government and the Tibetan authorities. This is called the 17 Point Agreement.<sup>14</sup> Broadly speaking, it was based on the sovereignty of China and the autonomy of Tibet, that is, Tibet was recognised as an autonomous region of the Chinese State. This was not a new development under the Communist Government of China. Every Government in China for hundreds of years has claimed sovereignty or suzerainty over Tibet. Strong Chinese Governments have enforced and exercised it; weak Governments have been unable to do so. Chiang Kai-shek's<sup>15</sup> Government held firmly to the view that Tibet was part of the Chinese State and, at one time, early in 1947, we had a slight argument with them about it.<sup>16</sup> The People's Republic of China naturally claimed Tibet as part of its inheritance. We could not in law or fact object because India had always considered China as the suzerain power. We were anxious, however, that Tibet should retain its autonomy.

20. The 17 Point Agreement, to which the Dalai Lama was a party, assured that autonomy. It is true that even that Agreement was accepted by the Tibetans without joy and under the compulsion of circumstances. But it was accepted. When Premier Chou En-lai was here two and a half years ago, he told me that Tibet was different from China and could not be considered a Province of China.<sup>17</sup> It was an autonomous region of the Chinese State and they had no desire to interfere in the internal management of Tibetan affairs, provided no

14. The Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, also known as the 17-point Agreement of 23 May 1951, stipulated: (i) local government of Tibet to support the PLA; (ii) regional autonomy for Tibet while the Chinese government to be responsible for Tibet's foreign relations and defence; (iii) the political system in Tibet to be retained and the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama to continue in office; (iv) Tibetan customs and religion to be respected; (v) the Chinese Army to absorb Tibetan forces; (vi) education and economic enterprise to be promoted; (vii) local government to implement reforms; (viii) amnesty to Tibetan officials who had connections with the Kuomintang if they cooperated with China; (ix) a Chinese headquarters to be set up in Tibet to enforce the Agreement.
15. Head of the Nationalist Government in China, 1928-49; President, Republic of China (Taiwan), 1949-1975.
16. This refers to Tibet's participation in the Asian Relations Conference, which was held in March 1947 in Delhi. For China's attitude towards this, see SWJN/SS/2/p. 502. Earlier in October 1946, the Tibetan Government had sent their congratulations to Nehru on the formation of the Interim Government. See SWJN/SS/1/p. 525.
17. In New Delhi, 28 November-9 December 1956 and briefly in January 1957. See SWJN/SS/35/ pp. 522-524 and SWJN/SS/36/pp. 580-638, especially, pp. 594-603. For a similar statement by Chou En-lai at the Bandung Conference, see SWJN/SS/28/p. 135.



outside powers interfere in Tibet. He said that the idea that they could introduce communism in Tibet was rather fantastic, because Tibet was very backward and as far removed from Communism as any country could be. This statement of Premier Chou En-lai to me was perhaps partly conditioned by the fact that they had not found it easy to win over the Tibetans. Trouble first arose in the Khampa area.<sup>18</sup> This Khampa area, though Tibetan, has been a part of China proper for the last fifty years or so. The Khampas are a rough and turbulent lot of people who had never been adequately governed either from Lhasa or from Peking. The new Government in China, however, tried to impose its will upon them, which they resisted. It was then that is about three years ago or more, that the Khampa Revolt began.<sup>19</sup> There was much violence on both sides. The Khampas killed Chinese garrisons and convoys and the Chinese Government retaliated by heavy bombing, killing and destruction.<sup>20</sup> All this was in China proper and not in Tibet. But later the Khampas spread out in armed bands in South and Eastern Tibet, carrying on a vague kind of guerilla warfare and attacking Chinese convoys, and being attacked in their turn. This went on for about two years. The Tibet regional Government did not associate with them in any way, though probably there was much sympathy for them. It has been reported that the Dalai Lama and his leading associates even advised the Khampas not to indulge in warfare. How far this was a gesture or really meant, I cannot say. But I have little doubt that they meant this as they were afraid of the consequences on themselves of such aggressive action by the Khampas.

21. The Khampa Revolt did not directly affect India. But it did create the possibility of a border problem both in India and Bhutan. Occasionally, a few Khampas entered our territory, but the numbers were very small and our check-posts on the frontiers were directed to prevent such entry.<sup>21</sup>

22. It appears, that, partly as a result of the Khampa Revolt and partly because the Tibetans generally did not take kindly to Chinese overlordship and interference, the Chinese Government toned down its policy and actually closed some of the schools and other institutions that they had opened and withdrew most of the Chinese civil personnel from Tibet, but they kept a firm grip over the country. It must be remembered that Tibet is a most difficult country to live in or to govern. Its high terrain is very inhospitable and communications have

18. After the Chinese invasion of 7 October 1950, Tibetan resistance was concentrated in Kham province.

19. In 1956, the Khampas revolted against heavy taxation, usurpation of the Dalai Lama's authority, disarming of the local population, and land reforms.

20. See also SWJN/SS/33/pp. 477-478.

21. See also SWJN/SS/46/pp. 593 & 682-683.

been primitive. The Chinese have built a number of highways which, though not good as roads, are adequate for their purpose and represent massive feats of engineering and labour.

23. For the last two years or more, the situation remained rather fluid and at a low level of occasional conflict between the Khampas and the Chinese. Nothing much happened in Lhasa itself except a slowly growing tension. Meanwhile, the Khampa bands spread to some other parts of Tibet and even approached Lhasa. A new element of fear came into the minds of the Tibetan authorities. Large numbers of Chinese settled in Eastern Tibet and the Tibetans believed that this was in pursuance of a programme of settling Chinese in various parts of their region. If this could be done in any considerable measure, then the internal position of Tibet would be greatly changed. As Tibet is at present sparsely populated, the Chinese might ultimately even outnumber the Tibetans.

24. It has been reported in the Press that I went to Bhutan last year especially to discuss this situation in Tibet.<sup>22</sup> This is wholly incorrect. There was nothing very special to discuss and my object in going to Bhutan had nothing to do with the Tibetan situation. Naturally, in the course of our talks, some reference was made to various check-posts and the possibility of people from Tibet streaming in. The views of the Bhutan Government and our Government were broadly the same, and we both agreed that such entry should be avoided as they would lead to complications and embarrassment.

25. About the second week of March, we began to get vague reports of tension and agitation in Lhasa. Rumours spread there that the Chinese Government wanted to take away the Dalai Lama to Peking. He was invited to the Chinese headquarters in Lhasa and the terms of the invitation were such that they roused a great deal of apprehension in the minds of the Tibetans, who crowded round the Dalai Lama's palace, begging him not to accept that invitation.<sup>23</sup> From then onwards, all kinds of meetings of the higher Tibetan dignitaries took place to consider what should be done. Tension increased. Crowds of Tibetans came to the Indian Consulate General presumably to gain their sympathy. A large number of Tibetan women also came and asked our Consul General<sup>24</sup> to accompany them to the Chinese Headquarters which

22. For Nehru's Bhutan visit from on 17 September to 2 October 1958, see SWJN/SS/44/ pp. 305-332.

23. For further details, see *My Land and My People. The Autobiography of His Holiness the Dalai Lama*, edited by David Howarth (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962), chapters 10-11.

24. S. L. Chhibber.



obviously he could not do.<sup>25</sup> The Chinese authorities in Lhasa apparently took no step against this growing agitation for a number of days. Ultimately, firing began between the Chinese and the Tibetans.<sup>26</sup> I cannot say who began it; probably it was the Chinese authorities who decided to suppress the growing agitation. Ever since this firing began, our Consulate General in Lhasa was isolated. In fact, firing took place all round it and even our Consulate buildings received many shots. After a day or two, this firing appears to have subsided. I cannot say what the present position is, because it is difficult to obtain news. What little news we have been able to obtain in the past has been from Lhasa. It is reported that many important buildings in Lhasa have suffered considerable damage as a result of Chinese firing and shelling. The Tibetan local government has apparently ceased functioning and the Chinese military commission is in control in Lhasa. We have had no news from the rest of Tibet.

26. I have given you above an account of the Tibetan situation as we know it. I confess that it is a meagre account. It is clear that the Chinese armed forces are better armed, better equipped and much more modern than the Tibetans. In case of armed conflict, the Chinese must prevail. There is, however, the possibility of guerilla activities in various parts of Tibet continuing. We do not know the whereabouts of the Dalai Lama. It is reported that he left Lhasa a few days before the firing began.

27. The Tibetans state that the Chinese broke the 17 Point Agreement; the Chinese say that the Tibetans broke the Agreement. Both agree that the Agreement has been broken. The future, therefore, appears to be full of trouble for Tibet and the Tibetans. We are naturally concerned, for a variety of reasons, about this situation and the future. News is very meagre. Many messages appear in the press with date-lines from Kalimpong or Hong Kong. These messages can seldom be relied upon. Often, to our knowledge, they have been incorrect.

Your sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

25. Chibber had reported on 14 March 1959 that about 5000 Tibetan women came to the Indian Consulate to ask for representatives of Governments of India, Nepal, Bhutan, and Ladakhies to accompany them to the Chinese headquarters "to stand witness to what Chinese say or do to them." When Chibber told them that this was not possible, they insisted that he should get instruction from his Government and that they would come again the next morning; which they did, according to another message by Chibber, but did not insist on his accompanying them. However, they asked him to send full report of the situation in Lhasa to the Government.

26. On 20 March 1959.

(b) Speeches

(i) Lucknow

## 2. At Sikandar Bagh: Learn While You Play<sup>27</sup>

1 March 1959

प्यारे बच्चो,

मैं सोच रहा था कि लखनऊ में तो बहुत बच्चे होंगे। यहाँ बहुत थोड़े जमा हुए हैं। किस तरह से चुने गये हैं जो बच्चे यहाँ आये हैं? क्यों साहब, किस तरह से चुने गये हैं? अच्छा, स्कूल के।<sup>28</sup> हाँ, खैर, मैं अभी दिल्ली से आ रहा हूँ हवाई जहाज़ से और वहाँ से हवाई जहाज़ के अड्डे से सीधा यहाँ आया तुम्हारे पास, क्योंकि मैंने सोचा कि पहले कुछ लखनऊ के छोटे बच्चों से मिलना चाहिए और फिर बड़ों से। बच्चों का पहला दर्जा होना चाहिए। यह बात हमें याद रखनी है अपने देश में, क्योंकि बच्चे तो बच्चे भी होते हैं और बड़े होने वाले होते हैं। बड़े तो बड़े ही हैं, कुछ और नहीं हैं। तो बच्चों का ध्यान ठीक-ठीक देना है। बच्चों को मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए खेलने का, कूदने का, पढ़ने का, लिखने का, सभी बातें हैं। और इस तरह से देना चाहिए कि पढ़ना-लिखना भी खेल हो जाये; और खेल भी, कुछ उससे भी सीखें।

तो अब मैं यहाँ ठहर सकता नहीं, बहुत सारी जगह मुझे जाना है। न यह ठीक भी है कि बच्चों से कोई बड़े-बड़े व्याख्यान दिये जायें, उनके सामने तक्रारें हों। तो बस मैं इतना ही कहूँगा तुम सभी से कि तुम लोगों को देख कर मुझे खुशी हुई और तुम सभी को, सारे लखनऊ के बच्चों को, मेरा प्यार और आशीर्वाद।

जय हिन्द! सब मिल कर कहो, सब मिल कर कहो ज़ोर से, जय हिन्द! फिर से बच्चो, जय हिन्द! फिर से जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Dear children,

There must be lots of children in Lucknow. I have been wondering why so few are assembled here. What was the criterion for selection I wonder. Oh, from schools.<sup>29</sup> Yes, well, I have just arrived from Delhi by aeroplane and have come here straight from the aerodrome because I wanted to meet the children of

27. Lucknow. 1 March 1959. AIR tapes. NMML. Nehru arrived in Lucknow in the morning of 1 March on a two-day visit.

28. A group of Montessori school children had been assembled at the Sikandar Bagh in the National Botanical Garden by the UP Amateur Photographic Association and Cultural Festival Association to receive prizes after a health and baby show.

29. See fn 28 in this section.



Lucknow first before meeting the adults. Children must be given first place. We must remember this at all times because the children of today will grow up into adults one day. Those who are already grown up will remain what they are. Children must be well looked after and given the opportunity to play and read and write. It must be done in such a way that learning becomes a play and they learn while playing too.

I cannot stay here longer. I have to go to many places. Moreover, it is not right to give long lectures and speeches to little children. All that I wish to say to all of you is that I am happy to have met you and my love and blessings to all the children of Lucknow.

Jai Hind! say Jai Hind together, Jai Hind! Once more, children, Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

### 3. To UP Congress MLAs<sup>30</sup>

#### NEHRU DISCUSSES REFORMS AND PLAN WITH CONGRESS LEGISLATORS CO-OP FARMING ONLY SOLUTION OF LAND PROBLEM

Lucknow, Sunday.

Land reforms and the Third Five Year Plan were the main topics which Prime Minister Nehru is understood to have discussed with the Congress Legislators and the Executive Council of the State Congress of two closed-door meetings today.

Pandit Nehru addressed the legislators in the Council House for over an hour and talked to the members of the executive council for another ninety minutes. He is understood to have pointed out that the only remedy for the land problem was co-operative farming.

A new approach was required to meet the challenge of the new epoch of technological revolution and if Congressmen kept themselves worrying only about ministerial chairs, even the earth beneath these chairs would give way, he is reported to have told the legislators.

Referring to the "insane, meaningless" controversy about co-operative farming, Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that the Congress could be

30. Report of speech, 1 March 1959. From the *National Herald*, 3 March 1959.

strengthened only by ideological clarity. The Congress was strengthened when the Liberals went out of it and later when some more persons went out with assumption of leadership by Mahatma Gandhi. There were persons representing different class interests inside the Congress and they pulled the organisation in different directions. An organised opposition was being given to cooperative farming and funds were being collected for the purpose, and organisations were being set up.

The Congress had decided to favour cooperative farming and the dignity of the organisation lay in making the decision a success, he is reported to have told legislators.

About the Third Five Year Plan, he is reported to have said that it was proposed to make the country self-reliant and self-dependent by the end of the Third Plan period.

He is understood to have asked Congressmen to have a psychological revolution so that people in the state could become industry-minded. Asking some 'Seth from Kanpur' to run a factory or to have more factories was not industrialisation, nor were conventions of members of Parliament for the purpose a solution to the problem.

Pandit Nehru is reported to have begun his speech by saying that he had wanted to come to Lucknow for some time specially after the Nagpur session of the Congress, as he wanted to discuss with the UP Congressmen the important resolutions adopted there. Not only the resolutions, but the atmosphere in which they were passed was important and the background had also to be kept in mind. The real strength behind the resolutions lay in the live link that the Congress had with the crores of the people, without which an organisation remained on paper only.

The new epoch, he is understood to have said, posed certain questions and Congressmen had to understand the underground forces before they could evolve effective answers to them. When the country was fighting against foreign domination, things were comparatively simple, even though the State Congress Committee used to think over bigger problems like the abolition of zamindari. The Congress went deeply into the economic and social aspects of the problems also and that made the Congress strong, and sustained it even after the achievement of independence. There were many other organisations, but they were lifeless as parties not because there was dearth of talent in them but because they had no links with the people and they did not have the force of events behind them. The living contact with the people kept the Congress alive after independence.

Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that he had wanted to have discussions with Congressmen here on the new questions and the new answers



required of them, but he had been reading in Delhi papers about a flutter in the party.<sup>31</sup> There was hectic activity and tempers seemed to be rising, though it seemed surprising, specially when the weather was not so hot. He was not opposed to activity as it showed life inside the party, but when it transgressed limits it posed new questions. Reports about these activities had reached him not directly but through the press and this had naturally raised doubts about their veracity and extent. The main question, however, remained as to what the country and the state needed today.

Political independence, he is reported to have said, had given the country an opportunity to go ahead in the direction of social and economic independence and well-being. A sense of direction was of paramount importance, and experience in some of the neighbouring countries showed that even though they had achieved independence they had remained static. Clarity of objectives and a sense of proper direction were, therefore, important. It was true that the Congress had had the advantage of working under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and had a discipline which others did not have and it progressed on the right road while others remained either static or went backwards. There could be, of course, different opinions about the speed with which the country should have progressed and the speed it ultimately did have. The country met with success in the First Plan though not as much as was desired. There were complications in the Second Plan. While the country progressed some questions which had been lying dormant achieved great prominence, and created difficulties. There seemed to be a race between food production and population. It was just not enough to produce more for the increase in population and more than that had to be produced. All the countries that had progressed, whether they were capitalistic or socialist or communist in their outlook, worked tremendously hard for this progress. The country could profit by the experience of others even if it had to tread its own path to progress.

Pandit Nehru is said to have emphasised that the new technological revolution had to be understood in order that the country might derive benefits from it. The Congress had to choose a path and then take crores of people with it on that path. The Congress organisation had to understand the implications

31. The reference seems to be to the differences in the UP Congress, which was divided into factions led by Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister; Chandra Bhan Gupta, former Minister in the UP Government; and Charan Singh, Revenue Minister in the UP Government. These divisions were reflected in the UP Congress Legislature Party leading to a number of resignations. During this visit, Nehru tried to mediate, and Sampurnanand secured a vote of confidence from the UP Congress Legislature Party on 9 March 1959. See also SWJN/SS/43/pp. 364-366, and in this volume items 64-67, 69-70.

of this revolution, otherwise it would just become an organisation merely on paper. Elections were only the preface of democracy and it had to have deeper roots in the objective situation. Clarity of thought and unity of action were needed above anything else. A living contact with the people and discipline were needed. The Congress had been fighting a battle within itself on the question of direction and the battle had in a way done it good as it contributed to clarity of thought. The constitution was changed and a new direction was given to the organisation. The question of attainment of socialism gained importance and came to prominence and this brought greater responsibilities.<sup>32</sup>

The cliques in the Congress legislature parties showed that there were other weaknesses, he is reported to have said and emphasised that there could be complaints against a government run by angels even. There were complaint even before but then Congressmen were busy with more important things and now they had the leisure to indulge in bickerings. The important thing was as to which thing was more important.<sup>33</sup>

Pandit Nehru is further reported to have said that if the Congressmen present were asked to write half a page on the objectives of the Congress it was likely that no two notes would be similar. This was not so in the Communist Party, who had a set pattern of thinking. He did not want such grooves in the mind but stressed the need to have a collective mind of the organisation, to have uniformity about the goal, without which the organisation would be without a brain. There might not be uniformity in thought but at least the direction should be clear.

Asking Congressmen to study the Nagpur resolutions on planning and land reforms in this background, Pandit Nehru, it is understood, said that the resolutions had behind them deliberations at various levels for months. A new approach had to be tried to the problems. Germany had progressed and had built a new nation on the ruins of the war-ravaged Germany in a brief span of ten years. That had been done through very hard labour. India had to do the same thing, through self-reliance, self-dependence and a new orientation in our thinking.

He is reported to have said that the Congress organisation had to take a decision about this direction. The flutter, the tug-of-war, the complaints did not fit in with this understanding of the situation and this background. If there were complaints they could be looked into separately but the main issue should not be clouded by such extraneous considerations. This hampered progress. They

32. This refers to the inclusion of the word "Socialist" in the Congress constitution and the formation of the Mandal Congress. See SWJN/SS/42/p. 541.

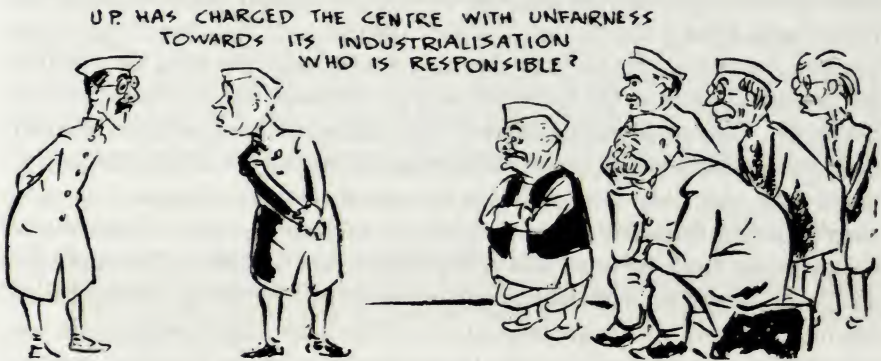
33. *The Indian Express*, *The Times of India* and *The Hindustan Times* reported on 2 March that Nehru had promised to mediate and that all groups were agreeable to it.



had to think coolly if this flutter was not injuring the cause at this delicate moment

Referring to the convention of Members of Parliament, convened by Mr. Sampurnanand here recently,<sup>34</sup> Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that the complaint that the Centre did not help UP was not just. Mistakes might have been committed by the Centre, Mr. Sampurnanand might not have in possession of full facts, but generally speaking such things do not help the development of the state.<sup>35</sup> It was fundamentally a question of the growth of mind and not of industry alone. People in UP and Bihar thought the least in terms of industry. An atmosphere and an outlook had to be created for it and factories alone would not help. Factories were allotted on the recommendations of advisers. It had happened once or twice that the Centre did not agree with the recommendations and asked the advisers to reconsider their recommendations. But when they stuck to their reports, the Centre had to consider all factors and with responsibility to take decisions.

Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that the party should have a clear mind on the question of land reforms. Service co-operatives had to be had in every village within three years with the object of having joint cultivation.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 1 MARCH 1959)

34. On 22 February 1959 in Lucknow to mobilise their active support at the Centre to get more heavy industries for UP under the Plan. 92 out of 122 Members of Parliament from UP attended the one-day convention.
35. Sampurnanand complained about the rigidity of plan targets and allocations; about Central funding for "fancy ideas and schemes" on matching basis when the State was short of funds; inadequate support for health and flood control; and lack of infrastructure for power and roads, especially in the hills. See *Pioneer*, 23 February 1959, pp. 1-2.

There seemed to be a misunderstanding about it. A useless, meaningless, utterly false and wrong discussion was being held and it was being said that collectivisation and communism was being introduced through cooperative farming. Newspapers, specially Delhi newspapers, were also carrying items about it. Even capitalist countries had joint farming and there were a thousand farms in this country also. There was to be no pressure or coercion about it. The thing had to be done through persuasion and explanations. The Indian farmer was conservative and stuck to old forms and things. This had at one time given stability and continuity to our civilisation, but times were now changing very fast. The farmer had to be convinced and he would be convinced when he saw and experienced the benefits of co-operative farming. There was no other way out. There was no other way out to exist. There could be no scientific progress, in small one-acre holdings and more important than that was gaining of strength by social groups. Nobody wanted to kill or discourage individual but it was the age of cooperation. If the Indian farmer did not take to cooperative farming he would remain backward. Co-operative farming was no dogma and might be that some places did not have it but the country could not wait any longer.

Continuing, he is reported to have said that if Congressmen did not understand it they could not lead the masses to it. Amidst cheers he is reported to have added that it was the policy of the Congress and it behoved Congressmen to make it a success. He said that the organisation had collected a lot of people, not converted them to the Congress way of thinking, but just collected them physically. They represented different class interests. They carried on normally and generally but whenever such questions arose they began pulling the Congress in different directions. Newspapers in the capital opposed cooperative farming, even including those that styled themselves as Congress-papers. Some veteran Congressmen from Bombay also raised their voices against it. The opposition was being carried on with determination and funds were being collected for it, and organisations were being created for it. This helped the Congress in a way. It contributed to clarity of thought. Moderates once left the Congress and then when Gandhiji came some more persons left the Congress. This helped the Congress and strengthened it. This clarity was good only when Congressmen actively worked to fight this opposition. He said he read a lot of news items opposing it but very few in support of it. It was probably because the Congress was busy in intrigues and tugs-of-war as to who should be in the chair and who not, forgetting all the while that the earth from under their feet might give way and the chairs might not remain there at all. If the Congress took a decision on which it could not act, the organisation and the Government were then both without any foundation.



At the meeting of the Executive Council, Pandit Nehru inquired about the success of the padyatra undertaken by Congressmen<sup>36</sup> and Mr. Chaturbhuj Sharma, President, gave a brief report. He was told that the proposals for ceilings on land holdings and co-operative farming were welcomed by the people.

Besides the members of the council, the following attended the meeting by special invitation: Messrs. Mohanlal Saksena, Muzaffar Hasan, Dau Dayal Khanna, Phool Singh, Girdhari Lal, Mohan Lal Gautam, Rauf Jafri, Jugul Kishore, Jagmohan Singh Negi, A. G. Kher, S. N. Tankha, Hargovind Singh, Nawal Kishore, Hukum Singh, R. V. Dhulekar, Kailash Prakash, Lakshmi Raman Acharya, Ali Zaheer, Govind Sahai, Mahavir Singh, H. N. Bahuguna, Banarasi Das, Mrs. Shanti Devi and Mrs. Prakashwati Sood.

Amongst the members who could not attend the meeting were Pandit Pant, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Mr. C. B. Gupta, Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi and Mr. Vichitra Narayan Sharma.

#### 4. At Firangi Mahal<sup>37</sup>

मुहम्मद मियाँ,<sup>38</sup> रज़ा मियाँ<sup>39</sup> और हज़रात, यहाँ आते हुए भी और खासकर यहाँ पहुँच कर मुझे एक पुराना ज़माना याद आ गया जिसका ज़िक्र मुहम्मद मियाँ ने आपसे किया। बार-बार यहाँ आना हुआ था और एक तस्वीर की तरह से वो दिमाग में है। वो तस्वीर ताज़ा हो गयी। यहाँ तक कि कुछ तफ़सील भी याद आती है। मैंने देखा जो लिखा यहाँ महात्मा गाँधी यहाँ ठहरे थे। क़याम किया था उन्होंने। तो मुझे याद है वो कमरा, वहाँ भी बैठना उनके साथ और मौलाना अब्दुल बारी<sup>40</sup> के साथ। कई बातें, कई

36. As decided by the CWC. See SWJN/SS/46/p. 265.

37. Speech while inaugurating the Abdul Bari Academy at the Firangi (spelling variable) Mahal, a three hundred year old Muslim theological centre, Lucknow, 1 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

38. Maulana Muhammad Mian Faruqi, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP, and chairman of the Academy.

39. Maulana Mohammad Raza Ansari, nephew of Maulana Abdul Bari, and secretary of the Academy.

40. Maulana Muhammad Abdul Bari (1878-1926); founded the Madarsa-i-Nizamia at Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, to impart free Islamic education to Muslims, 1908; organised Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba for preserving the sanctity of Kaaba and other holy places from being destroyed by the British, May 1914; founder-President, Jamiat-Ulema-i-Hind, November 1919; started *Al-Nizamiya*, an Urdu monthly dealing with theology; preached Hindu-Muslim unity; member of the Khilafat deputation to the Viceroy; opposed the Rowlatt Act; supported Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent methods.

तस्वीरें, दिमाग में आ गयी और कुछ तस्वीरें, कुछ और भी पुरानी बातें याद आयीं और ज़ाहिर है कि पुरानी बातों के याद करने से दिल पर असर होता है।

ज़माना बहुत गुज़र गया उस वक़्त से। इनक़लाबत हुए, उलट-पुलट बहुत कुछ हुआ। अच्छी बातें हुई, बुरी बातें हुई, सभी बातें हुई। आखिर ज़माने में होती ही हैं, सभी बातें अच्छी-बुरी सभी होती हैं। कहाँ तक हम ख़ाली अच्छी लें। उसको बरदाश्त करनी पड़ती है। उसको सँभालने की कोशिश की जाती है। तारीख में नज़र आता है। दोनों बातें नज़र आती हैं। एक तो इनक़लाबी बातें, दूसरे, पुराने सिलसिलों का जारी रहना और दोनों ही बातें ज़रूरी हैं। अगर ख़ाली पुराने सिलसिले हों तो उलट-पलट इतनी हो जाती है कि कोई कड़ी नहीं उसको बाँधती दूसरे ज़माने से। चुनांचे, दोनों ही बातों की ज़रूरत होती है। बदलते भी जाना बदलते हुए ज़माने के साथ और पुरानी कड़ियाँ भी जारी रखना। और अगर दोनों बातें क़ायदे से हों तो दोनों से फ़ायदा हो सकता है एक तो फिर एक पल्ला ख़ाली रह जाता है और दिक्कतें पेश आती हैं।

आजकल के ज़माने में दुनिया में आप देखते हैं अजीब और ग़रीब ज़माना है और शायद इतना इनक़लाबी ज़माना कभी तारीख में नहीं हुआ हो। असल में बड़ा इनक़लाब जो ज़ाहिरा मुल्कों में हो रहा है, वो नहीं। वो भी इनक़लाबी है, अक्सर मुल्कों में। लेकिन जो कि साइन्स वगैरह के सिलसिले में जो इन्सान ने क़दम बढ़ाया है, क़दम बढ़ाने की ताक़त आ गयी, लेकिन अक़ल नहीं आयी [कि] कैसे बढ़ाये यह, और अब मुसीबत आयी और जब इन दोनों बातों का जोड़ न हो, ताक़त और अक़ल का, तो फिर नुक़सान हो सकता है, ख़तरे में पड़ सकते हैं, और वही हालत आजकल दुनिया की है। मालूम नहीं कि ख़तरे में जाय और हो सकता है कि अगर समझ आ जाय तो उससे फ़ायदा भी हो दुनिया का। तो हम सब लोग इस बदलती हुई दुनिया को देखते हैं, रहते हैं उसमें, कुछ अपने दर्जे के बमूजिब हिस्सा लेते हैं उसमें, बगैर पूरी तौर से जाने कि नया परदा कौन खुलेगा और क्या होगा। हालाँकि कोशिश यही है कि परदा ख़ास तरह से खुले इस दुनिया के तमाशे का और अच्छा खुले। लेकिन हर वक़्त तैयार रहना पड़ता है कि एक मर्ज़ी के मुआफ़िक़ बात न हो तो उसका भी सामना करें और सँभलने की कोशिश करें।

ख़ैर, दुनिया तो बहुत बड़ी चीज़ है, हमारा मुल्क ही काफ़ी बड़ा है और उसके भी सवाल काफ़ी पेचीदा हैं और सवाल आखिर में...जैसा मुझसे एक शख्स ने विलायत में पूछा कि आपके मुल्क के सवाल क्या हैं, कितने हैं, मैंने कहा सैंतीस करोड़ सवाल हैं, हर इन्सान सवाल है और हर इन्सान को सामने न रखा जाय तो मुल्क का सवाल नहीं समझ में आता। कोई हवाई सवाल थोड़े ही है, किताबी सवाल ख़ाली? यह तो इन्सानों के सवाल होते हैं, तो मुश्किल है। लेकिन बावजूद इन दिक्कतों के, परेशानियों के, कुछ उम्मीदें भी क़ायम रहती हैं और उसकी वजह भी है क़ायम रहने की और अगर उम्मीद न हो तो काम करना मुश्किल हो जाता है। कोई नाउम्मीद आदमी जो होता है शख्स, काम करना उसके लिए दुश्वार हो जाता है, कुछ-न-कुछ तो पकड़ होनी चाहिए मुस्तक़बिल की या आइन्दा की।

हमारा ज़माना, मेरा यानी मेरे ज़माने के लोगों का वक़्त, एक ख़ास हिन्दुस्तान की तारीख़



का ज़माना रहा। यानी इसको अक्सर लोग कहते हैं गाँधीजी का ज़माना। उन्होंने इतना तहलका मचाया, उलट-पलट किया। खाली ऊपर से नहीं सियासत को, बल्कि लाखों आदमियों को उलट-पलट कर दिया। और असल में इनक़लाबी बात यही होती है। उनके दिलों को, उनके दिमागों को उनकी ज़िन्दगी को सब बदल दिया और उसका असर हम पर ज़बरदस्त पड़ा कोई शक नहीं। अब यह ज़माना एक कहानी हो गयी बच्चों के पढ़ने की। वो पढ़ते हैं और यक़ीनन कुछ असर होता है, लेकिन किताब का पढ़ना एक बात होती है और महसूस करना दूसरी बात होती है। वो एक दूर की कहानी हो गयी और भी पढ़ा करते हैं कहानियाँ और ऐसे ही गाँधीजी की कहानी भी हो गयी, उस ज़माने की। मालूम नहीं कि आइन्दा जो आजकल के छोटे बच्चे हैं, बढ़ कर उनकी निगाह किधर होगी, क्या होगी इस बदलती हुई दुनिया में। लेकिन अगर किसी इत्फ़ाक़ से वो इस गुज़रे हुए ज़माने को भूल जायें तो अच्छा नहीं होगा। भूलेंगे तो नहीं। वो कैसे भूलें? महज़ एक याददाश्त की बात नहीं है, बल्कि एक उसका दिमागी या और तरह से असर होना अपने ऊपर। ज़ब्बात।

खैर, तो आज आपने मेरी दावत की यहाँ आने की मैं उसका बड़ा मश्कूर हूँ आपका। क्योंकि बहुत बातें ताज़ा हो गयी यहाँ आ कर। मौलाना अब्दुल बारी जिनसे कितने दफ़े मिलने का मौक़ा मिला यहाँ और और जगह भी और साथ रहने का मौक़ा तो सबमें ज्यादा मुझे मौलाना सलामतउल्ला<sup>41</sup> से रहा, लखनऊ जेल में। वो तो एक काफ़ी ज़माने तक उनका साथ रहा और मुझे अब तक उनकी हँसी-मज़ाक़ की बातें याद आती हैं। अफ़सोस यह है कि इल्मी बात तो कोई ख़ास याद आती नहीं, हँसी-मज़ाक़ की बातें याद आती हैं। शायद इसी क़ाबिल मुझे समझते होंगे।

तो मैं आपका बड़ा मश्कूर हूँ और मुझे खुशी है कि यह जो एकेडेमी<sup>42</sup> आप यहाँ खोल रहे हैं, इस काम में आपने मुझे भी शरीक किया।

[Translation begins:

Muhammad Miyan,<sup>43</sup> Raza Miyan<sup>44</sup>, and gentlemen,

While coming here and especially after my arrival I was reminded of the old bygone times which Muhammad Miyan mentioned just now. I came here often

41. Nehru made an entry in his jail diary on 7 December 1921 about meeting Maulvi Salamatullah in Lucknow Jail. See SWJN/FS/1/p. 233.

42. The Academy, named after Maulana Abdul Bari, was a repository of an invaluable collection of letters of Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Sarojini Naidu and other leaders, and of over 1000 manuscripts, according to Raza Ansari.

43. See fn 38 in this section.

44. See fn 39 in this section.



in the past and those days are clearly etched in my memory. That picture has come alive in my mind once again, so much so that I can even recall some of the details. I saw the placards indicating the room where Mahatma Gandhi had stayed. I remember sitting with him and Maulana Abdul Bari<sup>45</sup> in that room. In fact, innumerable pictures came crowding into my mind and old memories are stirred which is obviously moving. A long time has gone by since then; there were revolutionary changes and upheavals, and good as well as bad things have happened as is bound to happen in any era. How can there be nothing but good in any one era? We have to tolerate the bad things and try to rectify the situation. History bears witness to both, the revolutionary changes that have taken place as well as the old things which continue to linger. Both are essential. If we cling to the past, there can be no progress. If there is only revolution and upheaval, there is nothing left to link it with the past. Therefore, both these are essential, to keep changing with the changing times and to maintain our old moorings. If both these things are done methodically, we can benefit greatly from them. If there is no balance between the two, there will be difficulties.

We are living in extraordinary times the like of which has perhaps never been before in history. The real revolution is not the one which is obviously taking place in many countries. The real revolution is the scientific advance that man has made which has increased his capacity to progress enormously, but not the wisdom to do so in the best possible way. So long as there is no link between the two, between strength and wisdom, nothing but evil and danger can result which is what is happening in the world today. Nobody knows whether it will go towards its own destruction or will learn wisdom which could lead to great good.

So, all of us are living in this changing world and to some extent, playing a small role in it without being fully aware of what new eventualities will occur. The constant effort is to see that the curtain opens upon events beneficial to the world. But it is essential to be constantly prepared whether we like it or not, to face untoward consequences, too. Well, this world is an enormous place in which India is a large country with her own complex problems and difficulties. As I replied when asked once in England about India's problems, that they numbered thirty-five crores, every human being poses a problem and if all these problems are not kept in mind, you cannot understand the problems of the nation. These problems do not exist in the air nor are they merely theoretical. They concern human beings and so they are difficult. But in spite of all these difficulties and problems, there is always room for hope and optimism and

45. See fn 40 in this section.

with good reason. It is difficult to function in the absence of hope. A pessimist finds it very difficult to do anything. There must be something in the future to hold on to.

My generation lived through a very special era in the history of India. It was what is often known as the Gandhian era. Gandhiji brought about a great revolution not only in the political field but in the hearts and minds of millions of human beings. A real revolution is of the mind and heart and Mahatma Gandhi transformed the lives of millions of people. There is no doubt about the profound impact he made on us. Those days now belong to the realm of history and children read about them in their books. It would undoubtedly make some impression but reading about something is different from experiencing it at first hand. It has become a tale of times past and people read about Gandhiji just as they read about other great men. We do not know the direction in which the children of today will turn their eyes in this changing world. But it will not be a good thing if by some mischance, they forget all about this era which is past. They cannot possibly forget but it is a question of the impact, mental and emotional, that these things are likely to make on them.

Well, I am very grateful to you for inviting me to come here today and I have refreshed my memory about a number of things. I have had the opportunity of meeting Maulana Abdul Bari on a number of occasions, here and elsewhere but the longest time that I have spent with Maulana Salamatullah was in the Lucknow Jail.<sup>46</sup> We were together for a long time and I can still remember his jokes. Unfortunately I cannot remember any of the scholarly things that he may have said but only his wit and humour. Perhaps he thought I was only fit for such things.

So I am very grateful to you and happy that you have asked me to participate in the opening of this Academy<sup>47</sup> which you are opening here today.

Translation ends]

46. See fn 41 in this section

47. See fn 42 in this section.



## 5. Public Meeting<sup>48</sup>

NATION MARCHING TOWARDS SOCIALISM  
Co-ops, Land Ceilings, State Trading Definite Steps  
Nehru's Call for Hard Work: Idle Criticism of no Use

LUCKNOW, Sunday.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said here this evening that the decisions to introduce co-operative farming, ceilings on land-holdings and state trading in foodgrains were definite steps in the direction of the nation's march towards socialism.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing a huge public meeting at the Sports Stadium, said that only conservatives and vested interests were opposed to co-operative farming, ceilings on land-holdings and state trading, which were the prerequisites of a modern economy anywhere. He added that even the countries professing capitalism had adopted these measures as effective techniques for stepping up production.

Calling upon the nation to create production surpluses to enable the country to step up industrialisation and progress, Pandit Nehru said that to create these surpluses, "we must ultimately turn to the problems of land and agriculture. To increase agricultural production, therefore, becomes very vital and fundamental for us."

Pandit Nehru told the people to view all the problems and Government policies in the context of the great leeway the country had had to make for keeping its freedom secure and for building up its prosperity.

Criticising what he called the over-much pre-occupation of some people in ideological hair-splitting, Pandit Nehru said that it appeared that some people had made it their profession to oppose and run down whatever the Government did. This was unfortunate. No one could object to criticism, and, in a way, it was necessary, but idle criticism and empty talk would not take the country forward. A grumbling and complaining attitude was associated with old men, particularly old women, and it was unbecoming of a growing and vital nation to indulge in such an attitude.

Pandit Nehru referred pointedly to the exaggerated picture of dissension inside the Congress that often appeared in the newspapers and said that it looked as if one Congress group was busy sharpening its knives to kill another.

48. Report of speech, Lucknow, 1 March 1959. From the *National Herald*, 3 March 1959.



## Exaggerated

He said: "I also know the Congress and I can say that the picture which is being painted is highly exaggerated. Things are not so bad. We do not and we should not hide our weaknesses. Gandhiji always exposed our weaknesses while fighting the British, and we are also conscious of them."

He added that it was easy to be an arm-chair politician or a do-nothing critic but this could not lead the country to progress. Those that were determined to go forward had to face difficulties and even commit mistakes.

The economic and social development of the country, he said, were a complicated process. The country had already completed the First Plan, was implementing the Second and was preparing the Third. In this planning, everyone was not asked what he wanted, because planning aimed at building up the production potential of the country and creating surplus production, which could be invested for greater production. This process entailed some hardships, which were inevitable. If instead of spending hundreds of crores of rupees on gigantic steel works—each one of them costing about 150 crores—the Government were to spend the money on providing tax relief to the people, the benefits would be both illusory and disastrous. The three essentials for progress were steel, power and machine-building industry and once these were built up the rate of progress would automatically be accelerated. Investments in these items were somewhat of a long-term nature, but once they got going, they would set in motion a process of continuous development.

Industrialisation, Pandit Nehru said, was vital for the country. Without speedy industrialisation the country would not progress and its poverty would increase. But apart from the requirements of scientific and technological knowledge for industrialisation, the basic problem was to secure finance. Howsoever great foreign aid might be, he said, it would still be very inadequate for the country's needs and the country would have to create surplus production to put through its plans of industrialisation. India, he said, was at present faced with the problem of growing population and scarcity of resources. Agricultural production in the country, he said, would have to be greatly stepped up not only to feed the increasing population, but also to create a surplus for investing in its programme of industrialisation.

## The Foundation

Agricultural production, he said, was the foundation of all progress and an increase in agricultural output was necessary for industrialisation. First, the country would go bankrupt if it did not produce enough to feed its people; and, secondly, if it did not produce more than it consumed, it would not have surplus

resources for investing in its development programme. Since the bulk of the people, nearly 32 crores, were connected with agriculture, what would be Indian progress without the progress of the agriculturists.

He said that there was too much pressure on land, and yet the per acre yield in India was much below average. The yield was much less not only in comparison with countries like the United States, Japan or the Soviet Union, but even in comparison with the production in Egypt. Agricultural production, he said, would have to be doubled and trebled in the country, and this was within the realm of immediate possibility. He referred to feat of a cultivation in Allahabad who had produced 49 maunds per acre, even though the average yield there was eight or nine maunds.<sup>49</sup> Even if allowance were made for greater fertility of land and abundant use of fertilizers and manures, he thought other cultivators could easily double the yield to at least 16 maunds or so.

If the agricultural production were stepped up, he said, the problem of industrialisation would be made comparatively easy. The country would be able to get more capital goods from abroad and thus build up its industrial potential. It was said that the Indian kisan was conservative and lethargic and was not inclined to give up the old methods. That, Pandit Nehru said, was not wholly true. If the kisan could be made to understand a new technique he would be very adaptable. He would accept new techniques. By new techniques, Pandit Nehru said, he did not mean the use of machines and tractors, perhaps these big machines might not be extensively used for many years to come. But the cultivators could certainly adopt effective methods for intensive cultivation.

The pattern of agriculture, he said, should be viewed in a broad perspective. Formerly, there were the taluqdari and the zamindari systems and they were taken to be an inherent part of agricultural production. But these systems had now been done away with. The agricultural holdings in this country were very small. In the eastern districts of U.P., these holdings were occasionally less than even an acre. Poverty and lack of resources prevented the kisans, or rather made them incapable of acquiring a new technique and applying it. So, if 10 or 20 of them were to get together, it would be easier for them to pool their resources and knowledge. The cooperative method would be a great aid to them. Of course, the start would have to be made through service co-operatives.

### Old Methods Must Go

Old and outdated methods, he said, had played havoc with agriculture. They had brought ruination to the cultivator, and only the middle-men had prospered. The zamindari system was a "middle-man system" and it had been done away

49. Nehru said this during a visit to his constituency in Allahabad District on 15 and 16 July 1958 (see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 114 & 116) and again in the same region on 6-7 April 1959.



with. Similarly, other outdated methods must be replaced by co-operatives.

In the modern world, Pandit Nehru said, wherever agriculture had progressed, it had been through co-operatives. In fact, co-operatives were imperative for agricultural improvement. In passing the resolution on co-operative farming at Nagpur, the Congress had only done what was long overdue. Of course, these co-operatives would be organised on a voluntary basis and they would be run by the cultivators themselves.

Some people, he said, had been critical of co-operative farming, but they were wrong. Service co-operatives were accepted as vital to agriculture even in countries that adhered to capitalism. In India, he said, there were thousands of joint farming societies that had been working very successfully and there was no reason why such societies should not succeed on a larger scale. He, however, said that these co-operative farming societies would be voluntary and that in organising them there would be no usurpation of the proprietary rights of the cultivators. It would be like four brothers carrying on joint farming while, at the same time, holding title to their individual shares.

Every village in the country, he said, must have three things: a co-operative society, a panchayat and a school. This would help increase agricultural production, end mutual dissensions and create a climate of co-operation. In fact, he said, an atmosphere of co-operation was vital in the modern world and cooperative farming would go a long way in helping this goal. Unless new techniques were applied on lands, he said, the country would find it difficult, well-nigh impossible, to acquire a modern temper. Co-operatives would bring about a psychological revolution among the kisans. Judging from this context, the Nagpur decisions were of far-reaching importance.

Pandit Nehru said that though some of the colleagues would not like it, the programme outlined at Nagpur would have to be implemented with speed. The critics of co-operative farming, he said, were labouring under a misconception that it would lead to collectivisation.

In no other country of the world had voices been raised against the introduction of co-operatives in agriculture. And, Pandit Nehru said, he was not referring to only Communist countries. Newspapers in UK and the United States, which generally did not praise India, had appreciated the introduction of co-operatives in agriculture.

### **First Duty**

It was the first duty of the state Government, he said, to take up the organisation of co-operatives. However, he warned against too much official interference. The people, he said, should be taught to stand on their own legs and be made to forget the "maa baap" attitude towards the Government. He appealed to the



state Government to amend the co-operative law, which presently was somewhat obstructive.

Some people, he said, had objected to the idea of ceilings on land-holdings. They said it smacked of communism. But, the fact was, he said, even in a country like Japan a ceiling on land holding was imposed on the advice of the United States.<sup>50</sup> Ceilings on land would hardly affect one person in a thousand, and besides, there was no ceiling on agricultural income. Further, those whose lands would be acquired would be paid compensation for it.

Some people, he said, had criticised the imposition of ceiling as an attack on private property. They forgot that some capitalist countries that swore by the sanctity of private property had themselves imposed such a ceiling.

Similarly, he said, there was some criticism of state trading in foodgrains, in relation to wholesale trade.<sup>51</sup> The criticism was not only strange but absurd. For a long time, he said, people in non-communist countries like the United States, Canada and France had been expressing surprise that despite her acute food problem and being a predominantly agricultural country India had not evolved any method to control prices and check profiteering in foodgrains trade. These foreigners had been urging the need of such a step. India had taken the road to socialism, and yet people fought shy of even such elementary steps.

It was necessary for every country to have its wholesale foodgrains trade organised so that no one would be permitted to bring about price fluctuations by speculative trading, particularly when this meant playing with the lives of the poor people. The decision about state trading was thus very necessary. The Government, he said, would not deviate from state trading, though, because of lack of organisation and trained personnel at present, wholesalers would have to take a licence and work on behalf of the Government.

### Strange

It was strange, he said that some people who had accepted socialism, or rather swallowed it as if it were a mere jargon, were becoming critical of even elementary steps towards it. These persons had perhaps thought that acceptance of socialism was merely verbal. However, steps like co-operative farming, ceilings on land and state trading, he said, were very basic. These steps would give very important direction to the country's economy. Only vested interests and conservatives would oppose it, and, he added, "the very fact that they are

50. See SWJN/SS/46/p. 124.

51. State trading was recommended by the AICC Sub-Committee on Agriculture and Land Reform set up at the Hyderabad session of the AICC in October 1958; the NDC decided in its favour on 8-9 December 1958; and the Congress Session at Nagpur passed resolution to this effect. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 13, 488 and SWJN/SS/46/pp. 164-168 and 173-174.

opposing it shows that we are moving towards progress.”

Pandit Nehru said that whenever a country took the road to progress, there was some kind of a class conflict. Some sort of class conflict was almost inevitable in socialism. The interests of factory workers and factory owners were conflicting.

Pandit Nehru said: “We in India want to see that this class conflict is resolved through co-operation. Sometimes circumstances and the times become very propitious for resolving them peacefully. The difference between the Indian approach and the Communist approach was that the latter resolved these conflicts by coercion by stamping out the vested interests, while in India, this conflict has already been resolved peacefully as in the case of the abolition of feudalism. The zamindars have gone. What is more, the rajas and the maharajas have gone. It is true that they have been given privy purses, but all the same the abolition of the system was through peaceful and co-operative means.”

Continuing, he said: “We want resolution and reconciliation of class conflicts through peaceful means because it yields better and more lasting results. It leaves behind no bitterness. Anything achieved by violence leads to bad results.”

Continuing, Pandit Nehru said: “These are the questions that I want you to consider, and to think what is and should be our duty to the country. The speed of change in the world is very difficult to grasp. During the last 50 years, I have seen a great deal of change. You will see more changes and you have a vital role to play in the country’s affairs, therefore, it is necessary for you to enlarge your vision and mind and adopt methods and attitudes that would make the country strong and great.”

The country, he said, could become great only through hard work and discipline. India had already built up a reputation by her achievements during the past ten years. She should have done more, in fact, a higher speed of progress would be the great advantage of the country. The people should, therefore, realise their responsibilities and not fritter away their energies in political bickerings and ideological wranglings. It would be well for persons belonging to all political parties, including those in the Congress, to develop a national outlook and not see things from personal or individual angles. They should learn to think in big terms and try to grow big. That would also increase their individual stature. People should not suffer from narrow-mindedness of any kind, be it of religion, caste, language or state. Every language, he said, had its place. In Lucknow particularly, Urdu had a cherished tradition and it must continue to grow. If the great treasure of Urdu were to be lost, he said, it would be a great loss indeed. But in developing itself, Urdu need not compete with Hindi.



## **World In Fear**

At the outset, Pandit Nehru referred to the fear that gripped the world today. He said he had started avoiding reading newspapers or hearing radio-broadcasts because he felt at some moment something could happen somewhere in the world which would upset the entire plan of the country's development. It was the duty of young men to realise this fact.

India, he said, was a queer amalgam of the ancient and the modern. It had one leg in the past, say a thousand or two thousand years, and another in the 20th century. This vast gap in the country's development led to numerous kinds of tensions—social, economic and political. Man, he said, had discovered numerous new sources of energy and was continuing to do so. This age of jet propulsion and atomic energy could be a source of great benefit, but it could also bring disaster.

In his childhood, he said, history was a chronicle of kings and wars. He did not know how it was at present, but the old method was certainly stupid. The real and great changes in the world were always brought about by new ideas and the discovery of new sources of energy. The better way to write history, he said, would be to describe how man discovered new sources of energy and how new ideas originated. Every step in man's conquest of nature affected his way of life, but the most important was, perhaps, the discovery of steam as a source of power. Since then man's knowledge had been rapidly increasing and today man had developed such machines and developed such sources of power that one man could do the work of say 10,000.

About 250 years ago, he said, the Asian nations, if anything, had acquired more culture and accumulated more wealth than the countries of the West. But, European countries, through the development of their scientific knowledge, forged ahead and gained ascendancy over the Asian countries. The only lesson that could be drawn from the progress of countries like the USA, the UK or the USSR was that a nation could only advance if it were able to discover and acquire the energy latent in nature and put it to beneficial use. For that purpose, the country must have greater scientific knowledge and trained personnel. It was the job of every modern Government, he said, to open avenues of progress and provide opportunities for advancement to its citizens. If India had to develop, he said, she must make the fullest use of science and technology. It was good to write poetry, as, perhaps, was the Lucknow tradition, but that would not take the country far.

## **Hard Work**

Prosperity and wealth of a modern nation, he said, did not depend on its bullion hoards, which were essentially things of commerce, but on its scientific and



technological progress and trained personnel. If countries like Germany, the UK, Poland, France and the Soviet Union had built themselves up after the devastation of the last war, it was because they were a disciplined and hard-working people, who had the resources of scientific skill and technology. The underdeveloped countries today, he said, were under-developed because they did not have surplus production to invest in greater production.

The problem of India was that she did not have sufficient surplus wealth for investment and lacked adequate technical manpower. To acquire the necessary surplus for progress, the country could have to do continuous hard work, and once the country had attained a sufficient level of production, the progress or development would become almost automatic or self-propelled.

## 6. At Lucknow University<sup>52</sup>

वाइस चान्सलर साहब,<sup>53</sup> लखनऊ यूनिवर्सिटी के प्रेजिडेंट और विद्यार्थियो, आप माफ़ करेंगे कि मैंने अभी इशारा किया कि रिपोर्ट पढ़ी न जाये। वो इसलिए कि मैंने देखा कि न मैं इसे सुन सकता था और न ग़ालिबन आप सुन सकते थे। तो मैंने सोचा कि वो जैसे कि हम अक्सर अपनी मीटिंग में रिपोर्ट की निस्वत कहा करते हैं, “टेकन ऐज़ रेड” समझ लिया जाये और आपके पास तो पहुँचेगी ही और आप पढ़ेंगे। मैं सोच में था कि आज आपसे मैं किस मज़मून पर कहूँ और क्या कहूँ, क्योंकि ज़ाबिते की बातें आप सुनते हैं और आपसे कही जाती हैं और मुनासिब होती हैं। लेकिन कोशिश मेरी यह है कि अगर मैं कुछ आपसे कहूँ तो आपके दिमाग़ पर कुछ असर हो, आप उस पर सोचें, कुछ मेरे दिमाग़ और आपके दिमाग़ का रिश्ता क़ायम हो थोड़ी देर के लिए, ताकि कुछ मेरे आने का भी, कुछ मुझे और आपको, दोनों को फ़ायदा हो। मैं कुछ आपको देख कर, सुन कर, सीखूँ और कुछ नयी तरफ़ आपका ध्यान जाये मुझे सुन कर।

कल शाम को एक मेरे दोस्त लखनऊ के, जो एक शायर हैं, वे अपनी कुछ शायरी सुना रहे थे और कुछ गुज़रे हुए ज़माने का ज़िक्र था उसमें। माक़ूल बातें कही थीं उसमें। लेकिन मेरा यहाँ आ कर कुछ दिमाग़ दौड़ता है गुज़रे हुए ज़माने पर और फिर आज के ज़माने पर आ जाता है। और फिर कुछ आइन्दा भविष्य की तरफ़ जाने की कोशिश करता है।

करीब चौवन बरस हुए, तिरपन-चौवन, जब मैं एक छोटे लड़के की हैसियत से हिन्दुस्तान से विलायत भेजा गया था। वहाँ स्कूल-कॉलेज में पढ़ा, यूनिवर्सिटी में और इस पचास बरस से ऊपर मैंने कुछ दुनिया को बदलते देखा। हिन्दुस्तान की दुनिया, विलायत की, और-और हिस्से।

52. 2 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

53. K.A.S. Iyer.

बहुत ज़बरदस्त फ़र्क़ हुआ है इस पचास बरस की दुनिया में। हमारे मुल्क में तो हुआ ही है और आप में से अक्सर के देखते-देखते हुआ। लेकिन फ़र्क़ वो ज़ाबिते के होते हैं, जैसे कि हम आज़ाद हुए। असल जो होते हैं, कोई समाज बदलती है या कोई मुल्क, वो तो हल्के-हल्के बदलता जाता है और फिर एक वक़्त आता है जब वो नुमायाँ होता जाता है, उसका बदलना, और सबमें बड़ी बदलने की बात जो है, वो तो ऐसी चीज़ें हैं जिससे हमारे रहन-सहन के तरीक़े बदलें। मसलन जैसे मैं अक्सर कहता हूँ कि सबमें बड़ी इनक़लाबी चीज़ साइन्स है दुनिया में, क्योंकि साइन्स ने—उसकी जो औलाद हुई—उसने दुनिया को बदल दिया।

हम-आप जो ज़िन्दगी बसर करते हैं रोज़मर्रा, उसमें कितनी ऐसी बातें हैं जो कि बिलकुल नयी हैं, यानी सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस की हैं, पहले नहीं थीं। छोटी-सी बात कि आप लीजिए कम्यूनिकेशन्स; या तो सफ़र करना, या कोई ख़बर भेजना। हज़ारों बरस से अगर कोई शख्स कहीं-से-कहीं जाना चाहे या कोई ख़बर भेजना चाहे तो कैसे भेजता था वो? तेज़-से-तेज़ तरीक़ा सफ़र का शायद घोड़े पर सवार हो कर जाने का था। आप यहाँ लखनऊ से इलाहाबाद जायें या कहीं जायें, दिल्ली जायें तो घोड़े पर सवार हो कर आप जा सकते थे, तेज़-से-तेज़ घोड़े पर। और तेज़ कीजिए तो घोड़े बदलते जाइए रास्ते में, ताज़े रहें और किसी ख़त-वत, पैग़ाम [को] भी भेजने का [...] यही तरीक़ा था और यह बात कई हज़ार बरस से चली आती थी। चाहे दो हज़ार बरस पुरानी बात हो या एक हज़ार बरस या दो सौ बरस।

फिर एकदम से बातें होने लगती हैं जिससे कि नये तरीक़े निकलते हैं। मामूली बात है, हर एक आदमी जानता है। रेल आयी, रेल पर सफ़र करने लगे लोग। मोटर आयी, वग़ैरह, वग़ैरह। हवाई जहाज़ आये, तरह-तरह की चीज़ें आयीं जिससे...मामूली हो गयी हैं जिनको हरेक जानता है, लेकिन जिन्होंने दुनिया की शक़ल बदल दी। जो हज़ारों बरस की दुनिया चली आती थी। अगर आप इस मुल्क में सफ़र करते अशोक के ज़माने में तो आप वो ही—या तो गाड़ी पर या रथ पर जाते या घोड़े पर जाते। आप अकबर के ज़माने में भी करते तब भी आप वही करते। फ़र्क़ नहीं हुआ। सियासी फ़र्क़ हुए, और बातें हुई, लेकिन बुनियादी इन्सान के रहने के तरीक़े में कोई नहीं फ़र्क़ हुए बहुत ज़्यादा। ऊपरी हुए, बहुत सारे, और एकदम से एक इनक़लाबी बात आयी। साइन्स, टेक्नोलॉजी वग़ैरह की, कि ये नयी ताक़तें इन्सान के हाथ में आयीं और आपका चलना-फिरना, ख़बर भेजना वग़ैरह बदलता गया। अब हैं, मामूली बात है। मैं इसमें बोल रहा हूँ—यह भी एक साइन्स की चीज़ है। आप रोज़ रेडियो सुनते हैं, जिसमें यकायक आप आवाज़ सुनते हैं, लन्दन से, मॉस्को से, न्यू यॉर्क से, कहाँ-कहाँ से, सब मामूली बातें हैं। लेकिन आप सोचें कि कितनी अजीबो-ग़रीब बातें हैं। क्या इसके माने हैं?

रेडियो को लीजिए कि सारी हवा में दुनिया की हज़ारों-लाखों चीज़ें मौजूद हैं। आवाज़ें, म्यूज़िक, ख़बरेँ, अच्छी, बुरी—सब मौजूद हैं और आप एक मशीन निकालते हैं जो उसको पकड़ कर आपको सुना देती है। अजीब बात है कि नहीं? आप इसको महसूस नहीं करते, आदी हो जाते हैं, उसको स्विच ऑन किया और इस तरह से आप कहिए और बढ़िए। आपके पास सारे इस संसार की, यूनिवर्स की, जाने क्या-क्या आवाज़ें, म्यूज़िक, वग़ैरह भरा हुआ है। अगर



आपके कान आशना हो जायें उससे। यानी हल्के-हल्के आदमी की कुव्वत खुलती जाती है प्रकृति की बातों को समझने के लिए, फ़ितरत की बातों को समझने के लिए। वो कोई नयी चीज़ इतनी नहीं निकालता, बल्कि उसके आँख, कान और जो तरीक़े हैं समझने-सुनने के, वो खुलते जाते हैं या वो ऐसे-ऐसे औज़ार निकालता है, ऐसे-ऐसे इन्स्ट्रूमेंट्स निकालता है जो उसकी मदद करें। तो इसलिए मैं सोचता था।...रेडार है, आप देखिए, जो और भी बड़ी चीज़ है, यही कम्यूनिकेशन के सिलसिले में। और ऐसी बहुत हैं और रोज़ नयी-नयी निकलती हैं।...तो अब हम जेट एज में पहुँचे। जेट चलते हैं। ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी की एज में पहुँचे। तो मैंने इस पिछले पचास बरस में दुनिया को बदलते देखा अपने देश को और देशों को।

और यह भी देखा मैंने कि यह बदलने की रफ़्तार, पेस ऑफ़ चेंज, ज़्यादा तेज़ होती जाती है। तो अगर पचास बरस से मैंने यह देखा तो आप लोग पचास बरस बाद जब याद करेंगे गुज़रे हुए ज़माने को तो क्या-क्या बातें आपके सामने आयेंगी? ख़ैर, उस वक़्त तो आप याद करेंगे, इस वक़्त तो आपको उसमें हिस्सा लेना है और आपके सामने चीज़ें बदलेंगी और आपमें से बहुत-से लोग उसको ख़ुद बदलेंगे। अपने इल्म से, अपने परिश्रम से, और बातों से। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस तस्वीर को अपने सामने रखें, कि आप एक इनक़लाबी ज़माने में हैं और जो कि चाहे आप चाहें या न चाहें, बदलता जाता है जो कि, और रफ़्तार उसकी तेज़ होती जाती है और उसमें आप ख़ाली तमाशबीन नहीं हैं, बल्कि ऐक्टर्स हैं, इस वर्ल्ड ड्रामा में। हम सब तमाशा करने वाले भी हैं और देखने वाले भी हैं, दोनों हैं। तो अगर हम उसमें ऐक्टर्स हैं तो किस तरह से हम ऐक्ट करें, या हिस्सा लें उसमें किस ढंग से, यह जानना चाहिए न। कि हम स्टेज पे जा कर [...] समझें कि हमें क्या करना है; हम वेवकूफ़ी की बातें करें तो कोई हम न औरों पर असर पैदा करें, न अपना ही कुछ फ़ायदा हो। तो अपने को इस वर्ल्ड ड्रामा में, या आप चाहें उसको ज़्यादा तंग कर दीजिए, नैशनल ड्रामा में, कैसे हम तैयार करें अपना हिस्सा, माक़ूल हिस्सा। हिस्से उसमें हज़ारों हैं, लाखों-करोड़ों हैं। हरेक आदमी करोड़ों में एक ऐक्टर है उस ड्रामा में, अपने काम से; और यह नहीं कि वो पब्लिक स्टेज की ऐक्टिंग, मैं नहीं कहता; जो वो घर पर करता है, वो भी ड्रामा का एक हिस्सा है। तो उसकी घर की ज़िन्दगी है, या पड़ोसी के साथ है या जो कुछ है, किस तरह से करें, क्या करें। ज़ाहिरा आपका जो स्टूडेंट का ज़माना है, विद्यार्थीपन है, वो ज़माना होता है [...] कुछ सीखने का, कि आप कैसे अपने दिमाग़ को, शरीर को या और तरह से अपने को तैयार करें उस दुनिया के ड्रामा में हिस्सा लेने के लिए। वो स्कूल और कॉलेज के ज़माने [तक ही] ये बातें ख़त्म तो नहीं हो जातीं, सीखना। बहुत कम सीखता है आदमी स्कूल और कॉलेज में। एक बुनियाद डालता है, एक बुनियाद डालता है जिससे बढ़ कर आप सीख सकें। तो उसके बाद उसको आपको जारी रखना है। अगर ठीक बुनियाद पड़ी और ठीक आपके दिमाग़ की खिड़कियाँ खुल गयीं और खोलना आपने सीख लिया, एक जिज्ञासा हुई सीखने की, आगे बढ़ने की, समझने की तो आप आगे बढ़ते हैं, ज़िन्दगी भर बढ़ते हैं। जो समझदार लोग होते हैं वो उम्र भर कुछ विद्यार्थीपन उनमें रहता है सीखने का, सीखने का, सिखाने का, कुछ-न-कुछ रहता है, क्योंकि जहाँ वो हालत, वो



बहुत ज़बरदस्त फ़र्क़ हुआ है इस पचास बरस की दुनिया में। हमारे मुल्क में तो हुआ ही है और आप में से अक्सर के देखते-देखते हुआ। लेकिन फ़र्क़ वो ज़ाबिते के होते हैं, जैसे कि हम आज़ाद हुए। असल जो होते हैं, कोई समाज बदलती है या कोई मुल्क, वो तो हल्के-हल्के बदलता जाता है और फिर एक वक़्त आता है जब वो नुमायों होता जाता है, उसका बदलना, और सबमें बड़ी बदलने की बात जो है, वो तो ऐसी चीज़ें हैं जिससे हमारे रहन-सहन के तरीक़े बदलें। मसलन जैसे मैं अक्सर कहता हूँ कि सबमें बड़ी इनक़लाबी चीज़ साइन्स है दुनिया में, क्योंकि साइन्स ने—उसकी जो औलाद हुई—उसने दुनिया को बदल दिया।

हम-आप जो ज़िन्दगी बसर करते हैं रोज़मर्रा, उसमें कितनी ऐसी बातें हैं जो कि बिलकुल नयी हैं, यानी सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस की हैं, पहले नहीं थीं। छोटी-सी बात कि आप लीज़िए कम्यूनिकेशन्स; या तो सफ़र करना, या कोई ख़बर भेजना। हज़ारों बरस से अगर कोई शख्स कहीं-से-कहीं जाना चाहे या कोई ख़बर भेजना चाहे तो कैसे भेजता था वो? तेज़-से-तेज़ तरीक़ा सफ़र का शायद घोड़े पर सवार हो कर जाने का था। आप यहाँ लखनऊ से इलाहाबाद जायें या कहीं जायें, दिल्ली जायें तो घोड़े पर सवार हो कर आप जा सकते थे, तेज़-से-तेज़ घोड़े पर। और तेज़ कीज़िए तो घोड़े बदलते जाइए रास्ते में, ताज़े रहें और किसी ख़त-वत, पैग़ाम [को] भी भेजने का [...] यही तरीक़ा था और यह बात कई हज़ार बरस से चली आती थी। चाहे दो हज़ार बरस पुरानी बात हो या एक हज़ार बरस या दो सौ बरस।

फिर एकदम से बातें होने लगती हैं जिससे कि नये तरीक़े निकलते हैं। मामूली बात है, हर एक आदमी जानता है। रेल आयी, रेल पर सफ़र करने लगे लोग। मोटर आयी, वग़ैरह, वग़ैरह। हवाई जहाज़ आये, तरह-तरह की चीज़ें आयीं जिससे...मामूली हो गयी हैं जिनको हरेक जानता है, लेकिन जिन्होंने दुनिया की शक़्त बदल दी। जो हज़ारों बरस की दुनिया चली आती थी। अगर आप इस मुल्क में सफ़र करते अशोक के ज़माने में तो आप वो ही—या तो गाड़ी पर या रथ पर जाते या घोड़े पर जाते। आप अक़बर के ज़माने में भी करते तब भी आप वही करते। फ़र्क़ नहीं हुआ। सियासी फ़र्क़ हुए, और बातें हुई, लेकिन बुनियादी इन्सान के रहने के तरीक़े में कोई नहीं फ़र्क़ हुए बहुत ज़्यादा। ऊपरी हुए, बहुत सारे, और एकदम से एक इनक़लाबी बात आयी। साइन्स, टेक्नोलॉजी वग़ैरह की, कि ये नयी ताक़तें इन्सान के हाथ में आयीं और आपका चलना-फिरना, ख़बर भेजना वग़ैरह बदलता गया। अब हैं, मामूली बात है। मैं इसमें बोल रहा हूँ—यह भी एक साइन्स की चीज़ है। आप रोज़ रेडियो सुनते हैं, जिसमें यकायक आप आवाज़ सुनते हैं, लन्दन से, मॉस्को से, न्यू यॉर्क से, कहाँ-कहाँ से, सब मामूली बातें हैं। लेकिन आप सोचें कि कितनी अजीबो-ग़रीब बातें हैं। क्या इसके माने हैं?

रेडियो को लीज़िए कि सारी हवा में दुनिया की हज़ारों-लाखों चीज़ें मौजूद हैं। आवाज़ें, म्यूज़िक, ख़बरें, अच्छी, बुरी—सब मौजूद हैं और आप एक मशीन निकालते हैं जो उसको पकड़ कर आपको सुना देती है। अजीब बात है कि नहीं? आप इसको महसूस नहीं करते, आदी हो जाते हैं, उसको स्विच ऑन किया और इस तरह से आप कहिए और बढ़िए। आपके पास सारे इस संसार की, यूनिवर्स की, जाने क्या-क्या आवाज़ें, म्यूज़िक, वग़ैरह भरा हुआ है। अगर

आपके कान आशना हो जायें उससे। यानी हल्के-हल्के आदमी की कुव्वत खुलती जाती है प्रकृति की बातों को समझने के लिए, फ़ितरत की बातों को समझने के लिए। वो कोई नयी चीज़ इतनी नहीं निकालता, बल्कि उसके आँख, कान और जो तरीके हैं समझने-सुनने के, वो खुलते जाते हैं या वो ऐसे-ऐसे औज़ार निकालता है, ऐसे-ऐसे इन्स्ट्रूमेंट्स निकालता है जो उसकी मदद करें। तो इसलिए मैं सोचता था।...रेडार है, आप देखिए, जो और भी बड़ी चीज़ है, यही कम्यूनिकेशन के सिलसिले में। और ऐसी बहुत हैं और रोज़ नयी-नयी निकलती हैं।...तो अब हम जेट एज में पहुँचे। जेट चलते हैं। ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी की एज में पहुँचे। तो मैंने इस पिछले पचास बरस में दुनिया को बदलते देखा अपने देश को और देशों को।

और यह भी देखा मैंने कि यह बदलने की रफ़्तार, पेस ऑफ़ चेंज, ज़्यादा तेज़ होती जाती है। तो अगर पचास बरस से मैंने यह देखा तो आप लोग पचास बरस बाद जब याद करेंगे गुज़रे हुए ज़माने को तो क्या-क्या बातें आपके सामने आयेंगी? ख़ैर, उस वक़्त तो आप याद करेंगे, इस वक़्त तो आपको उसमें हिस्सा लेना है और आपके सामने चीज़ें बदलेंगी और आपमें से बहुत-से लोग उसको खुद बदलेंगे। अपने इल्म से, अपने परिश्रम से, और बातों से। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस तस्वीर को अपने सामने रखें, कि आप एक इनक़लाबी ज़माने में हैं और जो कि चाहे आप चाहें या न चाहें, बदलता जाता है जो कि, और रफ़्तार उसकी तेज़ होती जाती है और उसमें आप ख़ाली तमाशबीन नहीं हैं, बल्कि ऐक्टर्स हैं, इस वर्ल्ड ड्रामा में। हम सब तमाशा करने वाले भी हैं और देखने वाले भी हैं, दोनों हैं। तो अगर हम उसमें ऐक्टर्स हैं तो किस तरह से हम ऐक्ट करें, या हिस्सा लें उसमें किस ढंग से, यह जानना चाहिए न। कि हम स्टेज पे जा कर [...] समझें कि हमें क्या करना है; हम बेवकूफी की बातें करें तो कोई हम न औरों पर असर पैदा करें, न अपना ही कुछ फ़ायदा हो। तो अपने को इस वर्ल्ड ड्रामा में, या आप चाहें उसको ज़्यादा तंग कर दीजिए, नैशनल ड्रामा में, कैसे हम तैयार करें अपना हिस्सा, माकूल हिस्सा। हिस्से उसमें हज़ारों हैं, लाखों-करोड़ों हैं। हरेक आदमी करोड़ों में एक ऐक्टर है उस ड्रामा में, अपने काम से; और यह नहीं कि वो पब्लिक स्टेज की ऐक्टिंग, मैं नहीं कहता; जो वो घर पर करता है, वो भी ड्रामा का एक हिस्सा है। तो उसकी घर की ज़िन्दगी है, या पड़ोसी के साथ है या जो कुछ है, किस तरह से करें, क्या करें। ज़ाहिरा आपका जो स्टूडेंट का ज़माना है, विद्यार्थीपन है, वो ज़माना होता है [...] कुछ सीखने का, कि आप कैसे अपने दिमाग़ को, शरीर को या और तरह से अपने को तैयार करें उस दुनिया के ड्रामा में हिस्सा लेने के लिए। वो स्कूल और कॉलेज के ज़माने [तक ही] ये बातें ख़त्म तो नहीं हो जातीं, सीखना। बहुत कम सीखता है आदमी स्कूल और कॉलेज में। एक बुनियाद डालता है, एक बुनियाद डालता है जिससे बढ़ कर आप सीख सकें। तो उसके बाद उसको आपको जारी रखना है। अगर ठीक बुनियाद पड़ी और ठीक आपके दिमाग़ की खिड़कियाँ खुल गयीं और खोलना आपने सीख लिया, एक जिज्ञासा हुई सीखने की, आगे बढ़ने की, समझने की तो आप आगे बढ़ते हैं, ज़िन्दगी भर बढ़ते हैं। जो समझदार लोग होते हैं वो उम्र भर कुछ विद्यार्थीपन उनमें रहता है सीखने का, सीखने का, सिखाने का, कुछ-न-कुछ रहता है, क्योंकि जहाँ वो हालत, वो



ज़माना ख़त्म हो गया उसके माने हैं उन्होंने अपने दिमाग की खिड़की बन्द कर ली, फिर नयी बात सीखना उनका कठिन हो जाता है। अक्सर आप देखेंगे लोगों को जो ज़ाहिरा बड़े बुजुर्ग मालूम होते हैं, बहुत संजीदा मालूम होते हैं, लेकिन दिमागी तौर से बचपन से निकले नहीं हैं। अक्सर ऐसे लोग होते हैं, बहुत कम लोग होते हैं, [...] जिनके दिमाग की खिड़कियाँ खुली रहें बाद तक और असल जवानी की निशानी यह है कि दिमाग की खिड़की खुली रहे, बन्द न हो और दिमाग में एक लोच हो और जिस्म में भी लोच हो। जहाँ सख्ती आयी जिस्म में, बुढ़ापा आया और वस। तो यह है।

तो अब ऐसे ज़माने में आप, हम, सब आजकल ज़िन्दा हैं। हम पढ़ते हैं अखबारों में अजीब-अजीब खबरें, मामूली हो गयी हैं, कि कोई आउटर स्पेस में, कोई चाँद की तरफ़ रॉकेट गया और चन्द वर्षों बाद कोई साहब जायेंगे चाँद पर उतरने, मुआयना करने उसका। कुछ और होगा। ये बातें देखिए आप कैसी हैं? बचपन में बच्चे और बड़े भी क्रिस्से पढ़ा करते हैं। अलिफ़ लैला के क्रिस्से। लेकिन आप सोचें कि कोई क्रिस्सा अलिफ़ लैला में है जो इतना अजीबो-गरीब है कि जो आजकल के ज़माने के क्रिस्से हैं? जो आजकल आप अखबारों में पढ़ते हैं? यह कहीं ज़्यादा उससे अजीबो-गरीब हैं। और रोज़-ब-रोज़ ज़्यादा होते जाते हैं। ऐसे ज़माने में हम लोग रहते हैं।

तब किस ढंग से हम अपने को इसका सामना करने के लिए तैयार करें, और उसमें एक माकूल हिस्सा लेने के लिए। अब उसमें आप जिस ढंग से कहिए, ऊँचे ढंग से कहिए कि हम अपने मुल्क की खिदमत करें, ठीक है, दुनिया की खिदमत करें, ऊँचे सिद्धान्तों की खिदमत करें, ठीक है। लेकिन ये ऊँची बातें छोड़ कर नीचे-से-नीचे आप लेवल पर बात रखिए कि किस तरह से आप नयी दुनिया का सामना करें। पहले तो कुछ समझ के, समझाने की कोशिश करें। क्योंकि जो लोग इसको समझते ही नहीं...ज़ाहिर है जब समझते ही नहीं तो उसका सामना कैसे करेंगे? वो लड़खड़ायेंगे, फ़िज़ूल बातें करेंगे, अपना वक़्त ज़ाया करेंगे, औरों का वक़्त ज़ाया करेंगे, और आखिर में निकम्मे साबित हो जायेंगे। और अफ़सोस की बात यह है कि ऐसे अक्सर लोग होते हैं। या कुछ इसको समझ के आप अपने दिमाग को तैयार करें कि जो नये-नये सवाल आयें, उनके जवाब आप ढूँढ़ सकें। हर सवाल का जवाब आसानी से मिलता नहीं है, वाक़या आप देखते हैं। लेकिन आप ढूँढ़ सकें, कोशिश करें और उसकी तलाश में रहें और इस तरह से आप भी तरक्की करें, और भी करें, और जो-जो काम हमारे सामने आयें, आपके सामने, उनको आप अच्छी तरह से कर सकें, उसके लिए तैयार करें अपने दिलो-दिमाग और जिस्म को। इस ढंग से देखें।

अब मैं...इतना फ़ासला हो गया ज़माने का, आपमें और मुझ में, यानी मेरे विद्यार्थी होने के ज़माने में और आजकल आपके ज़माने में कि यह मेरे लिए मुश्किल हो जाता है आपके दिमाग में घुसना, समझना कि क्या सवाल आपके सामने हैं। बहुत सारे तो खैर, वही हो सकते हैं जो हर जेनरेशन में आते हैं सवाल। बाज़ कुछ नये होते हैं, बदलती हुई दुनिया में, और खासकर हमारे मुल्क में, जो कि मैं समझता हूँ तेज़ी से बदल रहा है और बदल रहा है एक तो

इसलिए कि आज़ादी आने से बन्धन बहुत कुछ खुल गये, छूट गये। बहुत सारी बातें हो रही हैं हमारे यहाँ, पंचवर्षीय योजना और क्या-क्या आप सुनते हैं। जो कि ख़ाली एक कोई किताब की चीज़ नहीं है, लेकिन मुल्क में नयी बातें हो रही हैं। अगर बड़े-बड़े हमारे रिवर वैली स्कीम्स हों या आयरन स्टील वर्क्स बनें या पचासों और बातें जो बन रही हैं वो हमारे मुल्क में तेज़ी से इण्डस्ट्रियल रिवोल्यूशन ला रही हैं।...जो पहले और मुल्कों में हुआ। हम पिछड़ गये थे।... तेज़ी से ला रही हैं और इण्डस्ट्रियल रिवोल्यूशन लाने के माने यह हैं कि उसका असर हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों आदमियों पर [कहीं] हल्के-हल्के पड़ रहा है और कहीं तेज़ी से। तो... और उनके रहन-सहन में फ़र्क़ होता जायेगा। वो उधर से आ रहा है तो और दुनिया में भी ये सब बातें बढ़ती जाती हैं।

तो ज़ाहिर है कि मेरे लिए आसान नहीं है कि मैं समझूँ आपके दिमाग़ में क्या सवाल हैं, क्या परेशानियाँ हैं? हालाँकि एक कुछ मुझ में ख़ूबी है। कभी-कभी मैं अपनी तारीफ़ भी कर देता हूँ। एक ख़ूबी है कि मैं समझता हूँ कि मेरे दिमाग़ की खिड़कियाँ खुली रहती हैं, वे बन्द नहीं हुई अब तक। चुनांचे, मैं कुछ-न-कुछ समझ भी जाता हूँ, या समझने की कोशिश कर सकता हूँ कि और लोग क्या सोचते हैं, किसी भी उम्र के और मुल्कों के भी। कुछ मौक़े मिले हैं मुझे, तजरुबा हुआ है हर तरह के लोगों से मिलने का और मुल्कों में, यहाँ। और किसी क्रूर हर मुल्क में मैं पूरी तौर से अजनबी अपने को नहीं पाता। कुछ खप जाता हूँ। जैसे कुछ थोड़ा-सा मैं, बावजूद बहुत फ़र्क़ होने के, हमारे देश के गाँव में भी कुछ खप जाता हूँ किसानों के साथ। हालाँकि मैं किसान नहीं हूँ, बहुत दूर हूँ किसान से। तो इससे मुझे मदद मिलती है समझने की और समझाने की। तो क्या आपके सामने सवाल है? मैं उसमें कहाँ जाऊँ इस वक्त। लेकिन मोटी बात यह है कि आपके सामने एक दुनिया की तस्वीर खुलती जाती है, खुलनी चाहिए, बदलती हुई दुनिया की और एक निहायत दिलचस्प तस्वीर, एक्साइटिंग तस्वीर, बदलती हुई चीज़। एक गढ़े में नहीं पड़े रहना है। हमें रोज़ एक नयी दुनिया का तमाशा दिखेगा। वो तमाशा हमेशा खुशगवार नहीं होता है, तकलीफ़देह होता है, मुसीबत है उसमें, रंज है, सब बातें हैं। लेकिन है? बदलता जाता है। तो इन सब बातों का सामना करना और उसमें हिस्सा लेना, माकूल हिस्सा, यह आपका, हरेक का, फ़र्ज़ होना चाहिए। बजाय इसके कि हम भी एक हवा में बहते हुए पत्ते हैं, जिधर बहती हुई हवा ले गयी हमें, ले गयी। वो तो काफ़ी नहीं है।

दुनिया में हरेक आदमी बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे का तो नहीं हो सकता। लेकिन फिर भी हम कोशिश करते हैं। हम यह जानते हैं कि जितने ज़्यादा ऊँचे दर्जे के लोग हुए, उतना ही ऊँचा मुल्क होता है। डिमॉक्रेसी का बड़ा चर्चा है और डिमॉक्रेसी मेरी राय में बड़ी माकूल चीज़ है। लेकिन डिमॉक्रेसी के माने क्या हैं? अगर एक बहुत सारे आपके यहाँ एक गोल भेड़-बकरी का है तो उनकी डिमॉक्रेसी क्या हुई? यानी डिमॉक्रेसी के माने कोई गिनती नहीं है। गिनती चलती है तय करने के लिए, लेकिन आखिर में डिमॉक्रेसी चलती है जब उसके साथ क्वालिटी होती है, क्वाण्टिटी नहीं।...हमारे यहाँ करीब चालीस करोड़ लोग रहते हैं तो वे चालीस करोड़ की



ताक़त बहुत ज़्यादा नहीं है, कुछ है। असल में उस चालीस करोड़ में कितने क्वालिटी के लोग हैं—मर्द और औरत—वे मुल्क को चलाते हैं। लाखों आदमी या जो कुछ हों, करोड़ों।...क्वालिटी हर बात में, हर फ़न में। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए हम इण्डस्ट्रियल रिवोल्यूशन ला रहे हैं तो हमें ऊँचे दर्जे के साइण्टिस्ट और इंजीनियर चाहिए, क्वालिटी के, नहीं हैं तो हम नहीं उस काम को कर सकते, आपके चालीस करोड़ आदमी नहीं कर सकते। हम एक स्टील प्लाण्ट बनाते हैं। न वो नारों से बनता है, न प्रार्थना से, न माला जपने से। वो बनता है ऐसे लोग [लोगों से] जो उसको बनाना जानते हैं, सीखा है उन्होंने; और नहीं, अगर नहीं ऐसे हैं तो हमें अमरीका से, रूस से, जर्मनी से मैंगाने पड़ते हैं, लाचार। उनको बेशुमार, बेहद तनख्वाह देनी पड़ती है। लेकिन एक काम हो ही नहीं सकता जब तक वे न आयें, जब तक सारे आदमी न सीखें। इसी तरह से हर फ़न में, कोई भी बात हो, क्वालिटी के लोग हों उस काम को करने वाले।

और यूनिवर्सिटी लीजिए, स्कूल लीजिए, कौन जगह ऐसी है जहाँ कि ज़्यादा क्वालिटी की ज़रूरत है? यानी अगर हम लोगों में क्वालिटी पैदा करें, ख़ूबियाँ पैदा करें विद्यार्थियों में तो ज़ाहिर है कि वो ज़मी हो सकती हैं जबकि टीचर में क्वालिटी हो। तो सबमें ज़्यादा ज़रूरी हो जाता है कि एक जो हमारे टीचर्स हैं, प्रोफ़ेसर्स हैं, उनमें ऊँचे दर्जे की क्वालिटी हो, जो चीज़ सिखायें उस बारे में, तब वे लोगों को ऊँचा करेंगे और क्वालिटी के माने कि जो वे चीज़ सिखायें उसमें तो हो उनके, वो तो है ही। लेकिन और तरह से भी वो ऊँचे दर्जे के मर्द और औरत हों, क्योंकि आखिर में असर पड़ता है, इल्म का भी इत्ता नहीं, जितना एक आदमी के चरित्र का पड़ता है, कैरेक्टर का पड़ता है। और मामूली बात है। आप अक्सर सुनते होंगे कि इन्सान के बनने में कितना एक बुनियादी चीज़ चरित्र है, कैरेक्टर है। आखिर में किसी आदमी को आप जज करते हैं, आप उससे बहुत बातों से उसके आप इम्तहान ले के जज करें, लेकिन आपके ऊपर असर पड़ेगा उस आदमी या औरत या लड़का या लड़की—उसकी चालाकी का असर पड़ेगा, उसकी चतुराई का, उसकी और बातों का, लेकिन आखिर में उसके कैरेक्टर का असर पड़ता है। कितना तगड़ा है उसका दिमाग़ और दिल, कितना तेज़ दिमाग़, ये सब बातें पड़ती हैं। ये बातें मोल्ड होती हैं। और इसी से एक जेनरेशन मोल्ड होता है, एक मुल्क मोल्ड होता है, ढाँचा उसका बनता है। ये यूनिवर्सिटीज़ हमारी हैं जहाँ कि लोग इस तरह से मोल्ड होते हैं, ढाँचा बनता है उनका। कोई ऐसा सख्त नहीं, क्योंकि ऐसा बनना चाहिए कि बढ़ सकें वो। लेकिन फिर भी कुछ-न-कुछ उनके दिमाग़, दिलो-दिमाग़, उधर तैयार किये जा सकें। और बड़ा सवाल यह उठता है किसी मुल्क में और ख़ासकर उसके लिए पढ़ाई के सिलसिले में एजुकेशनल सिस्टम में कि कहाँ तक यह बात ठीक तरीक़े से हो रही है और कहाँ तक उसमें कमियाँ हैं, क्योंकि उसी से सारे मुल्क पर असर पड़ता है।

आखिर में जो हमें लाखों-करोड़ों आदमी कल-परसों के हिन्दुस्तान के लिए ज़रूरी हैं, उस हिन्दुस्तान को चलाने के लिए जिसमें बेशुमार इंजीनियर हों, डॉक्टर हों, टीचर हों, प्रोफ़ेसर हों, ऐग्रिकल्चरिस्ट हों, अच्छे सीखे हुए किसान हों, मशीन चलाने वाले हों, मेकैनिक्स हों, ये हों, वो हों। आखिर दुनिया का काम लाखों पेशों से चलता है और वही पेशा अच्छी तरह से कर सकता

है आदमी, या बुरी तरह से। एक यह नहीं कि आप एक, क्या कहूँ, अच्छी तरह से ट्रेड आदमी नहीं, न आपका दिमाग, न और कुछ, आप एक खाने में रख दिये जायें तो आप उस चीज़ को नहीं भर सकते हैं। एक किसान है जो कि जड़ और बुनियाद है एक मुल्क की और हिन्दुस्तान की खास तौर से, और जब तक वो किसान नहीं बढ़ता, तरक्की नहीं करता, हिन्दुस्तान नहीं तरक्की करता चाहे कितने ही बड़े-बड़े शहर बन जायें। तो किसान को किसानों के काम में तरक्की करनी है। वो किसान नहीं कि वहाँ आ के, लखनऊ में आ के, एक दफ्तर में मोहरीर हो जाये, क्लर्क हो जाय। वो तरक्की नहीं है किसान की। वो ग़लत बात है। हाँ, करे, दरवाज़ा खुला है उसके लिए। वो करे, किसान। खाली मोहरीर न हो जाये, वो प्रोफ़ेसर हो आपकी यूनिवर्सिटी में आ कर। वो जा के, अगर काफ़ी तेज़ कोई लड़का है, वो जा के आखिर में प्राइम मिनिस्टर हो जाये। तो दरवाज़े खुले होने चाहिएँ उसके पास। लेकिन जो बात हमें एम करनी है, वो यह कि किसान जो अपना काम करता है, वो ज़्यादा अच्छी तरह से करे। ज़्यादा शान से करे, ज़्यादा फ़ायदे से करे; अपने लिए और मुल्क के लिए; तरक्की हो।

यह नहीं कि जो हमारी आजकल खेती होती है, यह नहीं कि ढाई हजार वर्ष से [जैसी] खेती है वैसी होती जाती है, फिर हम हाय-हाय करते हैं। ये तरीक़े नहीं हैं और सब में ज़्यादा तकलीफ़देह बात तो यह है कि दिमाग़ की खेती भी दो ढाई हजार वर्ष पुरानी रह जाती है कभी-कभी। निकलती नहीं उससे। कैसे आदमी बड़े इस तरह से बढ़ती हुई दुनिया में। तो...लेकिन उसी के साथ यह भी बात है कि आपको ताज़ा अपना दिमाग़ रखना है। लेकिन आखिर आपकी एक व्यक्तिगत रूप से या क्रौम के रूप से कुछ जड़ें हैं, रूट्स हैं। जैसे एक दरख़्त की होती हैं। रूट्स हैं, ज़मीन में नीचे जाती हैं। एक रेस की, एक क्रौम की रूट्स होती हैं, वो अपने इतिहास में जाती हैं, अपने पुराने ज़माने में जाती हैं। और उससे पानी को खींच कर अपने को ताज़ा करती हैं। दोनों बातों की ज़रूरत हुई न? एक तो दरख़्त की आप मिसाल लें। तो उसकी जड़ें खुद गहरी हैं और वहाँ से खींचती हैं। जड़ काट दीजिए, दरख़्त ख़त्म हो जाता है। दूसरे यह कि वो ऊपर की धूप में, हवा में आती हैं, और धूप और हवा से जान लेती हैं। धूप और हवा को रोक दीजिए तब भी दरख़्त मुरझा जायेगा। तो दोनों बातों के लिए, एक क्रौम के लिए, रेस के लिए, दोनों बातों की ज़रूरत है। अपने पास्ट में, अपने रीसेन्ट पास्ट में उसकी जड़ें हों, उसके विचारों में, उसके सिद्धान्तों में, उसकी खूबियों में। उससे आप जान लें और पुराने ज़माने में प्रायः अच्छी बातें हैं, उससे आप जान लें और नये ज़माने की धूप और हवा में आप ताज़े हों तब आप बढ़ते हैं, क्रौम बढ़ती है। अगर जड़ नहीं तो वो क्रौम गहरी नहीं होती है, वो ऊपरी होती है, शैलो होती है और ज़्यादा दूर तक नहीं जा सकती। अगर खाली जड़ है, ऊपर नहीं, तब वो सूखी हुई जड़ रह सकती है; सूखी है, बढ़ती नहीं।

तो इन दोनों बातों को जोड़ना है, हर जेनरेशन को इन बातों को जोड़ना होता है। पुराने सिलसिले जो अच्छे हैं, उनको समझना और नयी तरफ़ क़दम उठाना और उसको बैलेन्स करना। उन दोनों बातों को। और ऐसा मुल्क जैसे हमारा मुल्क है, एक बहुत पुराना मुल्क, हजारों बरस में हमें हमारी क्रौम को मोल्ड किया कन्डिशन किया, छपा मारा हमारे ऊपर। ये



सब बातें हुई। तो इस पास्ट को...हमारा एक हिस्सा है, वो पास्ट। हम उसके वारिस हैं...उसने, हमारे पास्ट ने, हमको आजकल का बनाया और प्रेजेन्ट बना रहा है और प्र्यूचर के बनाने में हम मदद देने वाले हैं—ये सब बातें मिल जाती हैं अलग से।

तो इसलिए यह, यह सब तस्वीर आप अपने सामने रखें और दो-तीन बातों को आप... दो-तीन बातों से दूर रहने की कोशिश करें। मैं उनको खतरनाक समझता हूँ। एक तो मुझे उसका ठीक हिन्दी लफ्ज़ मालूम नहीं—वल्गैरिटी। यों तो माने उसके सब जानते हैं। लेकिन एक खास उसका, एक सोलह आने माने उसके मुझे मालूम नहीं, उसके हिन्दी लफ्ज़ के। और दूसरा यही कि शैलोनेस। जो शख्स, लड़का, लड़की शैलो है, एक ऊपर रहता है, गहराई नहीं है, कभी वो बड़े काम कर नहीं सकता। थोड़ी देर के लिए वो चमक ले चाहे, असर पैदा करे, लेकिन फ़ौरन मुरझा जाता है, क्योंकि जड़ नहीं है। और उसी के दोनों भाई-बहन हैं—वल्गैरिटी और शैलोनेस। मैं इसीलिए आपसे कहता हूँ कि कितना आसान होता है शैलो होना और कुछ आजकल की ज़िन्दगी में, हिन्दुस्तान का मैं नहीं कहता, मैं दुनिया का कहता हूँ, कुछ वल्गैरिटी भी ज़्यादा आती जाती है। मुमकिन है, मैं एक पुराने ज़माने का आदमी हो गया। मुझे ये बातें अखरती हैं जो कि मामूली हो गयीं, लेकिन हैं। ये बातें हैं।

लेकिन ये बातें एक आदमी को, रेस को, मोल्ड करती हैं। और चूँकि आपका ज़माना है मोल्ड होने का और आपके ऊपर बड़ी-बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारियाँ आने वाली हैं...ज़ाहिर है, हिन्दुस्तान में इस वक़्त कितनी अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट है, रोज़गार न मिले, सब कुछ है। और उसके खिलाफ़ हम कोशिश करें एक चारों तरफ़ से उस पर हमला करके। लेकिन वो ज़माना आता है कि चारों तरफ़ दरवाज़े खुलते जायेंगे...और इस वक़्त भी याद रखिए हिन्दुस्तान में कितने ही लोग अनएम्प्लॉयड हैं, कितनी ही जगहें खाली हैं कि जो हम भर नहीं सकते हैं, इसलिए कि लोग क्राबिल नहीं मिलते उसके लिए। याद रखिए, क्राबिल आदमी के लिए एक जगह नहीं, पचास जगह हर वक़्त खाली हैं। अपने फ़न के क्राबिल जो हों, जो भी फ़न हो उनका। कितने ही अनएम्प्लॉयड हों...अफ़सोस की बात है कि एक तरफ़ अनएम्प्लॉयड और एक तरफ़ क्राबिल आदमी न मिलें खास जगहों के लिए। खास जगहों का मैं कह रहा हूँ कम हैं यानी बमुक़ाबिले हमारी आबादी के, कम हैं और हमारी ज़रूरत के।...तो दरवाज़े खुलते जायेंगे आप लोगों के लिए, हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवानों के लिए। और हाल यह होगा कि इन दरवाज़ों में घुसने की किसमें हिम्मत है, किसमें क्राबिलियत है। तो इसके लिए यह बोझ आपको उठाना होगा, आजकल के नौजवानों को, लड़के-लड़कियों को यह हिन्दुस्तान का बोझ उठाना होगा। हिन्दुस्तान को चलाने की ज़िम्मेदारी ओढ़नी होगी। चारा नहीं है और कोई [...]। अगर आप शान से ओढ़ सकते हैं, क्राबिलियत से ओढ़ सकते हैं, तब तो भला है आपके लिए भी, हिन्दुस्तान के लिए भी, नहीं तो हिन्दुस्तान का दर्जा दूसरा हो जायेगा। अब्बल दर्जे के लोग मुल्क को अब्बल दर्जे का बनाते हैं, नम्बर नहीं। दूसरे-तीसरे दर्जे के लोग मुल्क में भरे हुए हैं तो मुल्क भी दूसरे-तीसरे दर्जे का हो जाता है। न गुल मचाने से, न नारों से, किसी तरह से मुल्क बढ़ता नहीं है। बुनियादी बातें हैं, आखिर में होती हैं, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कि आप हैं क्या

चीज़। यानी वही कि एक आपने फ़न सीखा, वो ठीक है। आप डॉक्टर हैं, ये हैं, वो हैं, लेकिन अन्दर में आप किस हैसियत के हैं, क्या क्वालिटी आपकी है, वो आखिर मुल्क को बढ़ाती है।

आजकल बड़ी बहस है, ज़माने से बहस है, तरह-तरह के वाद हैं, इज्जत हैं। कम्यूनिज़्म, सोशलिज़्म, गाँधीइज़्म, कैपिटलिज़्म। बहुत सारी बातें हैं और आप उस पर बातें करते हैं, बहस करते हैं, जैसा कि आपको करना चाहिए। वो तो ठीक है, लेकिन एक उन सबके पीछे कॉमन फ़ैक्टर है और वो यह कि आदमी का कैरेक्टर और दिमाग़ और मेहनत करने का माद़ा। कोई इज्जत से मुल्क नहीं बढ़ता है, मेहनत से बढ़ता है, परिश्रम से बढ़ता है। लेकिन मेहनत ऐसी जो कि एक सीखी हुई मेहनत हो। मेहनत आप ऐसे करें कि जिसका नतीजा कम हो तो उससे कुछ हासिल नहीं होता। इससे बढ़ता है। दूसरे ये कि यह एक बड़ी ख़तरनाक बात आ गयी है हमारी इन बहसों में, इन इज्जत की बहसों में कि जो कि पुराने ज़माने में मज़हबी लड़ाइयों में होती थी। जो कट्टर बिगेटेड लोग, मज़हबी कट्टर बिगेटेड लोग, बजाय मज़हब की ऊँची बातों को सामने रख के, वो लड़ने पर आमादा रहते हैं छोटी बातों पर। वो हमारे इज्जत में भी कुछ आ गयी हैं और पोलिटिकल पार्टीज़ में कुछ आ गयी हैं जो कि आसानी से किसी बात पर विचार करना मुश्किल कर देती हैं, क्योंकि जब एक दिमाग़...बिगेटेड आदमी के माने यह हैं, चाहे वो मज़हब में बिगेटेड हो, चाहे वो किसी इकोनॉमिकल थ्योरी में बिगेटेड हो या पोलिटिकल बात में, बिगेटेड के माने ही ये हैं कि दरवाज़े बन्द हो गये दिमाग़ के। दिमाग़ को उन्होंने क़ैद कर लिया एक कोठरी में और फिर जो कुछ उसमें पहले था, वो भी सूखने लगता है, ताज़ा नहीं रहता, ताज़ा हवा नहीं आती और नयी बात तो आ ही नहीं सकती उसमें। इस तरह से पोलिटिकल बातों में भी लोग करने लगे। [...] कम्यूनिस्ट हैं, बहुत माक़ूल बातें हैं वे कहते हैं, लेकिन बाज़ ऐसी नामाक़ूल कहते हैं कि हैरत होती है। और माक़ूल हो या नामाक़ूल हो, तर्ज़ करने [कहने] का नामाक़ूल होता है। ख़ाली कम्यूनिस्ट का मैं नहीं कहता, यह सभी का मैं कहता हूँ। कम्यूनिस्ट का मैंने नाम इसलिए लिया कि उनकी आवाज़ ज़्यादा ज़ोर से चिल्लाती है। ख़ैर, मुझे चिल्लाना भी बहुत पसन्द नहीं किसी का, वो कोई भी हो। लेकिन... क्योंकि वो चिल्लाने से भी दिमाग़ की एप्रोच नहीं होती। यह तो एक हमला होता है कि आपको अपनी आवाज़ के ज़ोर से गिरा देने का। इस तरह से आखिर में कुछ फ़ायदा हो जाये इधर-उधर। इलेक्शन होते हैं, निहायत निकम्मी चीज़ है इलेक्शन। एक गुल-शोर मचाने की चीज़। कुछ-न-कुछ होता है, आजकल के ज़माने के तरीक़े हैं ये। लेकिन आखिर में क्रौम बढ़ती है अपने दिमाग़ से, सोचने से, गुल-शोर मचाने से नहीं।

तो हमें इस पर विचार करना है। बदलती हुई दुनिया में जो कल का फ़लसफ़ा था आज शायद मौज़ू न हो, क्योंकि नये सवाल दुनिया उठाती है। स्पेस ट्रेवल का ज़माना। प्लेटो का ज़माना। प्लेटो एक बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे का आदमी था, लेकिन प्लेटो समझता था कि दासता, स्लेवरी, एक जा चीज़ है। ठीक है, बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे का था। आजकल तो कोई भी नहीं कहेगा कि स्लेवरी अच्छी चीज़ है। ज़माना बदल गया, हालाँकि इतना ऊँचा ज़माना था, उसने मंज़ूर कर लिया प्लेटो ने और लोगों ने, सब देश ने। ज़माना बदलता है, सब बातें बदलती हैं। यह



खयाल तो रोज़मर्रा गिने जाते हैं प्रॉपर्टीज़ के इसके-उसके सब बदलते जाते हैं। जो पहले थे, आज नहीं रहे। कोई बात इसमें जमी हुई मज़बूत नहीं है। तो इसलिए आप हर वक़्त अपने सामने रखिए कि आप तैयार हो रहे हैं बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी के लिए, ज़िम्मेदारी का काम करने अपने मुल्क के लिए और वो ज़िम्मेदारी का काम ख़ाली दिल्ली में, या लखनऊ में नहीं होता है। वो ज़िम्मेदारी का काम जहाँ आप हैं, होता है। अगर आप गाँव में हैं तो गाँव में होता है, गाँव में कीजिए, या जहाँ कहीं हो, क्योंकि सारे हिन्दुस्तान को हमें उठाना है। दुनिया के बड़े कामों में हिस्सा लेना है। उसके लिए आप तैयार कीजिए और अपने कैरेक्टर को तैयार कीजिए और इसमें यकीनन हमारी एक नयी दुनिया में आप बढ़ते हैं। साइन्स और टेक्नॉलोजी की। लेकिन साइन्स और टेक्नॉलोजी ख़तरनाक चीज़ें हैं, अगर उसके साथ अक्ल नहीं है, उसके साथ विज़डम नहीं है, उसके साथ पुराने इन्स्पिरेशन या पुरानी जो बहुत बातें हमारे देश की हैं उसको आप याद नहीं रखते हैं, सिद्धान्त वगैरह। इन बातों को जोड़ना है और जोड़ के आगे बढ़ना है ज़ोरों से, बगैर डरे। डर बड़ी ख़राब चीज़ है। डर की औलाद हर चीज़ होती है, डर की औलाद झूठ है और द्वेष है, और हिंसा है, सब डर से निकलता है। और गाँधीजी ने जो सबमें बड़ी बात हिन्दुस्तान को दी थी, वो हमारे करोड़ों आदमियों का डर कम कर दिया था। यह असल चीज़ उन्होंने की थी और बहुत बातें की थीं।

तो मालूम नहीं इधर-उधर की बातें मैंने आपसे कहीं, वो कुछ आपके कानों में घुसीं कि नहीं। बहरसूरत, मेरे जाने का वक़्त हो गया, इसलिए मैं ख़त्म कर देता हूँ।

जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Mr. Vice Chancellor,<sup>54</sup> President of Lucknow University Union and students, You will forgive me for indicating that the report not be read; for the reason that neither I nor you could bear to listen to it. So I thought, as we often say about reports in our meetings— 'taken as read'—we will assume that. In any case, it will reach you and you will read it. I was wondering what I should speak to you about today, as most of what is usually said to you is customary and apt. However, my endeavour is that if I say something to you it should have an impact on your minds, you may be induced to think about it and a link is established for a little while between your minds and mine, so that both you and I benefit from my visit here. I should learn something by watching and listening to you and you may be drawn towards something new by listening to me.

Last evening, a friend of mine from Lucknow, who is a poet, was reciting some of his poetry, and it talked about times past. What it said was apt. But

54. See fn 53 in this section.

when I come here my mind harks back to times past and then comes the present. And then again, it tries to move towards the future.

It has been some fifty-three years, fifty-three or fifty-four, since I was sent to England from India as a young boy. I studied in school and college there, in the university, and in these fifty years I have seen the world change. India, the west, and other parts. A tremendous change has occurred in the world during these fifty years. Indeed, our country, too, has changed and it has happened before your eyes. But those changes are routine and gradual, as when we attained freedom, when a society or a country changes gradually. The biggest thing about these changes is the change in the pattern of our lives. For instance, I often say that the most revolutionary thing in the world is science. Science and its offspring have changed the world.

There are many things in the life that you and I lead, which are new and did not exist a hundred and fifty years ago. Take something as small as communications or travelling or sending messages. For thousands of years, if someone wanted to travel from one place to another or send a message, how did he do it? The fastest mode of travel was a horse. If you wished to travel to Allahabad from Lucknow or some other place, if you wished to go to Delhi, you went on a horse, the fastest horse. If you wanted to travel faster you kept changing horses on the way, and this was the means of sending a letter for thousands of years. Be it two thousand years, a thousand years or two hundred years ago. Then, suddenly, things begin to happen and new means emerge. Simple things everyone knows of. The railways arrived and people took to travelling by it. Automobiles and aeroplanes arrived; various things which have become commonplace and which everyone is familiar with. These changed the face of the world which had endured for thousands of years. If you travelled in the country in the age of Asoka you did so by a cart or chariot. If you travelled in the age of Akbar you did the same. There was no change. There were political changes but in the fundamentals of human existence there were no changes or very superficial ones. Suddenly, there was this revolutionary thing. The powers of science and technology arrived in human hands, and your movement and transport, sending of messages changed. Now, it is an ordinary thing. I am speaking in this [gadget], this too is an object of science. You listen to the radio every day on which all of a sudden you hear a voice from London, Moscow, New York, all this is now commonplace. But just think how incredible all this is. What does all this mean?

Take the radio. How many things of the world there are in the atmosphere. Voices, music, news, good and bad things, all are there. You take out a machine which catches and plays it all for you. Is this not incredible? You do not feel it, you become used to it, you turn on a switch and you are filled with the voices,



music of this world, this universe. That is to say that gradually the powers of man unfold, to understand nature, things of creation and cosmos. He does not discover new things as much as his eyes and ears and means of comprehension develop and he invents instruments which help him. Take the radar which is a bigger thing in communications. There are so many other things which come out every day. Thus we have reached the jet age, the age of atomic energy. So, I have seen the world, my country and other countries, change in the past fifty years.

I also saw that the pace of this change keeps on increasing. So, if I have seen all this over fifty years, when you remember the bygone times after fifty years, what things will you remember when you recall this time fifty years hence? Nevertheless, you will remember this time then, but at present you have to take part in it, things will change before you and many of you will on your part change them, with your knowledge and hard work. So, I wish that you keep this picture before you, that you are in a revolutionary age and which, whether you wish it or not, keeps on changing. The pace of this change keeps on increasing and you are not just bystanders in it, but are actors in this world drama. We are the performers and the viewers, both. And, if we are actors, we should know how to act and take part and in what manner, that we know what to do when we appear on the stage, so that we do not do anything foolish which has no impact on others nor does it benefit us. So, in this world drama, you may narrow it down to a national drama, how do we create our legitimate role? There are millions of parts in it. Every individual among the millions is an actor in the drama through his work. I do not say that it is acting on the public stage, what he does at home too is a part of this drama, or with his neighbours, however he does it, in whichever manner. Obviously, the time of your student life is for learning something, to prepare one's mind and body to take part in this drama. Learning does not stop in school and college. A man learns very little in school and college. A foundation is laid there from where you can go ahead and learn. And, you must continue afterwards. If the right foundation is laid and the windows of your mind open, and you learn to open them with a desire to learn, to move ahead, to understand, then you move ahead, you move ahead all your life. Those who are sensible, they retain a little of the student in them all their lives, to learn, to teach. Because, if this period ends, it means that they have shut the windows of their minds, then it is difficult for them to learn new things. You will often observe people who apparently seem to be elderly, and serious, have not grown out of their childhoods. There are often such people. Those who keep the windows of their minds open till late are very few. The real sign of youth is that the windows of the mind remain open, they are not shut, and both the mind and the body are flexible. Whenever rigidity arrives old age

afflicts the body and that is the end.

So, this is it. We exist, we live in an age in which we read incredible news in the papers, they have become ordinary, that some rocket has gone towards the moon and after some years some chap will go to land on the moon and inspect it. There will be something more. Just think what these things are like. Both children and the grownups read tales, tales of the Arabian Nights. But think of it, is there a tale in the Arabian Nights as strange as the tales you read in the papers today. These are strange and get stranger by the day. We live in such an age.

Then how do we prepare to face it, to take a legitimate part in it. Well, however you might say, from a higher standpoint you might say that we should serve the world, we should serve high values. But leaving the higher ideas you must take care of the lower levels that how will you face the world. First, you must understand, you must try to understand. Because those who do not understand the world how will they face it? They will totter, will talk of superfluous things, waste their time and the time of others, in the end they will be proved worthless, and it is unfortunate that many are like this. So, you try to understand it and prepare your mind so that when new questions appear in it, you can search for their answers. The answer to every question cannot be found easily, you have seen this. But you must be able to search, try and look for them so that you progress and the tasks that come before us, before you, you are able to perform them well; you may prepare your mind and body for them. You must see things like this.

Now there is such a gap between the times, between you and me, between the time when I was a student and now when you are studying, it is difficult for me to enter your minds and understand what are the questions you face. Many of them must be the ones which every generation faces. But, there are a few new ones in a changing world, especially in our country which, I understand, is changing very rapidly because with the arrival of freedom many shackles have been loosened, have been left behind. There are several things happening here, the five year plans and what not you might hear of. These are not things to be mentioned in a book, but there are new things happening in the country. The large river valley schemes or the iron steel works or the fifty other things being built are rapidly bringing the industrial revolution to our country. It has happened in other countries before. We had lagged behind. And, this coming of the industrial revolution means that its impact is being felt by the people in India gradually and in some cases fast. Thus their way of life will change, their thinking will change and various other things will change. The changes are coming from there and so in the world, too, these things are increasing.

So, obviously, it is not easy for me to comprehend the questions and



problems that trouble you. Although, there is one quality in me. Sometimes, I even praise myself for it. There is a quality in me that I feel the windows in my mind are still open, they are not yet shut. Therefore, I can understand a little, or I can try to understand what other people are thinking, of whichever age or country they may be. I have got a few opportunities to meet people of every kind, in other countries, and here. Thus in other countries I do not find myself a complete stranger, I blend in, and despite great differences I also blend into a village or among the farmers of our country, though I am not a farmer and I am far from being one. So this helps me to understand and to explain. So, what are the questions before you? It's not possible for me to go into them right now. But the broad issue is that a picture of the world is unfolding before you, it should, a very interesting picture of a changing world, an exciting picture, a changing thing. We should not lie in a pit; we will watch a new spectacle of the world every day. This spectacle is not always pleasing, it is painful, and there are perils in it, resentment, and all sorts of things. But it is there. And, it is ever changing. So we must face these things and take an appropriate part, and this should be your and everybody else's duty. We should not be like leaves in the wind, being taken where the wind takes us. This is not enough.

The standard of every individual in the world cannot be superlative. Still, we try. We know the higher the quality of the people, the greater the country. Democracy is much talked about, and democracy, according to me, is a very appropriate thing. But what is the meaning of democracy? Democracy is not just numbers. Numbers are resorted to in order to arrive at decisions, but in the end democracy flourishes when conjoined to quality, not just quantity. Almost forty crores live in this country, but the strength of these forty crores is not much, it is small. In reality, how many people of quality are in these forty crores, men and women, who run this country? Whatever their number, lakhs or crores, there should be quality in everything, in every skill. Let us suppose we are launching the industrial revolution and we need high class scientists or engineers, of quality, if they are not there we cannot perform the task. Your forty crores of people cannot do it. We build a steel plant. It is neither built by slogans nor prayers nor by the telling of beads. It is built by people who know how to build it, who have learnt to build it, and if they are not available then we have to get them from America, Russia or Germany, perforce. We have to pay them enormous salaries. But a work cannot be done unless they arrive, until our people learn. Likewise, in every profession, in every matter, there must be people of quality to perform a task.

Take the university or the school, which is the place that needs more quality. It means that if we want to create quality, raise talents in students, it is obvious that it can be done only when the teachers are of quality. So it is most important

that our teachers and professors are of high quality, and teach things which enlighten people. Quality means that they too must possess what they teach. That is definite. But in other matters, too, they must be men and women of higher ideals, because in the end, more than knowledge, it is the character of an individual that leaves an impact. When you judge an individual, you examine him in various manners, but what will impress you will be the cleverness and other things of that man or woman, boy or girl. But in the end it is the character which leaves an impact. How strong is his mind and heart, how sharp his brain, these things impress. These things are moulds and mould a generation, a country. People are moulded like this in our universities, and their structure is built. Not so rigid, because it should be built in a way that they may grow. Their hearts and minds need to be prepared in that direction. And, the bigger question is, in any country and especially in its educational system, how far is this thing being rightly done and what are the shortcomings in it because that has an effect on the entire country.

In the end we need lakhs and crores of people for the India of tomorrow and the day after. To run the India in which there will be numerous engineers, doctors, teachers, professors, agriculturists and well-taught farmers. After all, the work of the world is managed by lakhs of professions and a man can do a job either well or badly. It would not be possible for you to fill a category if you are not a trained person and your faculties also are not trained. A farmer is the root and foundation of a country and especially of India, and as long as this farmer does not advance and progress, India cannot move ahead no matter how many large cities are built. So, a farmer must progress in his farming. He is no farmer who comes to Lucknow and becomes a moharrir, a clerk. This is no progress for a farmer. It is wrong. Yes, a door is open for him. He may use it. He should not just become a moharrir, he should become a university professor. He should, if he is a bright boy, he should in the end become the Prime Minister. So, the doors must be open for him. But what we must aim at is that the farmer should do his job more properly. He should do it with greater dignity and profit and he and his country should advance. Not like the farming we do today, what has been done for two and a half thousand years and then we lament. This is no way, what is most painful is that even the cultivation of the mind sometimes remains two or two and a half thousand years old. It does not come out of the rut. Then how will a man advance in this changing world of ours. So, you must keep your minds fresh. However, as an individual and as a nation, you have some roots, just as a tree has. Roots which go down into the earth. The roots of a race, of a nation, go into its history, go into its past, draw water from it and keep themselves fresh. Don't we need both the things? Take a tree, for example. Its roots go deep and draw sustenance. Cut the roots and the tree dies. It also



draws life from the sunshine and air above. Stop the sunshine and air and the tree will wilt. So, a race, a nation needs both the things. Its roots should be in its past and recent past, in its ideas and principles and in its talents. You draw life from it, from the old times but when you revivify in the sun and air of the new age, you grow, the nation grows. If there are no roots then the nation has no depth, it is shallow and cannot go very far. And if there are only roots and nothing above then only the dry root remains and does not grow.

So, the two things must be joined, every generation must join them. Understanding the old traditions which are good and taking steps in a new direction and balancing the two. Especially in a country like ours which is an old country and has moulded us, our nation for thousands of years, conditioned us, left its stamp on us. It did all this. So the past is a part of us. We are its inheritors. Our past has made us what we are today and is making the present and is helping us to mould the future.

So, keep this picture before you and try to keep away from two or three things. I regard them as dangerous. One is, I do not know its correct Hindi equivalent, vulgarity. We all know its meaning, but I do not know the exact Hindi word for it. The other is shallowness. Whichever individual, boy or girl, is shallow, remains on the surface, lacks depth, can never perform big tasks. He might shine for a while, have some impact, but wilts very quickly, because he has no roots. And his two siblings, brother and sister, are vulgarity and shallowness. This is why I say that it is easy to be shallow in present day life, I do not say about India, I say about the world, it is becoming a little more vulgar day by day. It is possible being an old timer these things grate on me, things which have become common.

But these are things which mould an individual and a race. And it is your time to be moulded and great responsibilities are going to come to you. It is obvious that in India now there is a lot of unemployment, it is difficult to get together a livelihood, all this is there. We must strive against it, attack it from all quarters. The time will come when doors will open all around, and even now you must remember, there are many people who are unemployed in India, there are many positions vacant, which we are not able to fill, because we do not get capable persons. Remember that for the capable individual not one but fifty positions are always vacant. For him who is able in his profession, whatever it might be and no matter how many unemployed there may be. It is unfortunate that on one hand there are the unemployed and on the other we do not get able people for special positions. By special positions, I mean those in relation to our population, they are few, not enough for our requirements. So, doors will keep on opening for the youth of India. Then the question will be which of you have the courage and the ability to pass through these doors. So, you will have

to bear this burden; the youth of today, boys and girls, will have to carry the burden of India. They will have to take the responsibility for running India. There is no other way. If you can bear this responsibility with grace and ability then it is good for you and also for India, or else the status of India will become second rate. First rate people make the country first rate. If the country is full of second and third rate people, then the country too turns second or third rate. Neither by making a hue and cry nor by raising slogans does the country advance. The basic things come in the end, as I said to you, what do you happen to be. You have learnt a skill all right. You are a doctor or something else, but what are you within, what is your inner quality, that is what takes the country forward.

Nowadays there is much debate, there are many ideologies and isms—communism, socialism, Gandhism, capitalism. There are many things and you talk about them, discuss them as you should. This is all right, but behind all this there are some common factors and they are an individual's character, his mind and ability to work hard. No country advances by isms, but by hard work and such endeavour which has been acquired and learnt. If you work hard in a manner which yields very little then you do not achieve anything. The other dangerous thing which has come into these isms, in these debates of ours, is what was seen in the religious conflicts of old times. Instead of keeping the high ideals of religion before them, the staunch and the bigoted are ready to fight on the petty matters. This has come into our isms and in some measure has come into our political parties too, which makes it difficult to think with ease upon any issue. Because when a man is bigoted, be it in religion, in economic theory or in political matters, the meaning of bigotry is that the doors of the mind have been shut. They have imprisoned the mind in a cell and what was in it earlier begins to dry up, does not remain fresh, because it does not get fresh air and definitely nothing new can come to it. The communists say many things appropriate but sometimes they say such inappropriate things which surprise us. And whether appropriate or inappropriate the manner of debate is not correct. I do not say this for the communists alone, but for all. I refer to the communists because their voice shouts the loudest. Anyway, I do not like shouting, either, whosoever it might be, because by shouting you do not approach the mind. It is just an attack, to overwhelm you by the strength of the voice. In the end a little benefit may come here and there. Elections take place; elections are a most worthless thing, an occasion to make a lot of noise. Something or the other happens; these are the ways of the present age. But in the end a nation progresses by the thoughts of the mind, not by raising a racket.

So we must think on this. In the changing world the philosophies of yesterday might not be relevant, because the world raises new questions. This is the age of space travel. Take Plato's age, Plato was an individual of high



calibre, but thought slavery is a good thing. All right, he was of a high class. Today no one will say that slavery is a good thing; times have changed; although it was accepted by Plato, by other people and countries. Times change and all things change. What used to be is no more. There is nothing settled and permanent. So you always keep in mind that you are preparing for a big responsibility, to perform responsible tasks for the country, and these responsible tasks are performed not just in Delhi or Lucknow. These responsible tasks are discharged where you are. If you are in a village, perform them in the village, or wherever you might be. Because we have to raise up the whole of India. We have to take part in the large works of the world. For that you prepare yourself and your character and then definitely we move into a new world. A world of science and technology. But science and technology are dangerous things if they are not accompanied by wisdom, unless with them you do not remember the old inspirations and all the old ideals of our country. These things have to be combined and then we have to move ahead with force, without fearing. Fear is a bad thing. Fear's progeny is of all kinds, untruth, hatred and violence, all of them come out of fear. The biggest thing that Gandhiji gave to India was to reduce the fear of crores of our people. This was the real thing he gave us besides several others.

I do not know if all I said to you on various matters went through your ears. Nevertheless, it is time for me to go, so I end this talk now.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

## (ii) Bhilwara

### 7. Public Meeting<sup>55</sup>

प्यारे भाइयो और बहनो और बच्चो,  
कुछ दिन बाद मैं राजस्थान आया हूँ<sup>56</sup> और शायद पहली बार इस तरफ़ भीलवाड़ा में। एक यहाँ आजकल भारत सेवक समाज का एक अधिवेशन है, उसमें आया हूँ,<sup>57</sup> लेकिन सच पूछिए आप तो जो चीज़ मुझे खेच के लायी यहाँ, वो भारत सेवक समाज का अधिवेशन नहीं, वो तो एक

55. Speech, Bhilwara, 8 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

56. Nehru went to Mount Abu in Rajasthan on 17-18 October 1958. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 70-96 and 276.

57. For Nehru's speech at the Bharat Sewak Samaj meeting, see item 128-129.

बहाना हो गया, लेकिन इसलिए कि फिर यहाँ मैं इस प्रसिद्ध भूमि में आऊँ और आप लोगों से मिलूँ, क्योंकि भारत में कोई लोग नहीं हैं, जिनके दिल के कोने में राजस्थान और विशेषकर मेवाड़ की जगह नहीं हो। यह एक वीर भूमि रही है। वीर पुरुष, वीर स्त्रियाँ इसकी कहानी में कितने हैं।

तो मैं जो आपके पास मिलने आया आज और थोड़ी देर यहाँ ठहरूँगा और कुछ आपसे कहूँगा। लेकिन सच बात तो यह है कि मैं इस भूल में हूँ, एक सवाल का जवाब मैं चाहता हूँ आपसे कि मेवाड़ में या राजस्थान में, जिसकी कहानी भारत की कहानी है, आजकल के ज़माने में इस समय पर कितनी वीरता आप लोग दिखाने को तैयार हैं? कितने आप में वीर पुरुष हैं, वीर स्त्रियाँ हैं? कितने आपके जो लड़के-लड़कियाँ पढ़ रहे हैं उनमें वो वीरता की धुन है? कैसी वीरता? पुराने समय की वीरता नहीं कि आप तलवार ले कर दुश्मन का मुकाबला करें। वो ज़माने ख़त्म हो गये। लेकिन दूसरी तरह की वीरता, उससे कठिन। शान्ति से देश की सेवा करें, राजस्थान की सेवा करें, जनता की सेवा करें और इस महान कार्य में जो आजकल देश के सामने है कि करोड़ों लोगों को उठाना, उसमें आप उसका बोझा कुछ उठायें। भारत के सामने इसके इतिहास में बड़े-बड़े काम उठाये [आये] हैं, महायुद्ध हुए हैं, ऊँच-नीच हुई है। लेकिन एक माने में भारत के सामने कभी इतना बड़ा काम नहीं था, जो आजकल है, आपके और हमारे सामने।

कभी इतना बड़ा युद्ध नहीं था हमें लड़ना, इतनी बड़ी लड़ाई, जो आजकल हमें लड़नी है। किससे लड़नी है वो लड़ाई? किसी दूसरे देश से नहीं। किसी दूसरी क्रीम से या जाति से नहीं। हमारी लड़ाई हमारी दरिद्रता से है, गरीबी से है, हमारी दुर्बलता से है। सब बातों से है जो हमारे देश को दबाये हुए हैं, गिराये हुए हैं। उनको हमें हटाना है और इस देश को फिर से, देश को फिर से खड़ा करना है, मजबूत करना है, खुशहाल करना है। इस देश को मैंने कहा; देश क्या है यह? भारत क्या है? हिन्दुस्तान, इण्डिया, क्या है यह देश। लम्बा-चौड़ा देश है, कश्मीर से ले कर दक्षिण में कन्याकुमारी तक। हिमालय पहाड़ की बर्फ़ से ले कर बिलकुल क़रीब-क़रीब लंका तक। लम्बा-चौड़ा देश फैला हुआ है। दो तरफ़ उसके समुद्र है, एक तरफ़ हिमालय पहाड़ है। घिरा हुआ समुद्र की गोद में यह देश पैदा हुआ और हिमालय पहाड़ ने इसकी रक्षा की। तो हमारे पूर्वज बड़े थे। महान समुद्र और हिमालय पहाड़। तो यह तो...

लेकिन आखिर में हिमालय पहाड़ की कोई हम रक्षा करने नहीं जायेंगे, न समुद्र की। असल में भारत, भारत की जनता है। क्या है भारत? भारत माता की जय आप पुकारते हैं तो उसके क्या माने हैं? क्या भारत है? भारत कोई स्त्री है? कोई छिपी हुई क्या है? कोई देवी है? भारत आप हैं और आप हैं और आप हैं और आप हैं और मैं हूँ। हम सब मिल के भारत हैं। और ऐसे-ऐसे करोड़ों लोग जो भारत में रहते हैं। चाहे उनका कोई धर्म हो, कोई जाति हो, कोई प्रदेश हो, कोई भाषा हो। सब लोग मिल के जो इस देश में रहते हैं, वो भारत हैं। याद रखिए। यह न समझिए कि आप राजस्थान में रहते हैं तो आप भारत हैं अधिक, बम्बई वाले नहीं हैं और उत्तर प्रदेश वाले कम हैं, सब बराबर के हैं। या आप एक धर्म के हैं, एक जाति के हैं तो



आप भारत हैं; और धर्म, और जाति के लोग भारत नहीं हैं। यह बात ग़लत है। जो लोग भारत में रहते हैं, चाहे किसी प्रान्त, प्रदेश में रहें, चाहे उनका कोई धर्म हो, चाहे हिन्दू हो, मुसलमान हो, ईसाई हों, बौद्ध हों, जैन हों, पारसी हों, सिख हों, कोई भी हों—भारत के रहने वाले हैं। वो भारत माता के बच्चे हैं और उनको बराबर के अधिकार हैं और यह बड़ा महान परिवार जो है हमारे देश का, सब उसके भाई-बहन हैं।

जातियों के भेद हैं, चले आते हैं पुराने। जब वो जातियों के भेद बने [...] तब उसके कुछ माने रहे। लेकिन दुनिया का और देश का परिवर्तन हुआ। अब जाति भेद के माने नहीं रहे और हमारे देश में लोगों को कुछ जातियों ने [खुद को] ऊँच [ऊँची] जाति समझ के दबाया, आजकल कोई इसको स्वीकार नहीं करने को तैयार है। आजकल उस पुरुष-स्त्री का आदर है जो अक़ल में तेज़ हो। परिश्रम करने की ताक़त हो और विशेषकर जो देश की सेवा करे, जनता की सेवा करे। हमारे देश में कौन सबमें महान बड़े पुरुष हुए हैं आजकल? हमारे राष्ट्रपति जो हैं बाबू राजेन्द्र प्रसाद हैं। वो कोई राजा-महाराजा तो नहीं हैं। जागीरदार भी नहीं रहे। थोड़ी ज़मीन उनके पास बिहार में रही। फिर उनका देश भर आदर क्यों करता है? क्योंकि उनको सब में ऊँचे स्थान पर बिठलाया है। इसलिए कि वे देश की और जनता की सेवा पचास वर्ष से कर रहे हैं। इसलिए कि बुद्धिमान हैं। इसलिए कि सारा उनका जीवन सेवा में लगा। देश ने उनका आदर किया। वो वहाँ बैठे हैं, बड़ी ऊँची पदवी पर। सारा देश, हमारे प्रथम नागरिक देश के। तो वो वहाँ बैठे अपनी जाति से नहीं, अपने धर्म से नहीं, अपने किसी बाप-दादा की वजह से नहीं। इसलिए कि उन्होंने देश की सेवा की। आप...बच्चे बैठे हैं, आपके। स्कूल में पढ़ते हैं, कॉलेज में पढ़ते हैं। अगर वो योग्य हैं, दिमाग़ में, मन में, अगर चरित्र उनका अच्छा हो, अगर सेवा करना उन्हें ठीक आये जनता की तो वो भी बढ़ेंगे और वो बड़ी पदवी जो हमारे देश के राष्ट्रपति की है, वो पद वो सब के लिए है जो उचित हो। चाहे वो किसी धर्म का देश में हो, चाहे किसी जाति का हो। अगर वो सेवा जनता की करता है और जनता उसका आदर करती है। तो यह भी न समझो यहाँ हम...भीलवाड़ा है। हमारे भील भाई-बहन यहाँ रहते हैं और कुछ लोग और भी रहते हैं, गूजर रहते हैं, इधर-उधर और जाति हैं, राजपूत हैं, सभी लोग हैं। लेकिन कुछ लोग समझें कि हमारे भील भाई तो कुछ पिछड़े हुए हैं। तो ठीक है, पिछड़े हुए तो हैं वो, क्योंकि उनको मौक़ा नहीं मिला उठने का। लेकिन अगर भीलों में कोई लड़का अच्छा हो, बहुत तेज़ हो तो उसके लिए भी दरवाज़ा खुला हुआ है कि राष्ट्रपति की पदवी पर जा के बैठे वो। गूजरों में—वो भी बैठ सकता है। तो किस ग़ज़ से आजकल हम लोगों को नापते हैं? जाति के ग़ज़ से नहीं, पैसे के ग़ज़ से नहीं कि कौन धनवान है? उसके चरित्र से, उसके काम से, उसकी सेवा से...जनता की, जिससे जनता उसका आदर करे। तो यह बात आप समझ लें।

तो मैंने आपसे कहा कि जब हमारे देश में, देश के लम्बे इतिहास में हज़ारों वर्ष के, एक सबमें बड़ी चुनौती हमको मिली है, दुनिया ने दी है हमें चुनौती, हमारे देश के रहने वालों को और एक बड़ी लड़ाई में हम पड़े हैं। वो लड़ाई किसी बाहर के देश से नहीं। वो लड़ाई हमारी अपनी, अपनी दुर्बलता से है, अपनी दरिद्रता से है और यह एक बड़ी कठिन लड़ाई है, क्योंकि

इसमें खाली नारों से नहीं हम जीत जायेंगे। एक मिनट की वीरता से नहीं जीतेंगे, बल्कि परिश्रम से। एक दिन नहीं, एक महीना नहीं, एक साल नहीं, परिश्रम, परिश्रम, रोज़-रोज़, जिससे हम अपनी मेहनत से नये भारत को बनायें। नये भारत को फिर से हम मज़बूत करें, खड़ा करें, खुशहाल बनायें और नये भारत के बनाने के माने हुए यह कि यहाँ के भारतवासियों के दुख दूर हों और उनको मौक़ा मिले तरक्की करने का, उठने का। यह बनाना है।

भारत में कितने लोग रहते हैं? करीब-करीब चालीस करोड़ लोग रहते हैं। सारे संसार का एक सातवाँ हिस्सा भारत है। तो बड़ा काम हो गया न? चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना। यह तो नहीं है कि आप मेरे पास आओ कि मुझे नौकरी दे दो, मेरे भाई को, मेरे लड़के को। नौकरी मैं किस-किस को दूँ। सौ, हजार, दस हजार, पचास हजार—चालीस करोड़ को तो नौकरी नहीं दे सकता। वो तो अपने परिश्रम से रह सकते हैं यहाँ। परिश्रम बहुत तरह के होते हैं। ज़मीन का है, खेती है, कारख़ाने का है, ग्रामोद्योग का है, कारीगरी है और पचासों काम हैं दुनिया में, हजारों काम होते हैं जिससे दुनिया चलती है। समाज चलती है काम से। जितना अधिक काम हो उतने ही तेज़ी [से] समाज चलेगी। यह बड़ा काम है और इसमें काम ठीक ढंग से हो तो उसका प्रबन्ध होना होता है। कोई लड़ाई लड़ने जाओ दुश्मन से तो जो तुम्हारा बड़ा अफ़सर होगा, सेनापति होगा, वो लड़ाई का प्रबन्ध करता है। कैसे जायें? किधर फ़ौज जाये, किधर न जाये, किधर बढ़ें? उसी तरह से अगर हम ग़रीबी के विरोध में लड़ाई लड़ेंगे, बीमारी से लड़ाई लड़ेंगे तो प्रबन्ध करना पड़ेगा। इन्तज़ाम करना पड़ेगा। किधर से हम अधिक बढ़ें हैं? क्या पहले करें? क्या बाद में करें?

इसी [यही] प्रबन्ध करने के लिए फिर हमने वो बनाये, आपने सुना होगा, पंचवर्षीय योजना, पाँच वर्ष के काम का ब्योरा कि देश में इन पाँच वर्ष में काम तो बहुत होंगे, लेकिन विशेषकर क्या होगा? पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना हुई, आपने सुनी होगी, उसमें सफलता मिली। दूसरी हुई। उसको दो-ढाई वर्ष हो गये। उसमें अधिक कठिनाइयाँ पड़ीं। फिर भी हम बढ़ रहे हैं? क्यों कठिनाई पड़ी? इसलिए कि पहले जो [...] पाँच वर्ष थे, उसमें हम ज़रा दुश्मन से दूर थे तो सरलता थी, चलते गये। अब चूँकि हम बढ़ते जाते हैं और देश बढ़ता है तो यह लड़ाई ज़्यादा ज़ोरों की होती जाती है और कठिनाई बढ़ती है, मुश्किलें बढ़ती हैं। इसी तरह से हमारा इम्तहान होता है। अगर आसानी से टहलते-टहलते हम पहुँच जायें, यात्रा पूरी हो जाये तो फिर उसमें कठिनाई क्या?

तो हम दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में हैं, और अभी से हम विचार कर रहे हैं कि तीसरी योजना कैसे बने? क्योंकि तीसरी योजना...अब से ले कर तीसरी योजना तक ये हमारे इस युद्ध का समझो सब में कठिन समय है। इसमें हम ज़ोर लगायें। कठिनाई उठायें ताकि एक माने में हम युद्ध को, एक माने में, बहुत कुछ जीत जाते हैं। उसके बाद भी बहुत करना होगा। लेकिन वो दूसरे ढंग का करना होगा। तो मैं आपसे यह कहने नहीं आया, न आपसे वादा करने आया कि मैं कोई आपको कल से आराम दूँगा। मैं तो आपको निमन्त्रण देने आया, दावत देने आपको आया कि आइए, आप वीर पुरुष, वीर स्त्रियाँ, इस भारत के, महाभारत के महायुद्ध



में आइए जिसमें हम किसी की बुराई नहीं चाहते। सिवा [इसके कि] हम दरिद्रता को निकालेंगे, हम बीमारी को निकालेंगे। जिससे दुर्बलता आती है उससे हम देश को निकालेंगे, अपने परिश्रम से मिल कर। अपनी लड़ाई-झगड़ा छोड़ेंगे, आपस की फूट छोड़ेंगे, आपस की नाइतफ़ाक़ी छोड़ेंगे और मिल कर इस काम को करेंगे। काम क्या? वो काम किसी दूसरे के लिए तो नहीं है। किसी मालिक के लिए। काम तो हम अपने लिए करते हैं, अपने घर के लिए, अपने गाँव के लिए, अपने प्रदेश के लिए। उस काम से तो हमें भी लाभ है। कैसा काम? कैसा? अच्छा, जिससे हमें भी लाभ हो, देश को भी हो, दुनिया को भी हो। किसी का नुक़सान न हो। लेकिन परिश्रम है उसके पीछे।

अभी आपने देखा, [...] कुछ पंचों को यहाँ कुछ इनाम मिले।<sup>58</sup> ये आये थे, ये विकास योजनाओं की तरफ़ से उन्होंने अच्छे काम किये थे वहाँ ज़मीन पर, मेड़बन्दी वगैरह किये थे, कॉन्ट्रूर बण्डिंग, और भी उनको दिये, क्योंकि जो उन्होंने काम किया अपने खेतों में, वो उससे उनको लाभ होगा, सारे उस इलाक़े को लाभ होगा। तो एक उन्होंने सेवा की। अपनी सेवा की, जनता की सेवा की। तो...लेकिन परिश्रम से इस तरह से बहुत सारे काम, ज़मीन के काम अभी ज़मीन यहाँ की, ज़मीन राजस्थान की...बड़े-बड़े राजा लोग रहते थे, राजा-महाराजा, जागीरदार। अच्छे लोग थे। कोई उनसे तो हमें लड़ाई नहीं, लेकिन वो जो पुरानी प्रथा थी राजाओं, महाराजाओं की और जागीरदारों की, वो आजकल के ज़माने में उचित नहीं थी। दिन बदलते हैं। ज़माना बदलता है। संसार हमेशा बदलता रहता है। आप और हम बदलते हैं। रोज़ हमारी अवस्था बढ़ती है। बच्चे हैं, जवान हुए, बूढ़े हुए, और देहान्त हो गया हमारा। संसार बदलता रहता है; उसी तरह से समाज का संगठन बदलता रहता है। उसी तरह से आपके जाति भेद जो थे, वो भी बदलते रहते थे। उनका अन्त हो रहा है। उसी तरह से घूँघट काढ़ वो जो हमारी बहनें घूँघट काढ़ के रहती थीं, वो समय ख़त्म हो गया है। इस समय कोई घूँघट काढ़ करता है? इस समय हर भारत के पुरुष-स्त्री का काम है कि तन के रहे। चार आँखें हों तो कि दुनिया को देखे और हर एक को देखे। न कमर झुके, न सिर झुके, न आँख झुके किसी के सामने। इस तरह के लोग हमें चाहिए भारत में। तो ये बातें छोड़ देनी हैं, घूँघट काढ़ना और और बातें। तो और वो न छोड़ें हमारी बड़ी स्त्रियाँ। आप यह बात मान लीजिए जो हमारे बच्चे, लड़कियाँ स्कूल में हैं वो कभी नहीं करेंगी, वाक़ई आप समझ लीजिए। ज़माना गुज़र गया, न करना चाहिए उन्हें, और कोई अगर्चे कराने को कहेगा तो वो बलवा करेंगी और करना चाहिए बलवा उन्हें। तो आप देखते हैं। हमारा समाज बदल रहा है। हमारा देश बदल रहा है। दुनिया बदल रही है।

आप समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ते हैं कि कुछ देश बड़े-बड़े, क्या कहते हैं, रॉकेट चाँद तक भेज रहे हैं। यह कहाँ की दुनिया। हमने बचपन में पढ़े थे क्रिस्से-कहानियाँ अलिफ़ लैला की

58. Nehru distributed prizes to sarpanchs of Rajasthan for good agricultural results and to the best villages and non-official workers in Bhilwara district.

कहानियाँ। आपने पढ़ी हों और कौन कहानियाँ, वो पंचतन्त्र की और किसकी, वो उड़नखटोला था और क्या? वो सब कहानियाँ फीकी पड़ गयीं आजकल जो कुछ हो रहा है उसको देख कर। यह जो दुनिया है। तब इस दुनिया को हम समझे नहीं और वैसे ही पड़े रहे तो हम तो पिछड़ गये। फिर वैसे-के-वैसे ही रह गये, और दुर्बल हो गये और कोई और देश आ कर हम पर हुकूमत करने लगेगा। खाली हमारे नारों से कुछ नहीं होगा। हमारे नौजवान नारों के बहुत आदी हो गये हैं। तो हमें तरक्की करनी है हर तरह की और हर तरह से तरक्की करने के लिए पहली बात यह है कि हम देश का धन बढ़ायें। देश की पैदावार बढ़ायें।

देश का धन क्या है? सोना-चाँदी थोड़ा ही है। वो तो व्यापार की चीज़ है। देश का धन है जो ज़मीन में पैदा होता है, कारखानों से होता है। कारीगरी से होता है, यह है धन। ग्रामोद्योग से यह बहुत सब पहले होते थे, बहुत दब गये अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में। हम सब अब अंग्रेज़ी चीज़ें कुछ खरीदने लगे। हमारे यहाँ कारखाने बने। आपके यहाँ भी कुछ ये बन गये हैं। ये तो फुटकर कारखाने हैं। असली कारखाने वो होते हैं जो मशीन बनायें, वो कारखाने हैं। अगर हमें मशीनें मँगानी पड़ीं विलायत से, जर्मनी से अपने कारखाने के लिए...ठीक है, अगर ज़रूरत है तो मँगायें, लेकिन उससे हमारा देश नहीं बढ़ता। देश बढ़ेगा जब हमारे यहाँ बुनियादी कारखाने हैं [हों]। हमारे यहाँ लोहा काफ़ी पैदा होता है। हमारे यहाँ बड़ी-बड़ी मशीन बनती हैं; यानी जो चीज़ हम चाहते हैं वो हम अपने घर में बना लेते हैं। तब हमारी ताक़त बढ़ती है और उसी के साथ-साथ धन बढ़ता है देश का, और उसी के साथ-साथ रोज़गार है करोड़ों आदमियों को मिलता है। सब काम होते हैं। आजकल रोज़गार नहीं है, आप जानते हैं। ये काम करने हैं। तो मैं इसमें आपको तफ़सील तो नहीं बतलाना चाहता। अब इसको इस ढंग से करना है कि देश के फ़ायदे से करना है कि देश आगे तेज़ी से बढ़ता जाये। लेकिन कितने ही फ़ायदे से आप करें, शुरू-शुरू में कठिनाइयाँ होती हैं; मेहनत करनी होगी, आप देखिए, क्योंकि अगर आप उतना ही काम करें, उतनी ही मेहनत करें जितनी आज करते हैं तो उतना ही आप कमायेंगे जितना आप आज कमाते हैं, बढ़ेगा तो नहीं उससे। हाँ, फ़सल अच्छी हो तो बढ़ जाये। फ़सल ख़राब हो तो यह और बात है। लेकिन आम तौर से उतना ही रहेगा। अगर उतना ही रहेगा तो आप की गरीबी की हालत भी उतनी ही रहेगी।

और एक बात याद रखो, तुम अधिक कमाओ या न कमाओ, अधिक पैदा करो या न करो, बच्चे पैदा करते जाते हो। खाने वाले बढ़ते जाते हैं देश में। एक साल में पचास-साठ लाख बढ़ जाते हैं खाने वाले। खाने वाले खाली नहीं, उनके लिए कपड़ा चाहिए; उनके लिए घर रहने को चाहिए; उनके लिए स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए; उनके लिए स्कूल पढ़ाई का होना चाहिए। खर्चा तो बढ़ गया, खाने वाले बढ़ गये। तो उसी के साथ पैदा हम अधिक न करें तो गरीब होते जायेंगे हम। इसलिए हमको इतना पैदा करना है कि जो नयी आबादी बढ़ती है उसके लिए और उससे अधिक जो अधिक बचे उससे फिर देश की उन्नति होगी। चाहे हम पढ़ाई का सामान अधिक करें, चाहे हम कारखाने बनायें, चाहे हम अस्पताल बनायें, चाहें और कितने काम हों, हम करें—वो उसी ढंग से होता है जो कि अधिक कमाया जाये और बचा रहे।



देश भर में मिल कर बचा रहे। इसलिए हमारे सामने अधिक-से-अधिक पैदा करने का सवाल होता है और अधिक-से-अधिक कारोबार बढ़ाने का।

मैं समझता हूँ हमारे यहाँ कारखाने, उद्योग-धन्धे कम हैं। बड़े देश के लिए बहुत कम हैं। उसको हमें बहुत बढ़ाना है और बढ़ायेंगे और बढ़ रहे हैं। लेकिन उद्योग-धन्धे बढ़ाने में बड़ा रुपया लगता है। दो-चार लोहे के कारखाने हमारे बन रहे हैं, बड़े भारी। उन चार लोहे के कारखानों में शायद पाँच सौ करोड़ रुपये से अधिक लग रहा है।<sup>59</sup> सोचो तुम, पाँच सौ, छै सौ करोड़ रुपया एक गरीब देश को पाँच-छै सौ करोड़ रुपया निकालना चार कारखानों के लिए। लेकिन हमें करना था क्योंकि हम लोहे के कारखाने नहीं बनायें, लोहा नहीं बने तो हम कुछ कर नहीं सकते। आजकल की दुनिया लोहे पर है। और कारखाने नहीं बना सकते [तो] हमें बाहर से मँगाना पड़ता है, और बाहर से मँगवाने में हमारा पैसा निकल जाता है। इसलिए बहुत जोर लगा के, पेट कस के हमने कहा हम बनायेंगे लोहे के कारखाने चार, और बड़ा खर्च है। लेकिन जब वो बन जायेंगे, एक साल भर बाद समझो, कुछ तो काम शुरू भी हो गया, अब भी साल भर बाद जोरों से उनमें होगा, तब उससे लाभ मिलेगा, फ़ायदा होगा। तो उसमें से भी धन निकलेगा। धन माने लोहा निकलेगा, स्टील निकलेगा। वो निकलेगा और उससे देश आगे बढ़ेगा और इसलिए देश के बढ़ाने में पहले परिश्रम, पहले पैसा, पहले मेहनत और फिर उसका लाभ कल-परसों मिलता है। इसी तरह से कारखाने बन रहे हैं। इसी तरह से बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ हैं नदियों की, नहरें बनाने की। अब राजस्थान कैनाल आपके यहाँ नहर बन रही है। राजस्थान नहर राजस्थान के एक हिस्से को बिलकुल बाग़ बना देगा जो आजकल रेगिस्तान है। कितनी बड़ी चीज़ है। लेकिन उसके बनाने में करोड़ों रुपये लग रहे हैं।<sup>60</sup> यही कठिनाई है। उधर चम्बल नदी का भी बन रहा है। मध्य प्रदेश और राजस्थान दोनों को उससे लाभ होगा।<sup>61</sup> तो यह सब काम तो हो रहे हैं।

लेकिन आप क्या करें? मैं एकदम से आपको जवाब तो नहीं दे सकता, क्योंकि आप अलग-अलग काम करेंगे। लेकिन एक काम जो बुनियादी है, कारखाने का, मैंने कहा; कारखाने जभी चलेंगे, जभी बनेंगे जब यहाँ की ज़मीन से, खेती से आमदनी बढ़ती है। उसी की आमदनी बढ़ने से, हम कारखाने बना सकते हैं। पिछले दो-चार वर्ष, दो-ढाई वर्ष फ़सलें ख़राब हुईं। बड़ी हानि हुई। बाहर से हमें मँगाना पड़ा ग़ल्ला। कितना उसमें, सैकड़ों-करोड़ों रुपये बाहर भेजने

59. This refers to the three new steel plants at Bhilai, Rourkela. Bokaro and upgrading of the TISCO at Jamshedpur.

60. The 645 km-long Rajasthan Canal, renamed the Indira Gandhi Canal in 1984, begins at the Harike Barrage in Punjab, a few kilometers downstream from the confluence of the Sutlej and Beas rivers, and passes through Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan up to Barmer. Construction began in 1958 and it irrigated parts of the Thar desert.

61. The Gandhi Sagar Dam, the first of four dams on the Chambal river, is in the Mandsaur district on the Madhya Pradesh-Rajasthan border. Its construction went on from 1954 to 1960.

पड़े। हमारा सब जो हमारे मन में बातें थीं, सब रुक गयीं? कर नहीं सके हम, नहीं तो हम बड़े काम करते। क्या किया जाये? तो अब पहला सवाल हमारे लिए है कि हम अधिक-से-अधिक खेती से पैदा करें। खाने का पैदा करें और। और भी खेती का सामान हो, वो पैदा करें। अपने देश के लिए काफ़ी हो, बढ़ती हुई आबादी के लिए काफ़ी हो, और ऊपर से बचे जिसकी एवज़ में हम मशीन वगैरह बाहर से ला के अपने यहाँ जमायें।

अब आप जानते हैं कि नहीं कि हमारे देश में खेती से आमदनी अधिक नहीं होती। यानी एक एकड़ से जितना निकलता है, वो बहुत कम है। और देशों में अधिक निकलता है और हम आसानी से बढ़ा सकते हैं। अच्छे बीज चुन के, अच्छी खाद हो, फ़र्टिलाइज़र हो। ये सब बातें हैं। ज़रा अच्छे हमारे हल ज़रा ठीक अच्छे हों। तो यह बड़े-बड़े ट्रैक्टर का मैं नहीं कहता हूँ। ज़रा समझ के किया जाये। तो अभी यह मैंने मेड़बन्दी कहा, यह हो। ऐसी बातें हों तो दुगुनी, तिगुनी हो सकती है हमारी पैदावार और हुई है जहाँ हमने यह किया है। अभी आपके यहाँ सूतगढ़ के तरफ़ एक बहुत बड़ा सिलसिला, फ़ार्म बना है।<sup>62</sup> खैर, वहाँ तो बड़ी फ़सल हुई है, खड़ी है। जो आम तौर से तीन-चार फ़ुट की होती है, वहाँ बारह फ़ुट की हो गयी है। ज़मीन तो इतनी अच्छी है, ज़रा पानी देने से यह हो गया। खैर, और पानी, मैं समझता हूँ, राजस्थान में कुछ नहरों से आयेगा और कुछ ज़रा गहरे कुओं से भी आ सकता है, ट्यूबवेल से, क्योंकि ज़मीन बहुत अच्छी है। वॉ तो सब है, लेकिन सबमें अधिक चीज़ जो चाहिए वो तो तगड़े पुरुष और स्त्रियाँ काम करने वाले, वो चाहिएँ। जो परिश्रम करने वाले। आदमी मशीन बनाता है, मशीन आदमी नहीं बनाती है। इसीलिए आप समझें आजकल देश में क्या हो रहा है? समझें और अपने गाँव में, अपने-अपने शहर में दरयाफ़्त करें कि क्या आपको करना है और ज़ोरों से उस बात को मिल के करें। हमने भारत सेवक समाज बनायी। इसलिए उसमें कोई ओहदे नहीं हैं, कोई इनाम नहीं मिलते, कि जो लोग काम करना चाहते हैं, अपने घर में, गाँव में, शहर में, वो काम करके उसको अपने गाँव को अच्छा बनायें। काम नया पैदा करें, चीज़ें, सभों को लाभ हो। यह बड़ी बात है।

तो फिर राजस्थान के लोग क्या करेंगे? यह प्रश्न आपसे मैं करता हूँ। कुछ तो कर रहे हैं आप राजस्थान में। पिछले दस बरस में काफ़ी उन्नति की है, तरक्की की है। लेकिन और भी करनी है। ज़ोरों से करना है। और उसकी आपको दावत देने में आया हूँ और उसमें खाली पुरुषों को नहीं, स्त्रियों को करना है। हमारी स्त्रियाँ बहादुर होती हैं। लेकिन राजस्थान में दो बातें हैं स्त्रियों के निस्वत। एक तो यहाँ की कहानियाँ, प्रसिद्ध वीर स्त्रियों की कहानियाँ हैं। दूसरी तरफ़ से उनको यहाँ के पुरुषों ने बहुत दबाया है। दबा के रखा है। उठने नहीं दिया है उनको। तो अब यह दूसरी बात तो चलती नहीं और न चलनी चाहिए और उसको भी देश का काम जैसा वो कर सकती हैं अपने गाँव में, घर में, कुछ-न-कुछ करना है, पढ़ना-लिखना है, क्योंकि वही ज़रिया है आगे बढ़ने का। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जल्दी-से-जल्दी हमारे देश में कोई न

62. For Nehru's speech at Suratgarh, see SWJN/SS/48/item 85.



हो जिसको पढ़ना-लिखना नहीं आता हो, सब पढ़-लिख सकें। खैर, ज़रा कठिन हो जाता है बड़े आदमियों को पढ़ाना। हालाँकि वो भी होना चाहिए। लेकिन कोई बच्चा ऐसा न हो जिसकी अच्छी पढ़ाई न हो। तभी देश बढ़ेगा और...दुनिया के देश बढ़ गये।

आप जानते हैं ये अंग्रेज़ों का देश, अमरीका, रूस और जापान और कौन-कौन देश हैं, फ़्रांस और जर्मनी। आपने सुना होगा कैसे बढ़ गये ये देश इत्ते? ये बढ़ गये इसलिए कि इनके यहाँ अच्छी पढ़ाई-लिखाई सारी जनता की हुई, और पढ़-लिख कर वो समझे आजकल का विज्ञान क्या है? आजकल की साइन्स क्या है? आजकल मशीन क्या है? उसको सीख कर उन्होंने उससे लाभ उठाया। मशीन बढ़ायी। विज्ञान को बढ़ाया और अपने देश को बलवान और धनवान बना लिया। हमें बढ़ना है तो हमें भी पढ़-लिख के बढ़ना है। बच्चों को पढ़ा के, बड़ों को पढ़ा के, समझें वो, और पढ़ा के, खाली यह नहीं कि खाली लिखना-पढ़ना, अच्छी तरह से पढ़ के और आजकल के विज्ञान को सीखना है, आजकल की मशीन को सीखना है। इसके माने नहीं कि सब लोग आ के शहर में बस जायें। हमें अपने देहातों को, गाँवों को बढ़ाना है। तभी ठीक भारत बढ़ेगा। गाँवों को सुन्दर करना है। गाँवों में अच्छे आपके लिए मकान हों, अच्छी आसानियाँ हो पढ़ने-लिखने की, स्वास्थ्य की, काम करने की।

तो खेती का तो मैंने आप से कहा बहुत बढ़ सकती है, कितनी बढ़ सकती है, बढ़ना चाहिए। अब मैं आपको बतलाऊँ कैसे बढ़ सकती है, कितनी बढ़ सकती है। मैं अभी पूछ रहा था कि इधर-उधर ज्वार होती है कि नहीं। तो इन्होंने कहा—हाँ आस-पास होता है कोटा की तरफ़। खैर तो मैंने पूछा, एक एकड़ में जितना ज्वार पैदा होता है। तो इन्होंने कहा छे मन। अब आप देखें और जगह ज़रा ज़्यादा होता है—दस मन, बारह मन भी होता है। लेकिन अभी एक साहब मेरे पास आये। मेरे मित्र हैं बड़े। इन बातों को विज्ञान की बहुत जानते हैं और बीस-पच्चीस बरस से वो इस बात की कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि ज़मीन से कैसे अधिक पैदा हो?<sup>63</sup> तो अभी मैं आपसे पाँच-छे दिन की बात कहता हूँ। उन्होंने दो-तीन किस्म की ज्वार को क्रॉस किया, मिलाया, दो-तीन किस्म की। इसका हिन्दी में शब्द याद नहीं आता। हाँ-हाँ, खैर तो उन्होंने दो-तीन तरह के ज्वार...कुछ बाहर से भी लाये थे, अमरीका से, यहाँ के से मिल के पैदा किया। तो आप सोचो तुम कि उन्होंने यह करके अभी एक एकड़ में कितना पैदा किया? कोई मुझे बता नहीं सकता। समझ लें कहाँ तो आपको छे मन और दस मन, उन्होंने एक सौ बीस मन पैदा किया एक एकड़ में ज्वार। सोचो कहाँ की कहाँ। अब मैंने माना, हरेक एक सौ बीस मन न कर सके। लेकिन इसके माने हैं कि कितनी गुंजाइश है तरक्की की। जैसे मैंने आपको ज्वार का कहा, गेहूँ वगैरह और चीज़ों में भी बहुत हो सकती है। तो बहुत हम बढ़ा सकते हैं।

यहाँ लोग यह शिकायत करते हैं, पहले तो बेचारे जागीरदारों की ज़मीन ली गयी। अब कहा जाता है कोई आदमी एक नाम से अधिक ज़मीन रखे नहीं, सीलिंग जिसको कहते हैं। क्या हो यह मैं नहीं जानता, निश्चय होगी सलाह-मशविरा करके। तो लोग शिकायत करते हैं कि

63. Probably Nehru is referring to the agricultural scientist Basiswar (Boshi) Sen, Director, Vivekanand Laboratory, Almora. See items 150-151.

भाई देखो, तुम तो हमसे लेते हो तो मुफ्त में तो लेते नहीं। लेकिन ज़रा इधर ध्यान नहीं देते, कि अब्बल तो हमारे देश में....राजस्थान में ज़रा मैं जानता नहीं, लेकिन आम हमारे देश में...औसत फ़्री आदमी एक डेढ़ एकड़ है, फ़्री किसान। अब किसी की दो है किसी की तीन है, किसी की अधिक है। लेकिन आम औसत पड़ती है। कितनी कम है, क्योंकि आदमी ज्यादा हैं, ज़मीन कम है। यहाँ राजस्थान में वो बात इतनी नहीं है, क्योंकि आपके यहाँ रेगिस्तान बहुत हैं। वो तो हैं। लेकिन यह नहीं देखते वो लोग कि ज़मीन से वो दुगुनी-चौगुनी अपनी आमदनी कर सकते हैं अगर नये तरीक़े [से] करें और मेहनत करें। एक मैदान ले के जहाँ ठीक काम नहीं करते, मैदान भी ज़ाया होता है। जहाँ कुछ पैदा न होता हो तो उससे क्या फ़ायदा। आप जाइए, जापान में, देखिए वहाँ, आपकी बालिशत भर ज़मीन ज़ाया होती नहीं नज़र आयेगी। अगर रेल की पटरी है तो रेल की पटरी से समझो एक गज़ भर बाद तक खेत आता है। यहाँ तो हमारी रेलवे वाले दबा लेते हैं ज़मीन दोनों तरफ़ की काफ़ी। वहाँ एक गज़ भर तक खेत आता है। सड़क लो तो सड़क से गज़, दो गज़ फ़ुट तक खेत आता है, क्योंकि वो ज़मीन ज़ाया नहीं किया चाहते हैं बिलकुल। उनको पैदा करना है अधिक-से-अधिक और पैदा करते हैं, बहुत पैदा करते हैं। हमारे...हमसे चौगुनी करते हैं एक एकड़ ज़मीन में। तो उस ज़मीन से बहुत पैदा हो सकता है, अगर यह सीखें।

लेकिन उसमें एक और बात भी है। अब एक-एक किसान ज़रा-सा अपना एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़ ले के कहीं काम करे, अलग काम करे, किसी दूसरे से कुछ सम्बन्ध नहीं रखे तो उसकी शक्ति अधिक नहीं होती। वो उसकी ताक़त नहीं है कि...वो आजकल के नये तरीक़े काम में ला सके, विज्ञान के, साइन्स के। अच्छे औज़ार हों उसके पास। अच्छा बीज मिले। उसको सरकारी तौर से सहायता ज़रूर मिले। लेकिन उसकी शक्ति नहीं है। इसलिए जो ढंग आजकल की दुनिया का है सभी बातों में, लेकिन विशेषकर खेती में वो सहकारी ढंग है, सहकारी संघ बनाना। क्या माने हुए इसके कि गाँव वाले...मैं नहीं पसन्द करता कि... बहुत बड़े सहकारी संघ और सहकारी संघ तो यहाँ पहले भी रहे। लेकिन वो खाली क़र्ज़ा देने के लिए रहे। एक तरह की बनियागिरी करने के लिए रहे। वो ठीक था। लेकिन काफ़ी नहीं थे वो। अब सहकारी संघ यह कि एक गाँव के हों या दो छोटे गाँवों के हों, दो गाँवों के हों, वो लोग सब मिल कर अपने सहकारी संघ बनायें जिसमें मिल कर वो चीज़ें मँगायें। बीज है मिल के मँगायें, खाद है मँगायें और काम, अच्छे-अच्छे औज़ार हैं, मँगायें मिल के। बेचने के लिए भी हैं वो उनके लिए, बेच दें, उनके सहकारी संघ। यह दुनिया में ऐसे काम होता है।

मैं आपको बताऊँ, आप जायें यूरोप के छोटे देशों में। वहाँ के किसानों के घर। क्या करेंगे वो वहाँ किसान, उनका सहकारी संघ है। जो चीज़ उनको ज़रूरत है, वो संघ से कहते हैं। उनके दरवाज़े पर ले आता है। जो चीज़ उनको बेचनी है, वो वहीं भेज देते हैं, वो बेचता है। उनके यहाँ गायें हैं, दूध काफ़ी पैदा करते हैं। यहाँ की गायों के निस्वत दूध बहुत देती हैं वहाँ। हम तो ख़ाली गाय की पूजा करते हैं और उसकी देख-भाल नहीं करते। वहाँ देख-भाल करते हैं। तो बहुत दूध देती हैं। तो वो मुर्गी रखते हैं और जानवर रखते हैं। ज़मीन थोड़ी होगी लेकिन



...और सुबह, उन्होंने...अधिक दूध हो वे अपने दरवाज़े पर रख आते हैं। सहकारी संघ की गाड़ी आयी उनका दूध ले लिया। उसको लिख लिया। बाद में उसके दाम पहुँचा दिये। हर सप्ताह में एक दफ़ा। मुर्गी रखी उन्होंने तो अण्डे रख दिये उन्होंने बाहर तो वो भी सहकारी संघ वाले ले गये। उसको भी उन्होंने हिसाब में लिख लिया और उसके भी दाम हफ़्ते में दे दिये। और ग़ल्ला भी इसी तरह से वो तो होता ही है। तो मेरा मतलब यह है कि सहकारी संघ इतना मदद करती है कि उनका काम हल्का हो जाता है। वो मारे-मारे नहीं फिरते फिर। उनको ख़ाली ज़मीन पे पैदा करना है और बेचना-ख़रीदना वो सब और लोग करें। और लोगों से मतलब, उन्हीं के लोग, सहकारी संघ। कितना समय बच जाता है, कितना अधिक वो काम कर सकते हैं और अच्छा काम कर सकते हैं। तो सहकारी संघ आजकल के काम में आवश्यक हो गये।

सहकारी संघ बहुत तरह के होते हैं। एक तो जैसे मैंने आप से कहा ख़ाली रुपया देने के लिए। वो ठीक है देने ही चाहिएँ, क्योंकि वो पुराना दस्तूर है गाँव के बनिये दें। एक ज़माने में ठीक था वो, अब सहकारी संघ को करना है। लेकिन और सब चीज़ें जो आपको आवश्यक हों जो आपको चाहिएँ, आपकी संघ रखेगी। संघ अपनी दुकान रखेगी, सब आपके सामान उसमें मिलेंगे और अगर उस दुकान को फ़ायदा हुआ तो कहाँ जायेगा वो? वो आपको मिलेगा, क्योंकि आप ही की दुकान है, सहकारी संघ की। आप...वहीं गाँव वालों को मिला। तो इसमें कोई बीच वाले नहीं होते कि आपका पेट काटें। बीच में न इधर, न उधर। लाभ होता है तो उन्हीं को होता है जो सदस्य हैं सहकारी संघ के, इसको कहते हैं सहकारी संघ, सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव यानी जो सेवा करे तरह-तरह से, काम करे आपके लिए, और हम चाहते हैं कि एक-एक गाँव में सहकारी संघ हो। देश भर में, देश भर में साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव हैं। कुछ छोटे भी हैं। हम समझते हैं कि देश भर में कोई दो-ढाई लाख सहकारी संघ गाँव के होने चाहिएँ। चाहे ढाई लाख, चाहे तीन लाख हो जायें पता नहीं, इस काम को करने के लिए। अब सहकारी संघ को अधिकार है कि एक और बात करे अगर वो चाहे और वो यह है कि गाँव के खेतों को मिला कर, मिल कर उनको जोते। हरेक किसान की ज़मीन तो उसकी अलग रहेगी ही। अलग उसका हिस्सा रहेगा ज़मीन का। यह नहीं कि उसका हिस्सा कोई ले ले। लेकिन मिल कर खेती करने से देखा गया है कि अधिक पैदा होता है और [जो] ज़मीन ज़ाय़ा होती है खेतों के बीच में, वो भी काम में आ जाती है।

मेरी राय में इससे बहुत लाभ हैं सभी को, लेकिन मैं आपसे इस समय इसके करने के लिए नहीं कहता। अगर आप चाहें तो करें, क्योंकि पहला क़दम यह है कि वो सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव यानी और तरह-तरह की सेवाएँ करने का सहकारी संघ। यह आवश्यक हो गया और इसमें कोई इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि आपको लाभ होगा। आपकी अन्दर की लड़ाइयाँ मिटेंगी और आप अधिक पैदा करेंगे। अधिक धन आपके पास आयेगा और सभी का उसमें लाभ है। और एक और उसमें बात है—यह जो शक्ति बढ़ जाती है गाँव की साथ करने से, फिर गाँव, सारा गाँव, तरक्क़ी करता है। गाँव में वही सहकारी संघ स्कूल बना लें, सड़कें बनेंगी, अस्पताल बनायेगा। खेल-कूद की जगह बनेगी। बच्चों की देख-भाल अधिक होगी। यह सब बातें फिर बढ़ने लगती

हैं, सारे गाँव का रूप बदलने लगता है। यह कभी नहीं हो सकता अगर हरेक आदमी अलग-अलग अपनी कोठरी में बैठ के रहे। यह सहयोग से होता है, मिल के काम करने होता है।

हम तो चाहते हैं कि सारा देश हमारा एक तरह का महान सहकारी संघ हो जाये। इस तरह से देश चले। इस तरह से हमारे प्रदेश चलें। एक और तरह से देश चले। इस तरह से हमारे प्रदेश चलें, प्रान्त चलें। एक और तरह से इस बात को आप देखें। सहकारी संघ क्या है? एक तरह से बड़ा परिवार हो जाता है गाँव का। आप जानते हैं आप लोगों के भी परिवार होंगे जिसमें तीन, चार, पाँच भाई हों। सब मिल के उनके हिस्से तो हैं, लेकिन मिल कर काम करते हैं। तो एक माने में वो पाँच भाइयों का परिवार का सहकारी संघ है। वो ही है न? उससे आपको लाभ होता है। जॉयण्ट हिन्दू फ्रैमिली जिसे कहते हैं, हिन्दुओं में होती है। तो यह कोई नयी चीज़ तो नहीं है। लेकिन आजकल के ज़माने में यह आवश्यक हो गया है।

मैं आपसे फिर साफ़-साफ़ कह देता हूँ कि मिल के खेती करना इस समय आवश्यकता नहीं है। वो बाद में आये, देखा जायेगा। जैसा आप निश्चय करें, सोच-समझ के जहाँ करें, वो होगा। इस समय ज़ोर देना है आप अलग खेती रखें, लेकिन और सब काम मिल कर अपने सहकारी संघ से करें। सहकारी संघ में कौन होगा? आप ही लोग होंगे। आप ही के प्रतिनिधि होंगे, सहकारी संघ में। मैं नहीं चाहता कि कोई अफ़सर हों बाहर के या और बाहर के लोग हों। गाँव के लोग अपने लोगों को चुन कर रखें जिन पर उनको भरोसा हो। अफ़सर लोगों का काम है मदद करना, सलाह देना, हर तरह से सहायता देना। लेकिन आपके वहाँ सहकारी संघ में अफ़सरी करना काम नहीं है, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि लोग अपनी शक्ति से बढ़ें, अपनी ताक़त से। इस तरह से लोग बढ़ते हैं। अफ़सर अच्छा आदमी हो [तो] वो काम कर लेना [लेगा] अच्छा, लेकिन जनता वहीं-वहीं रह जाती है। तो अफ़सर का काम है सलाह देना, बताना, सिखाना, लेकिन दखल नहीं देना काम में। इससे अच्छा है कि अगर हमारे किसान भाई कोई धोखा खायें, ग़लती करें तो करें, क्योंकि फिर दूसरी दफ़े नहीं करेंगे, सीखेंगे। तो इसलिए सहकारी संघ में हम अफ़सरों को नहीं चाहते।

यह बात आपसे कह रहा हूँ इसलिए कि अभी तक जो हमारे जो कोऑपरेटिव या सहकारी संघ रहे, उसमें अफ़सरों का बहुत दखल रहा। वो ठीक नहीं, और जो किसान लोग रहे वो कुछ सहकारी संघ को अपना थोड़े समझते थे। समझते थे एक कोई बड़ा दफ़्तर हमारी छाती पर बैठ गया है आ के। तो यह बात ठीक नहीं है, बड़े दफ़्तर की। वो तो उन्हीं की चीज़ होगी। वो ही चलायेंगे। अच्छा चलायेंगे तो अच्छा, बुरा चलायेंगे तो उसकी हानि होगी उन्हीं की। यह तो मैंने आपसे कहा, लेकिन अगर सहकारी संघ ठीक तौर से चले तब अफ़सरों को और बल्कि आपको, प्रदेश की सरकार को एक बात कहनी है और वो यह कि वो लोगों को सिखायें कि कैसे सहकारी संघ चलते हैं, कैसे कोऑपरेटिव का काम चलता है? यानी लोगों को सिखाने से मतलब है कि सारी जनता को सिखायें। वो तो कठिन है, लेकिन चुने हुए नौजवानों को सिखायें। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि छै महीने का सिखाने का वो एक कोर्स बनायें। लेकिन यह हो



सकता है कि पहले वो एक ही महीने का उन्हें सिखा दें और फिर बाद में हल्के-हल्के लोगों को अधिक दें, क्योंकि वो भी कैसे चलाया जाता है। अपने आप से तो कोई चीज़ चलती नहीं। कोई काम भी अपने आपसे नहीं होता। आप खेती करते हैं तो अपने आपसे कोई थोड़े ही करता है, सीखता है। कोई बढ़ई कुर्सी-मेज़ बनाता है तो सीखता है। तो यह सहकारी संघ चलाना कठिन बात है। इसको भी सीखना चाहिए। जितना सीखा जायेगा, उतना ही आपको लाभ होगा। तो इसलिए राजस्थान को, प्रदेश को, सरकार को चाहिए कि वो यह कोऑपरेटिव का काम कैसे होना चाहिए, उसके लिए प्रबन्ध करे सिखाने का। मैं नहीं कह सकता कितने समय के लिए, जैसा हो सके, क्योंकि हमें जल्दी करना है, लेकिन अच्छा करना है। हो सकता है, शुरू में कुछ अधिक समय नहीं, एक महीने से ज्यादा न दे सकें, लेकिन पक्की तौर से सिखाने में छे महीने लगेंगे। फिर ठीक इसका प्रबन्ध करें।

और दूसरे एक और बात का प्रबन्ध हो सकता है और कुछ हो भी रहा है कि गाँव के पंच वगैरह सब थोड़ा-बहुत समझें। वो चाहे दो-तीन रोज़ के लिए मिलें, समझायें, सीखें, कुछ उन्हें भी मालूम हो। इस ढंग से ही। वो हमारे कम्यूनिटी ब्लॉक जो हैं, यह विकास योजना, इसमें कुछ दिन से पिछले वर्ष से यह हो रहा है कि दो-तीन दिन के लिए पंच लोग मिलते हैं, बातचीत करते हैं। उससे बहुत लाभ हुआ है। यह सिलसिला अभी जारी रहे और वो भी समझें कि सहकारी संघ कैसे चलता है और कैसे नहीं। इस तरह से बढ़ें, क्योंकि इस काम को बहुत जल्दी से बढ़ाना है, तेज़ी से बढ़ाना है, और जितनी तेज़ी से आप बढ़ायेंगे, उतनी ही जल्दी आपको फ़ायदा होगा, लाभ होगा, हर तरह का। आप जानते होंगे कि यों तो पुरानी चीज़ है यह, लेकिन इसका फ़ैसला पक्की तौर से अभी दो महीने हुए, वहाँ नागपुर में बड़ी काँग्रेस का अधिवेशन <sup>64</sup> बहुत सोच-समझ के हुआ, विचार करके। कुछ कमेटियाँ बनायीं, बहुत कुछ बनायीं तो हुआ। अब हो गया तो इसको हमें चलाना है और ज़ोरों से चलाना है। इसलिए मैंने आपको इतना समझाया और आप इसको पूरी तौर पर और तरह से समझें, क्योंकि आपको यह अपनी ज़मीन पर...आपने यहाँ यह करके दिखलाना है और उससे फ़ौरन लाभ होगा।

आपके यहाँ भीलवाड़ा जगह की मैं सुनता हूँ कि पिछले चार-पाँच-छह वर्ष में बहुत बढ़ गया है। कारखाने वगैरह भी बने हैं और भी बढ़ा है, सो अच्छा है। यह एक निशानी है, बढ़ना, अच्छा लगता है, हर चीज़ का। लेकिन मैं तो चाहता हूँ आपके राजस्थान के गाँव-गाँव बढ़ें। यह मेरा मतलब नहीं कि हर गाँव में बड़ा कारखाना हो जाये। वो तो नहीं होगा। लेकिन उद्योग-धन्धे हों, खेती अच्छी हो, छोटे-छोटे उद्योग हों, ग्रामोद्योग हों। छोटी मशीन भी चाहे आ जाये कहीं। हर जगह स्कूल हों, हर जगह पंचायत पक्की हो। हर जगह सहकारी संघ पक्का हो। यह हर जगह और हर गाँव में हो और हर जगह पुरुष-स्त्री सब मिल कर अपने-अपने काम करें और यह बातें और हर गाँव को आप साफ़-सुथरा शुद्ध रखें। यह काम करने वालों की निशानी है कि आपके शहर को या मोहल्ले को या गाँव को खुद साफ़ रखें।

64. The Sixty-fourth Session of the INC was held at Nagpur from 9 to 11 January 1959. See also SWJN/SS/46/pp. 164-261.

बच्चों का मैंने आपको कहा, क्योंकि और कोई काम आप करें-न करें, हमारा पहला कर्तव्य है बच्चों की देख-भाल करना, क्योंकि हमारे आजकल के जो बच्चे हैं, वो कल बड़े होंगे, कल का भारत होगा। अगर हम अभी से बच्चों की देख-भाल ठीक तरह से नहीं करें तो कल का भारत भी ठीक नहीं बनता, इसलिए मुझे बहुत फ़िक्र रहती है और मुझे दुख होता है कि कभी मैं गाँव में जाऊँ या कभी किसी शहर में, मोहल्ले में और देखूँ, कोई बच्चा है जिसको खाना नहीं मिलता, वस्त्र नहीं हैं, पढ़ने का प्रबन्ध नहीं है। स्वास्थ्य का नहीं है। तो मुझे बड़ा दुख होता है। मुझे मालूम होता है कि जो हमारे आने वाला जो भारत है उसको हमने ठेस दी। उसको हम भूल गये, क्योंकि बच्चों, लड़कों के, लड़कियों की आँखों में आने वाला भारत मुझे दिखता है और उसी के लिए तो हम काम कर रहे हैं। तो उसका काम कैसे करेंगे अगर हम आजकल के बच्चों का ठीक प्रबन्ध न करें? ये बातें लम्बी-चौड़ी हमें करनी हैं और प्रेम से करनी हैं। लड़ाई से नहीं। चाहे हिन्दू हो, चाहे मुसलमान हो, चाहे कोई धर्म-जाति का हो, उससे मिलें। अपने-अपने धर्म पे लोग रहें, लेकिन धर्म पे रहने के माने लड़ाई लड़ना नहीं है और याद रखना है कि चाहे कोई धर्म हो भारत के रहने वाले भारत माता के लड़के-लड़कियाँ हैं और यह हमारा बड़ा परिवार है।

आपके यहाँ राजस्थान में और शायद भीलवाड़ा से बहुत दूर नहीं है, नयी-नयी वस्तुएँ मिली हैं, मैंने सुना। एक तो जिसको वेरिल कहते हैं। मैंने पूछा हिन्दी में क्या कहते हैं, कहते हैं नहीं कुछ शब्द है, न सही, खैर, वेरिल तो है क्रीमती चीज़, एक पत्थर, लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया में सबमें जोरदार चीज़ क्या है? वो एक धातु है यूरेनियम, क्योंकि उससे वो सब ऐटम बम वगैरह का सिलसिला शुरू होता है। तो बड़ी क्रीमती चीज़ है वो। सुना, वो भी कहीं आस-पास निकली है।<sup>65</sup> अभी मालूम नहीं कितना निकला है, लेकिन निकला है। तो खैर, निकला है तो उससे आपको लाभ होगा। हम लोग कोई ऐटम बम तो बनायेंगे नहीं उससे। हमारी शक्ति भी हो बनाने की, तब भी हम नहीं बनायेंगे। लेकिन उससे एक नयी शक्ति जो होती है, जो ऐटम बम को चलाती है, उसी शक्ति से हम देश के भले काम कर सकते हैं; जैसे बिजली शक्ति है, बिजली से भले काम होते हैं बहुत कुछ। बिजली एक बहुत मज़बूत, बहुत ज़बरदस्त चीज़ है। तो यह भी एक राजस्थान के लाभ के और भलाई के लिए बात है कि यहाँ यूरेनियम निकला है और यक़ीनन इससे आपको फ़ायदा होगा। तो ये सब बातें तो हैं लाभ और फ़ायदे की।

लेकिन आखिर में बात यह हो जाती है कि हमारे देश की जनता में दम कितना है, शक्ति कितनी है, परिश्रम करने की ताक़त कितनी है और आपस में मिल कर रहने का कितना मादूदा है। यह पक्की बात है, वही लोग दुर्बल हो जायें तो भेड़-बकरी हैं। कोई भी चर जायें आ के, उन्हें गिरा दें। वही लोग मज़बूत हैं, शेर हैं तो फिर उनका नाम हो जाता है, देश बढ़ता है। भारत बहुत बड़ा देश है। लेकिन याद रखो, देश के लम्बे-चौड़े होने से देश बड़ा नहीं होता है।

65. In Umra, Udaipur district, Rajasthan, in 1956.



अंग्रेजों का देश छोटा-सा है। आपके राजस्थान से छोटा है, अंग्रेजों का देश। लेकिन कित्ता बढ़ गया था पिछले ज़माने में। दुनिया में फैला था, क्योंकि मेहनत करने वाले परिश्रमी लोग थे, अक़्तलमन्द लोग थे, विज्ञान की सेवा की दुनिया में, और हिम्मत थी उनमें। हज़ारों, हज़ारों मील पार करके हमारे देश आये। उसी से उनकी हिम्मत थी, एक निशानी थी। ख़ैर, उनकी हिम्मत की निशानी कुछ हो, हमारे लिए अच्छा नहीं था। किसी देश के लिए अच्छा नहीं होता दूसरे देश के अधीन होना। तो हमने उन्हें अलग किया। अलग कर दिया तो हमारी उनकी कोई लड़ाई तो नहीं है। वो अपने घर रहें खुशी से और हम अपने घर रहें और मिला करें जहाँ मिलना हो। लेकिन इससे आप देखेंगे कि देश के बड़े होने से कोई शक्ति नहीं आती है। देश के लोगों के दिल बड़े होने चाहिएँ। देश के लोगों के मन बड़े होने चाहिएँ, दिमाग़ बड़े होने चाहिएँ, और परिश्रमी होने चाहिएँ, तब वो आगे वो बढ़ते हैं।

आपने सुना था पिछली बड़ी लड़ाई हुई थी, बारह वर्ष हुए ख़त्म हुई, तेरह वर्ष हुए। उसमें जर्मनी और जापान तबाह हो गये। उनके सारे बड़े-बड़े शहर मिट्टी के ढेर हो गये। हवाई जहाज़ के बम-गोलों ने उन्हें सब चूर कर दिया। कारख़ाने टूट गये। कुछ न ख़ज़ाने में पैसा, न घर में पैसा या सामान, शहर टूटे। बारह-तेरह, बारह वर्ष की बात है। आजकल आप जाओ जर्मनी या जापान जाओ तो क्या देखो। फिर से बड़े-बड़े शहर खड़े हैं। फिर से कारख़ाने चल रहे हैं और एक खुशहाल, धनवान, बलवान देश फिर है। दस-बारह वर्ष के अन्दर उन्होंने फिर से खड़ा कर लिया, क्योंकि परिश्रमी आदमी हैं; उन्होंने दिन-रात मेहनत की, जर्मन लोगों ने। एक तो वे सीखे हुए आदमी थे, पहले से सीखे हुए हैं, परिश्रमी आदमी थे। दिन-रात मेहनत की उन्होंने और फिर से खड़ा कर दिया अपने देश को वैसे ही। इस तरह जापान वालों ने भी कर दिया। हारे हुए लोग, जीते हुए लोगों से अधिक आगे हो गये अपनी मेहनत से। तो परिश्रम और मेहनत से है।

आजकल हमारे देश में बड़ी शिकायत होती है, यह क्यों नहीं ठीक हुआ, वो ख़राब हुआ, यह नहीं ठीक, वो नहीं। चारों तरफ़ से शिकायत है। तो मुझे शिकायत बुरी नहीं लगती है, क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ लोग आँखें खोल के रहें। कोई बात ख़राब हो तो उसको बतायें। इसी तरह बहुत बातें ख़राब होती हैं। यह तो ठीक है, लेकिन अगर आपको आदत हो जाये, लोगों को ख़ाली कोसने की तो यह तो एक ज़रा कोई जवानों की बातें नहीं हैं कि जिनके हाथ-पैर नहीं चलते और बैठे कोसा करें औरों को। वो हो जाती है और बात। देश में हमारे यहाँ, हमारे देश में बहुत ख़राबियाँ हैं, दुर्बलता, कमज़ोरी, बहुत अच्छाइयाँ हैं। बहुत बातों में हम सफल नहीं हुए हैं। बहुत बातों में हम इतने सफल हुए हैं कि दुनिया को आश्चर्य होता है। सभी बातें हैं। सभी बातों को देखना है। लेकिन एक और बात है कि हरेक आदमी माँगता है कुछ; मुझे यह चाहिए, हमें यह चाहिए। हमारी माँग यह है, फ़ौरन दो; नहीं दोगे तो हम हड़ताल करेंगे; नहीं दोगे तो हम एक जुलूस निकालेंगे; नहीं दोगे तो हम यह करेंगे, वो करेंगे। यहाँ तक कि कुछ बाज़ लोग तो भूख-हड़ताल की भी धमकी देते हैं, करने की। अजीब तमाशा है। हरेक की माँग है। लेकिन आप याद रखें कि एक हक़ आपका है। हरेक आदमी का हक़ होता है जैसे मैं कहूँ आपका हक़

है आज़ादी का, स्वतन्त्रता का। आपका हक़ है, आपके बहुत सारे और हक़ हैं। एक यह हक़ है। लेकिन हरेक हक़ के साथ कोई चीज़ बँधी होती है। कर्तव्य बँधा होता है। हक़ कोई किसी को नहीं मिलता जब तक अपना कर्तव्य का पालन न करें। तो इसलिए अगर हम लोग कुछ दिन अपना कर्तव्य, देश के साथ जो कर्तव्य हैं, उनका पालन न करें तो फिर हमारे हक़ तो हमें नहीं मिल सकते।

खैर, मैंने आपके यहाँ करीब घण्टे भर से, आपसे बोल रहा हूँ और मैं तो बड़े आराम से बैठा हूँ साये में। आप कड़ी दुपहरिया की धूप में बैठे हैं, मालूम नहीं कब से बैठे हैं। मैंने तो आते ही बड़ी शिकायत की कि कौन-सा समय सभा करने का कि दो-तीन बजे सभा करना। तेज़-से-तेज़ धूप होती है। इन्होंने कहा और कोई समय नहीं मिला। बाज़ लोगों ने बहाना यह किया कि अरे साहब, बहुत लोग दूर से आते हैं और चाहते हैं जल्दी चले जायें कि रात न हो जाये। खैर, जो कुछ हुआ, उस वक़्त तो सभा टल नहीं सकती थी कि समय हो गया था और मैं आपका बहुत कृतज्ञ हूँ कि आप इस धूप में यहाँ बैठे, तकलीफ़ में और इतनी शान्ति से बैठे और सुना जो कुछ मैंने आपसे कहा। कुछ बातें मैंने आपसे कहीं। बहुत सारी बातें मन में रहती हैं और जी चाहता है कि आपसे कहूँ। आपका शायद सुनूँ। लेकिन समय नहीं मिलता, क्योंकि मैं तो सारे भारत को देखता हूँ। एक बड़ा भारी परिवार है। हम सब उसमें हैं। अलग-अलग धर्म के, अलग-अलग जाति के, अलग पेशों के, अलग-अलग प्रदेशों के और अलग-अलग भाषाओं के और हम सब लोग एक बड़ी यात्रा पर हैं। पहले हमारी यात्रा थी स्वराज की। वहाँ पहुँच गये। सो उससे लम्बी यात्रा उठायी है, जिसमें सारे चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को आगे बढ़ना है। ऐसी जगह जहाँ सारे देश की सब जनता खुशहाल हो जाये। एक नया बड़ा सफ़र है और ज्यों-ज्यों हम इस काम को पूरा करते हैं, हमारी शक्ति बढ़ती है। कोई काम पूरा करें।

मैंने कहा कि आजकल के बड़े-बड़े मन्दिर जो हमारे हैं वो ऐसी जगह हैं जो कि बन रहे हैं, जहाँ कि जनता को लाभ हो। यह पंजाब में बड़ी नदी की योजना है, भाखड़ा नांगल है, जिससे बहुत नहरें निकल कर राजस्थान तक आयेंगी। दो-तीन वर्ष हुए, मैंने जा के उसको खोला था तो मैंने कहा था यह भाखड़ा नांगल बड़ा मन्दिर है,<sup>66</sup> क्योंकि इससे हमारे देश में खेती में किसानों को पानी जायेगा और हमारे देश की जनता के परिश्रम से बना है। इससे बड़ा मन्दिर क्या हो सकता है? हमारे बड़े-बड़े कारखाने लोहे के बन रहे हैं। हज़ारों आदमी काम कर रहे हैं। वो भी एक तरह के मन्दिर हैं, क्योंकि एक निशानी है नये भारत की।

अक्सर लोग जाते हैं आजकल भारत दर्शन करने, फिरते हैं। पुराने, पुराने यात्रा स्थान जाते हैं, काशी, प्रयाग और जगन्नाथ पुरी और द्वारिका और अमरनाथ और कहाँ-कहाँ, बद्रीनाथ, वो ठीक है। लेकिन अब आजकल वो भारत दर्शन के सिलसिले में यात्रा को जाते हैं। यहाँ भी जाते हैं। भाखड़ा नांगल जाते हैं, चितरंजन जहाँ रेलगाड़ियाँ, रेल के इंजन बन रहे हैं और सिन्दरी जहाँ के खाद बड़ी बन रही है किसानों के लिए और कितनी ही और जगह हैं।

66. See SWJN/ SS/26/ pp.130-143.



बड़े-बड़े स्थान, उनको देखने, नये मन्दिरों को देखने हमारे जो कि देश की भलाई के लिए बन रहे हैं। तो यह सब हो रहा है। सब देश में उलट-पुलट है, आगे बढ़ रहे हैं और कुछ लोग ठोकर खा कर गिर जाते हैं। फिर उठ के चलते हैं। लेकिन आखिर में हमारा देश चल रहा है और देश के चालीस करोड़ आदमी इस यात्रा में बढ़ते जाते हैं और उसमें हम और आप भी हैं। तो बजाय इसके कि हम एक तरह से ढकेले जायें, घसीटे जायें, हमें भी ज़रा ज़ोरों से क़दम उठा के चलना है उस पर। इसी के माने हैं परिश्रम करना है।

बस, अब मैं ख़त्म करता हूँ और कल सवेरे मैं आपके भीलवाड़ा से चला जाऊँगा बम्बई। कुछ और वहाँ लोगों से मिलने, कुछ और एक हमारे देश का दूसरा चित्र देखने और अपनी कहानी वहाँ भी सुनाने। जय हिन्द!

अब आप मेरे साथ कहिए जय हिन्द तीन बार। जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters, brothers and children,

Some time has passed since I came to Rajasthan<sup>67</sup> and probably this is my first visit to Bhilwara. I came here to attend a conference of the Bharat Sewak Samaj.<sup>68</sup> But the truth is that it was not the conference that brought me here. That was only an excuse to come to this famous land again and meet all of you, because there is nobody in the whole of India who does not have a place in his heart for Rajasthan and especially Mewar. This has always been the land of heroes and there are innumerable tales told of brave warriors and heroic women.

So, I have come here today and will be with you for a short while and speak to you. But the fact of the matter is that I want to know the answer to one question from you. Are the people of Mewar and Rajasthan, whose story is the story of India, prepared to prove their mettle today in the modern times? How many of you, men and women and boys and girls, are filled with a passion to do brave deeds? I do not mean the bravery of the old days when people fought their enemies with swords. Those days are gone. But there is another type of valour which is even more difficult; that is to serve the nation in a peaceful way. To serve the people of Rajasthan and the people of India and to take on the burden of the great tasks which confront us today. India has seen many ups and downs in her long history and accomplished innumerable great tasks. But, in a sense, there has never been a greater task before the country than the one which faces it today.

67. See fn 56 in this section.

68. See fn 57 in this section.

We have never had to fight such a great battle as we have to do today. Whom are we fighting against? Not against another nation or race, but against the poverty which afflicts India today; against our weakness, against all the things responsible for the downtrodden condition of the country. We must remove them and make India a strong and prosperous nation once again. India is a vast country—ranging from Kashmir in the North and the snow-clad peaks of the Himalayas to Kanyakumari and almost the tip of Sri Lanka in the South. It is a vast country surrounded by the sea on two sides and the Himalayas on the third. India has grown up in the cradle of oceans while the Himalayas stood sentinel on the North. Our ancestors too were great like the mighty oceans and the great Himalayas.

But ultimately, it is not the Himalayas or the oceans which are going to protect or succour us. It is the people who must do so. We often shout slogans of Bharat Mata Ki Jai. Who is Bharat Mata? Is she a woman or a goddess who is hiding somewhere? Bharat Mata is you and you and I. All of us, the millions of people who live in the country, are Bharat Mata. Irrespective of their religion, caste, province or language, everyone who lives in India together constitutes India. Please remember that. You must not think that the people of Rajasthan are more Indian than the people of Bombay or Uttar Pradesh. All of us are equal, irrespective of caste, religion and province and India does not belong solely to any one of us. It would be wrong to think so. People belonging to all the provinces and religions, whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis or Sikhs, are the citizens of India and have equal rights in the country and we are all one large family.

The caste system has existed in India for centuries. At the time when it was first established it may have been relevant. But now it has absolutely no meaning in a world which has changed so much. Today nobody would be prepared to accept the suppression of some sections of society by the other, the so-called higher castes. In today's world, it is merit and intelligence that count; and the men and women who have the capacity to work hard are more important; those who have the spirit of service to the country, are held in respect. Who is the most important man in the country? It is our President, Babu Rajendra Prasad. But he is no king or emperor. He's not even a jagirdar. He had a small land-holding in Bihar. Why then does the country respect him? Why has he been accorded the highest honour in the land? It is because he has been serving the people of India for the last fifty years; because he is intelligent. He has devoted his entire life to serving the country and that is why the country respects him and has accorded him the highest position in the land. He is the first citizen of the country, not because of his caste or religion or family but because he has served the country well.



There are many children present here today who must be studying in schools and colleges. If they have the mental and physical ability and character and can serve the people well, they can also aspire to the highest position in the land, that of the President of India. It is open to everyone who has the ability, irrespective of religion, or caste and has earned the respect of the people by serving them. So you must not think that because you happen to be Bhils or Gujars or belong to some other tribe, or Rajputs, you cannot qualify. Some people feel that the tribals are backward and it is true because they have not had the opportunity to progress. But if one of the Bhil boys is intelligent and able, the door is open to him to become the President of India. So can a Gujar. What is the yardstick that we apply to judge people? It is not by their caste or wealth but by their character, ability to work, spirit of sacrifice, etc. So please understand this.

So, as I told you, we are facing the biggest challenge today in the thousands of years of our history and we are engaged in a great battle, not with another country, but with the poverty and weaknesses which afflict the country. It is a very difficult battle because it cannot be won by slogans or a temporary deed of valour, but only through hard work. We will have to work very hard, not for a day or a month or a year but for a long, long time to build a new India, a strong, prosperous, self-reliant nation. It means that the sufferings of the people must be removed and they should get the opportunity to progress.

How many people live in India? Almost forty crore people live here. It is one-seventh of the whole world. So, it is a gigantic task to uplift forty crore people. It is not as if I can provide jobs for all of them. How can I give jobs to forty crore people? They will have to work hard and find new avenues of employment. They can work on land, industries, and cottage industries and do fifty other things. There are thousands of tasks which are essential in a society and the more work that is done the faster the society will grow. It is a big task and we have to make arrangements to see that it is done properly. When you fight a war with an enemy, it is the commander of the army who decides how the troops should move and attack, etc. Similarly, we will have to decide what our priorities are and the direction in which we should progress, etc., in our great battle against poverty and disease.

It is for this that we have drawn up, as you must have heard, the five year plans which chalk up programmes for five years and decide where the emphasis should be. The First Plan is over and as you must have heard, it has been extremely successful. Two and a half years of the Second Plan have gone by and in spite of the innumerable difficulties, we have been progressing. What were the difficulties? In the first five years, we had still not come to grips with the enemy and so our task was easier. Now that we are progressing, the battle is

growing tougher and the difficulties are also multiplying. This is the true test of our strength. If we reach our goal very easily, there would be no problem at all. So now we are on the Second Plan and are already thinking of the Third Plan. The period from now to the end of the Third Plan will be the most crucial and difficult for us. We must work hard and bear hardships so that we can be victorious in our battle. There will still be a great deal to do. But then the things to be done would be different. I do not promise that you will be able to relax completely in the future. Rather I have come to invite all of you, brave men and women of India, to participate in this great Mahabharat war against poverty and weakness. We will have to work hard in mutual cooperation and unity. After all, we will be working for our own people in the villages and the provinces and which will benefit all of us. We want to do things which may benefit India and the world and cause harm to none. But it requires tremendous hard work, too.

You just saw some village leaders getting prizes.<sup>69</sup> They were selected for the good work they have done in the community projects, particularly on the land, in boundary work, in contour bunding which will benefit their fields as well as their villages and the adjoining areas too. So, they have done a great service to the people. A great deal remains to be done in this direction. In the past, the land belonged to the princes and jagirdars who may have been good people. We had no quarrel with them but the entire system had become anomalous in today's conditions. Times have changed and the world changes constantly. We also change daily, as we grow from childhood to adulthood, become old and then die. The entire social organisation is constantly changing. The caste system is fast disappearing. Similarly, the time has now gone when women would remain inside their houses in purdah. Today every single man and woman has to be in the forefront with heads held high, with no sign of weakness. This is the kind of people that we need in India. We will have to give up the old habits of purdah and what not. You can rest assured that none of the girls who go to schools will agree to being in purdah. If somebody tries to force them, they will revolt and rightly so. So, as you can see, the society is changing all around us. India and the world are changing.

You read in the newspapers about rockets being sent to the moon. The stories of mythology that we used to read in our childhood have become pale compared to what is happening today. If we fail to understand this extraordinary world of ours, we will remain backward as we did in the past. We became weak and laid ourselves open to foreign invasions. If we continue to show weakness, we will again become vulnerable. You cannot achieve anything by shouting

69. See fn 58 in this section.



slogans. Our youth seems to have become accustomed to shouting slogans. We will have to work hard to progress in all directions and the most important thing is to produce more wealth in the country by increasing production of goods.

What is the wealth of a nation? It is not gold or silver which are merely tools of trade. The wealth of a nation consists of the goods produced from land and from industries and by other sources. The village industries which used to flourish in the old days came to a standstill during the days of the British and we began to buy British goods. Some industries are now coming up, but they are not enough. We need big industries, machine making industries, because we cannot progress unless we produce machines ourselves. The real industries and factories are those which make machines. We cannot keep importing them from Germany and England. India can progress only when we have built the foundations of basic industries. We must produce steel in large quantities, big machines, power, etc, which will add to our strength and wealth and at the same time provide employment to millions of people. As you know, today there is great unemployment in the country. So we have to take up all these tasks. I will not go into the details. Our main aim should be to work for the benefit and progress of the country. In the beginning we are bound to face great hardships and difficulties and we will have to work very hard. If we work only as much as we do today, our earnings will remain the same. There will be no increase in that except perhaps when the crops are exceptionally good. But generally speaking, our income will remain what it is and so will the poverty in the country.

Moreover, you must remember that no matter what our income is, the population is constantly increasing by fifty-sixty lakhs a year. Consequently, the number of mouths to be fed increases enormously every year. Not only that, they have to be clothed, have houses, health care facilities, schools and what not. So our expenditure increases and if the income does not keep pace with it, we will become poorer day by day. We must produce enough not only to keep pace with the growing population, but have a surplus in order to invest in the tasks of development, whether it is building more schools, industries, hospitals or something else. All this is possible only when production increases and there is a surplus in the country. Therefore,, the problem of how to increase production is the most urgent one in India today.

I feel that we have very few industries for a country of the size of India. We must expand them and we are doing so. But it requires large investments. We are putting up four huge steel plants which will require more than five hundred crores of rupees.<sup>70</sup> Just imagine, it is an enormous amount for a poor country

70. See fn 59 in this section.

like ours. But we had to do it, because industrialisation is not possible without steel. The modern world is entirely dependent on steel and if we do not produce enough of it, we will have to import it. That means a great drain on our precious foreign exchange. Therefore, we decided that we would tighten our belts and somehow find the money for the steel plants. The investment is very heavy and the plants will take years to complete. But once they are completed, there will be tremendous benefit to the whole country. The national wealth will increase and the country will progress rapidly. Therefore, the essential requisites for progress are hard work and large investments initially. The benefit will follow years later. We are setting up large industries and setting up river valley projects, etc. One big canal is being built here in Rajasthan which will turn the arid deserts into green fields.<sup>71</sup> It will be a great achievement. But it requires enormous investments which is a big problem. Another big dam is being built on the river Chambal which will benefit Madhya Pradesh as well as Rajasthan.<sup>72</sup>

What is your role in all these great tasks? I cannot give you a clear-cut answer, because you must be doing different tasks. But as I told you, one basic requirement is to increase agricultural production if we want to start new industries, etc. In the last two, three years the crops have failed and we have had to import food grains worth crores of rupees. This has brought many of our schemes to a halt. But there was no choice. The first priority, therefore, is to produce as much as we can from land. We should produce enough for the requirements of the growing population and there should be a surplus which we can export and get other necessary items like machinery in lieu of it.

I think all of you must be aware that we do not produce enough from land. The average yield per acre is very little compared to other countries. We can easily increase it if we use good seeds, fertilizers, better ploughs, etc. I do not say that everyone must use big tractors and what not. I mentioned contour bunding just now. If such measures are adopted, the production can easily be doubled or even trebled. It has been done wherever the effort has been made. Recently a big farm has been started here at Suratgarh.<sup>73</sup> I have heard that the crop is standing twelve feet high where it used to grow to three or four feet. The soil was excellent and a little bit of irrigation has done this trick. Soon Rajasthan will have plenty of water, some through canals and by digging tube-

71. See fn 60 in this section.

72. See fn 61 in this section.

73. See fn 62 in this section.



wells all over the state. The soil is very good. We need strong hard-working men and women because it is human beings who make machines and not the other way round. Therefore, I want you to understand what is happening in the country and explain it to others in the villages and cities where you live and then participate in these tasks together. We have established the Bharat Sewak Samaj not to give special position or kudos to a few, but to provide a forum for those who are interested in serving the country. We want them to work for the upliftment of the rural areas and new avenues of work which will benefit everyone.

I would like to ask the people of Rajasthan what their role should be in all this. Good work is already being done in this State which has made some progress in the last ten years or so. But a great deal still remains to be done. So, you must work hard. I have come here to invite all of you; not only the men, but the women, too, to participate in these tasks. Indian women, particularly the women of Rajasthan are extremely brave, and there are innumerable legends of their courage and bravery. But the men have suppressed them in the past and not allowed them to develop. This cannot go on any longer. The women must also be educated and trained to participate in the national tasks. I want that illiteracy should be put an end to in India as quickly as possible. Everybody in the country must learn to read and write though it is difficult to teach grown-ups. There should be no child in the country that is not educated. Only then can India progress as the other countries have done.

You must have heard how England and the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan, France, Germany, etc., have advanced. It is because they are extremely well-educated and have taken advantage of the modern scientific discoveries that have taken place in the world. They have adopted the modern techniques of production and technological advances to make their countries powerful and wealthy. So we must also educate the children and train their minds to grasp the advance made in the world in the field of science and technology. That does not mean that everybody should move to the cities. We must improve the condition of the rural areas. Only then will India progress. There should be good houses in the villages, good facilities for education and health-care, employment opportunities, etc.

As I was saying, it is extremely important to increase agricultural production as much as possible. I will tell you how it can be done. I asked someone if jowar is grown in this area and was told that it is grown around Kota. Then I asked how much jowar was grown per acre, to which the reply was six maunds. In some areas it may go up to ten or twelve maunds. But a very good friend of mine, who keeps himself abreast of modern scientific developments, has been engaged for the last twenty-twenty five years in the task of finding ways of

increasing agricultural production.<sup>74</sup> Recently he came to me and told me about the experiments he had made in growing hybrid jowar, by introducing a new streak from the United States also. Can anyone guess how much he has been able to produce from one acre of land? He has produced 120 maunds of jowar per acre. Just imagine the difference between six or ten maunds and one hundred and twenty maunds per acre. It shows the tremendous scope there is for improvement. The same thing is possible with wheat and other crops. We can definitely increase production if we make the effort.

There was a grievance among people here that the zamindari and jagirdari systems had been abolished. Now the complaint is against land ceiling. I do not know exactly what will happen but some steps will definitely be taken. After all, the land is not taken away free. They do not seem to realise that the majority of the farmers in India do not possess more than an acre or two of land. This is by and large the average, because the pressure on land is very great. The situation is not the same in Rajasthan because there are vast, arid deserts here. But here people do not seem to realise that they can increase the production from land enormously if they adopt new and modern techniques of agriculture and work hard. What is the sense in having large tracts of land if the production is very low? If you go to Japan, you will find that not even an inch of land is wasted. Even the land which is one yard away from the railway line is cultivated. In India, a great deal of land is wasted. In Japan, you will find the land on both sides of the road under cultivation because they do not want to waste even an inch of land. Their aim is to produce as much as they can and they succeed very well. They produce four times as much as we do from one acre of land.

There is one more thing. If each individual farmer works separately on one or two acres of land, he will not have the capacity to do very much or the wherewithal to adopt new and modern, scientific techniques. He cannot afford good tools, good seeds and fertilizers, etc, even if he gets some governmental help. Therefore, it is essential to form cooperative societies particularly in the field of agriculture. I do not like the idea of very large cooperatives. There have been cooperative societies earlier too but they were basically credit cooperatives. That is not enough. Small cooperatives should be formed in each village or with two villages together so that they can help the farmers with the buying of seeds, fertilizers, implements, etc., and also in selling their produce.

Cooperative societies are very common all over the world. You will find them everywhere in Europe. The farmers inform the cooperative societies about

74. See fn 63 in this section.



their requirements which are delivered at their doorstep. They send the produce to the societies which sell it. Their cows produce much more milk than we get in India. Here we only seem to worship them and do not know how to look after them. In Europe, the cattle are extremely well looked after. The same thing is true of poultry. The cooperative societies collect the milk and eggs and their products from their doorsteps and sell them. The accounts are settled later every week or so. So, what I mean to say is that the cooperative societies help in so many ways that the load on the farmers is lightened. They do not have to go from pillar to post trying to sell their produce. Their job is to produce as much as they can and the cooperative societies take care of the other things. This saves their time and so they are able to work very efficiently. Therefore, cooperative societies have become very essential in the modern world.

Cooperative societies can be of various kinds. One, as I told you, is the credit cooperative, which gives loans, etc., which is all right, because it takes the place of the old moneylenders. But the cooperative societies should take up other tasks too. They should sell all the goods that the farmers produce. In this way, the profits go to the farmers and the middlemen have no role to play. The profit is shared by the members of the cooperative society. These are known as service cooperatives which take care of the various requirements of the farmers. We want that there should be a cooperative society in every village in the country. There are five and a half lakh villages in India, some of them very small ones. So we estimate that there should be at least two and a half or three lakh cooperative societies in the country. The cooperative societies have the right to take up joint cultivation if they so wish. The title of the farmer to the land will remain intact. There need be no fear on that score. But joint cultivation increases production enormously.

However, I have not come here to urge you to take up joint cultivation. You can do so if you wish. The service cooperative is the first step and other things will follow. There is no doubt about it that cooperation has become very essential and will benefit you enormously. The internal wrangling will become less and you will be able to produce more, your wealth will increase, and everyone will benefit in the process. Moreover, once the people of a village learn to work as a cooperative, there can be rapid progress. Schools and hospitals, roads, playgrounds, etc., can be built by the cooperative society. The children will be better looked after. All this will gradually transform the face of the rural areas. It cannot be done if each individual works in a separate compartment. It can be done only through cooperation and unity. We want that the whole country should become a large cooperative society in a sense.

You must look at it from another angle. It is like a large joint family in a sense, in the village. If there are several brothers in a family they work together

and share the profits. So, in a sense, it is a cooperative society of five brothers, is it not? The joint Hindu family is disintegrating now. But it has become very important in the social milieu today. Let me tell you once again quite clearly that it is not necessary to take up joint cultivation at the moment. It can come later and the people can decide for themselves. At the moment the emphasis should be on forming cooperative societies. After all, the members will be the villagers themselves and it will be governed by their own representatives. I do not want too much official interference. The villagers must choose people in whom they have trust and confidence. The job of government officials is to help and give advice in every possible way. But the cooperative societies should not be run by them because we want the people to become strong by shouldering responsibilities themselves. A good officer may be able to run the cooperatives very well, but the people remain where they are. So there should be no official interference. It is preferable that the villagers should make mistakes and learn from them.

I am pointing this out because so far there has been tremendous official interference in the cooperative societies which is not right. The farmers do not think of them as their own institutions if the officers run the whole show. This is not proper. The farmers must run the cooperative societies themselves. If they do it well, they will benefit. If not, they will suffer losses. However, in order that the cooperative societies may function well, the state governments must train the people to run them. It may be difficult to train everyone. But specially selected individuals can be trained. I suggest that a six-month course is drawn up. But to begin with, even a month's training should be enough. After all, the cooperative societies cannot function without training. In fact, you need training for anything that you may wish to do, whether it is farming or carpentry or something else. So training is essential to run the cooperative societies and the more trained the people are, the better they will function. Therefore, the Government of Rajasthan must make arrangements for training people. I cannot say for how long they should be trained, because we must start the work immediately. In the beginning it may not be possible to do more than a month but it will take at least six months to train them properly.

Secondly, the village panch should be given training as it is already being done in camps, etc., even though very briefly. Such camps have been held in community blocks and national extension schemes which have been of great use. This should be continued so that the panchayats may understand how the cooperatives should function. We must expand this work as quickly as possible because the faster it grows, the more we will all stand to gain. As you know, the idea is a very old one. But the decision to do it was finally taken at the Nagpur Session of the Congress two or three months ago, after a great deal of



deliberation.<sup>75</sup> A committee was formed to go into the whole thing. Now that the decision has been taken, it should be implemented quickly. It will show immediate results.

I have heard that Bhilwara has grown a great deal in the last five-six years. Several industries have been set up and more are coming up which is a very good sign. But I want that every single village in Rajasthan must grow. I do not say that there should be big industries in every village. Small-scale industries can be set up with small machines and agriculture should be improved. There should be a school, a panchayat and a cooperative society in every village. The men and women in the villages must learn to cooperate with one another, to keep their villages and streets and houses clean.

I have already talked about children. Our most important duty is to look after the children, because the children of today are the future of India. If we do not look after them properly today, the future of the country will not be good either. This bothers me greatly and I feel very upset when I see a child in a village or a city who is not properly fed or clothed, has no facilities for education, health care, etc. I feel that we are jeopardising the country's future if we forget the children of today. I see the shape of India of tomorrow mirrored in the eyes of the little boys and girls around me. We will not be doing our duty if we fail to make proper arrangements for their upbringing. These are the tasks which we have to do, in mutual affection in spite of caste and religion, etc. People are welcome to follow their own religions, but that does not mean that they should fight with people of other religions. We must remember that everyone who lives in this country is an Indian irrespective of his religion and we are one large family.

I have heard that all kinds of new minerals are being discovered in Rajasthan, not very far from Bhilwara. There is something called beryl. I asked what it is called in Hindi? They say they do not know. Anyhow, it is a very valuable kind of stone. But what is the most precious thing in the world today? It is uranium which is used for making atom bombs. I have heard that some uranium has been discovered in Rajasthan.<sup>76</sup> Not that we are going to produce an atom bomb; even if we have the capacity, we shall not do so. But we can use atomic energy in various other ways. It is a great source of power like electricity. Therefore, it is a great thing for Rajasthan that uranium deposits have been found here and the state is bound to benefit.

However, ultimately the thing that counts is the strength and ability of the people to work hard and to remain united. Numbers are of no use if they are

75. See fn 64 in this section.

76. See fn 65 in this section.

weak, because they will be more like sheep and vulnerable to attack. It is only when the people are strong that their country can progress. India is a huge country. But mere size and numbers do not make a country great. England is a very small country, smaller than your Rajasthan. Yet it advanced and grew powerful and soon had half the world under its control. It is only because the people were hard-working, intelligent and daring, and served the cause of science well. They had the courage to cross thousands of miles of uncharted seas. Anyhow, they came and conquered India which was not good for us. It is not a good thing for anyone to be under the domination of another country. Anyhow, we became free. But no trace of hostility or bitterness lingers. England is welcome to do what she wants and we go our own way and wherever it is possible, we cooperate. Well, as I was saying, mere size and numbers do not make a country great. The people must be large-hearted, broad-minded and hard-working in order to be able to progress.

You must have heard about the Second World War which ended twelve-thirteen years ago. Germany and Japan had been completely ruined by it. Their cities had been razed to the ground and aerial bombing had destroyed their industries completely. There was no money in the treasury and thousands of people were rendered destitute and homeless. All this took place only twelve-thirteen years ago. Today if you go to Japan or Germany, you find that once again they have a thriving economy with huge cities and industries and both the countries are strong, prosperous and wealthy. They have achieved this within twelve-thirteen years because they are both hard-working nations with trained and skilled people. They have been able to put their countries on their feet once again by working day and night. Today the once-vanquished countries are even more advanced than the victors because of the hard work that they have put in.

In India, complaints can be heard in all directions. They may be justified and I do not object to complaints. I want people to be vigilant and point out mistakes. It is not a good thing to get into the habit of complaining all the time. There are no doubt innumerable weaknesses and defects as well as some good qualities. We have succeeded in many things and not succeeded in others. People are surprised at the progress we have made. So, all these things must be weighed in the balance. Moreover, every individual has some demand or the other and often there is a threat to go on strike, processions are taken out and what not. Some people keep threatening to go on hunger-strike. The whole thing is extraordinary. But let me remind you that while every individual has certain rights in a free country, they are irrevocably tied to certain duties. There can be no right unless certain duties are discharged. Therefore, we must first discharge our duties to the nation to earn these rights.

Well, I have been speaking to you for over an hour, sitting comfortably in



the shade while you are out under the hot, afternoon sun. I do not know how long you have been there. I protested the moment I learnt that a meeting was to be held in the afternoon and was told that no other time was available. Another excuse that was given was that people who come from far off places wish to return home before dark. Well, whatever it was, the meeting could not be postponed and I am grateful to you for sitting here patiently in this heat and listening to me. There are many thoughts that I wish to share with you. But generally there is very little time, because I have to think of this whole country. India is like a large family with people of different religions, occupations, provinces, languages and castes living together. We are embarked on a long and arduous journey today. The journey towards swaraj has been completed and now the second one involves the upliftment of forty crore human beings. We want everyone to become prosperous and the faster we complete the tasks before us, the stronger we will be.

I said elsewhere that the modern temples in India are those which are being built for the good of the people like the river valley schemes all over the country. The Bhakra-Nangal in the Punjab will supply water for irrigation right up to Rajasthan. Two, three years ago, when I inaugurated it, I had called Bhakra-Nangal the modern temple of India, because it has been built by the hard work of the people and will benefit the farmers in the country.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, there are huge steel plants being set up in which thousands of people are working. They are also temples in a way because they are symbols of a new India. People go on Bharat darshan tours nowadays which are like the pilgrimages of old, when people would go to Prayag, Puri, Dwaraka, Amarnath and Badrinath. Today, more and more people are visiting the Bhakra-Nangal or Chittaranjan where railway engines are being built, or the fertilizer factory in Sindri and various other places. There is a movement all over the country. People stumble and fall and then go ahead. All of us are involved in this mighty task of uplifting the country and we must march in step.

Now I shall end. I shall go to Bombay tomorrow to see a different picture of India and to talk to the people. Jai Hind! Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

77. See fn 66 in this section.

## (iii) Bombay

8. Public Meeting<sup>78</sup>

प्यारी बहनो और भाइयो,  
मैं जब-जब बम्बई आता हूँ तो एक बड़ी सभा होती है तो चौपाटी के मैदान में; अब की बार इस तरफ़ हुई तो यह अच्छा हुआ, लेकिन इसमें मुझसे पूछा तो गया था, मेरा कोई जवाब नहीं मिला था कुछ। लेकिन मुझे यह बात पसन्द आयी, क्योंकि बहुत सारे भाई, हमारे कामगार भाई जो इधर रहते हैं, उनसे मिलने की मेरी ख्वाहिश, मेरी इच्छा, [थी] और बड़े शहर में, एक जगह सारे शहर के लोग तो नहीं आ सकते।

तो आज मैं आपके पास आया तो मैं सोचता था क्या आपसे कहूँ। कहने की बातें तो बहुत सारी हैं, उनमें से किस बात को चुनूँ। आप लोगों के सवाल होंगे, हमेशा रहते हैं, प्रश्न, सवाल, बहुत सारे होंगे, आपके ट्रेड यूनियन के सामने आते होंगे, और उसमें आपके नाते में जो आपके कारखाने में हों, कारखाने के मालिकों से, और ऊँच-नीच होती रहती है। तो उसके बारे में तो मैं कुछ कह नहीं सकता, इस समय क्या है, क्या नहीं है, मुझे कुछ खास मालूम नहीं, लेकिन मोटी बात तो मुझे अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि क्या ये नाता, ये रिश्ता क्या होना चाहिए। कहाँ हम जा रहे हैं, किधर जा रहे हैं, किधर जाने की हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए। क्या बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न देश के सामने हैं।

मोटे तौर से कहा जाय कि जब स्वराज आ गया तो बड़ा प्रश्न देश के सामने यह रहा कि कैसे सारे भारत की जनता का उद्धार हो; कैसे भारत, जो एक पिछड़ा हुआ देश है, आगे बढ़े; कैसे हमारे जो छत्तीस-सैंतीस करोड़ लोग देश भर में रहते हैं, उनकी हालत अच्छी हो, उनकी दरिद्रता दूर हो, रोज़गार सभी को मिले। ये सीधे-से सवाल, कैसे हों, यह कठिन बात है। और देश हमारे सामने, जो कि खुशहाल देश हैं, अमरीका है, अंग्रेज़ों का देश है, जर्मनी है, फ़्रांस है, और यूरोप के अक्सर देश हैं, उधर रूस भी खुशहाल हो गया है, रूस देश; और भी हैं। तो क्या बात कि वो खुशहाल हों और हम न हों। पहले यह कह सकते थे कि हमारे देश पर दूसरे लोगों का राज है, इसलिए हम नहीं होते और बात ठीक थी। अब वो तो हट गये। अब अगर कोई बात न हो तो हमारा कुसूर है, किसी दूसरे देश का नहीं; तो हमें उसका उपाय ढूँढना है और ये बात कोई हमारे-आपके आपस के अन्दरूनी झगड़े से अलग है। आप कोई हड़ताल करें या कोई और झगड़ा आपका हो, वो अलग है, क्योंकि यह बात तो आ जाती है किसी एक-दूसरे, आपस के नहीं, बल्कि सारे देश में धन अधिक पैदा हो। सारे देश में एक सामान पैदा हो, सभी तो। खाली यह सवाल नहीं है कि देश में धन है और उस धन का वँटवारा करना है। वो भी एक प्रश्न है, लेकिन पहला प्रश्न आ जाता है कि हमारा देश, एक सारे देश...को देखो तो ग़रीब

78. Speech at a public meeting organised by the Bombay Regional Congress Committee, Prabhadevi, Bombay (North), 9 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.



देश है। उसके माने नहीं है कि...आपके बम्बई में अमीर लोग भी रहते हैं। लखपति-करोड़पति भी थोड़े-से निकल आयेंगे और शहरों में...लेकिन देश वैसे हमारा एक गरीब देश है इस अन्दाज़े से नापते हैं उसे, गरीब देशों में है अभी। तरक्की कर रहा है, बढ़ रहा है। लेकिन अभी तक करोड़ों आदमी हमारे देश में गरीबी के फन्दे में फँसे हैं। विशेषकर देहातों में, गाँव में, कैसे इससे निकलें, यह बड़ा प्रश्न हो गया है।

ग्यारह-बारह वर्ष हुए हमें स्वराज आ गया और जैसे स्वराज आया, यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने आया और इस पर विचार करने के लिए हमने कमेटियाँ बनायीं, कमीशन बनाये, प्लैनिंग कमीशन, योजना का कमीशन। तो किस ढंग से हम इसको करें, क्योंकि खाली प्रस्ताव कर देने से, रेजोल्यूशन कर देने से तो कुछ होता नहीं, नारे उठाने से नहीं होता, कोई-न-कोई बात करनी है जिससे देश में अधिक सामान पैदा हो। धन क्या चीज़ है? सोना-चाँदी तो कोई धन नहीं है वो तो व्यापार की चीज़ है। कोई सोना न खाता है, न पहनता है; यों कोई जेवर पहन ले तो पहन ले; न खाता है, न पीता है।

धन होता है जो सामान पैदा होता है, देश में, आवश्यक वस्तुएँ जो पैदा होती हैं। सबमें पहला धन है खेती से जो पैदा होता है, ग़ल्ला, तरह-तरह का सामान, पहला धन है, आवश्यक है। दूसरा है जो कारखानों से पैदा हो वो भी, आवश्यक वस्तुएँ हैं, या ग्रामोद्योग से हो, या कारीगरी से हो। जो भी एक चीज़ पैदा होती है नयी, वो देश का धन है। अगर देश में अधिक पैदा हो तो देश धनी होने लगता है, कम हो तो गरीब होता है, मोटी बात तो यह है। अमरीका का देश क्यों धनी है, इसलिए नहीं कि उसके पास बड़ा सोना जमा है, हो और न हो, इसलिए कि हर साल उनकी ज़मीन से, और कारखाने से बहुत सामान पैदा होता है। इसलिए धनी है। इसलिए मैं आपको बताता हूँ ये कि पुराने विचार जो धनी लोगों के थे वो आज दुनिया बदल गये। पुराने क्रौम [वाले] धनी होते थे, बहुत पुराने। बड़े ज़मींदार, बड़े जागीरदार, बड़े राजा-महाराजा, वो धनी कहलाते थे।

फिर दूसरा ज़माना आया, वो धनी कहलाने लगे—बड़े-बड़े मिल के मालिक। वो कमाते थे, काम करते थे और धनी हुए। लेकिन असल धन जमा किया हुआ देश का कुछ नहीं, कुछ लोग जमा कर लें। असल धन है जो हर साल वो पैदा करता है। जो देश अधिक पैदा करेंगे सामान, वो धनी। जो नहीं उनका पुराना धन, वो नहीं; काम चले, थोड़े दिन काम चल जाय, वो बहुत नहीं चलता।

तो अमरीका और यूरोप के देश धनी हैं इसलिए। कैसे वो अधिक पैदा करते हैं, यह प्रश्न हुआ न, क्योंकि हम सीखें उससे। इसलिए कि पिछले सौ, डेढ़ सौ, दो सौ वर्ष में उन्होंने विज्ञान से बहुत लाभ उठाया। साइन्स से, टेक्नॉलोजी से, नयी-नयी मशीन से, नये-नये तरीकों से, उन्होंने नयी-नयी बातें सीखीं। उससे उनकी शक्ति बढ़ी। वो नयी-नयी बातें भी अगर आप विचार करें, वो नयी नहीं थीं; बल्कि प्रकृति की थीं। उनको उन्होंने पहचान लिया, प्रकृति की शक्ति को उन्होंने पहचाना, नेचर की ताकत को। कैसे पहचाना? आपकी मशीन कैसे चलती है, रेलगाड़ी कैसे चलती है? स्टीम से चलती है। हज़ारों बरस से है। कोई नयी चीज़ तो नहीं

है भाप, लेकिन एक आदमी ने देखा कि भाप में बड़ी ताकत है, उससे पहिया चल सकता है और चलते-चलते रेलगाड़ी चलने लगी और हज़ारों मशीन चलने लगीं। इस बात को पहचान लिया उन्होंने। एक शक्ति प्रकृति की उनके हाथ में आयी, जिससे दुनिया को लाभ हुआ।

इसके बाद में उन्होंने और तलाश करते-करते बिजली को पकड़ा। अब बिजली भी तो कोई एक नयी चीज़ नहीं है। हमेशा से बिजली आसमान पर कड़कती-चमकती रही। लोग डरते थे उससे। कोई लोग पूजा करें उसकी जा के, कोई कुछ करे। फिर लोगों ने सोचा कि यह है क्या चीज़, और करते-करते उन्होंने उसको पहचान लिया कैसा है और बिजली को वो आसमान से कहीं अपने घर में पैदा कर सकते हैं। कुछ वस्तुओं को रगड़ कर, पहियों को, बिजली पैदा की उन्होंने और पैदा करते-करते फिर ऐसी बिजली हो गयी कि उसको तार से भेज कर... बिजली इत्ता काम करती है; आप देखते हैं, आप देखते हैं। बड़े-बड़े कारखाने चलते हैं बिजली से, रोशनी होती है, कितने काम करते हैं। तो ये सब बातें, ये सब बातें, ये नयी शक्तियाँ जो हैं भाप की, उसकी; ये सब बातें निकली हैं प्रकृति की शक्तियों को पहचान लेना [लेने से]। ये तो हमारे चारों तरफ़ पड़ी हैं, कोई छिपी नहीं हैं। पहचान कर उससे लाभ उठायें। इसी तरह से यूरोप वाले बहुत आगे बढ़ गये, उनकी ताकत बढ़ गयी। नये-नये कारखाने, नये-नये हथियार। उनकी फ़ौज की ताकत बढ़ी, सब बातें। उन्होंने दुनिया पर छापा मारा, बहुत सारे देशों को अपने अधीन कर लिया, सब कुछ हुआ। लेकिन उसके पीछे यह था कि वो परिश्रम करते थे, मेहनत करते थे, और नये-नये विज्ञान को ढूँढते थे और समझते थे।

अब आप जानते हैं कि और बहुत तरक्की हुई है और एक बड़ी भारी शक्ति निकली है, पहचानी गयी है अब, जिससे ऐटम बम बनते हैं। इससे बहुत बड़ी शक्ति है। ऐटम बम भी उससे बनते हैं और उससे ठीक लाभ लिया जाय तो दुनिया के काम भी बहुत हों। शक्ति तो शक्ति होती है—उससे अच्छा काम लो, बुरा काम लो। आपके पास एक चाकू हो, वो चाकू है, अब आप उससे अच्छा काम लीजिए या अपने पड़ोसी का गला काटिए। तो चाकू का कुसूर तो नहीं हुआ न, यह तो आपका कुसूर हुआ न, किसी का गला काटें। यही ऐटम बम है। अब ऐटम बम लोग जा कर जनता पर डालें और शहर गिर जाय तो उसका दुरुपयोग है, भयानक उपयोग है, लेकिन वो तो शक्ति है उससे अच्छा काम भी हो सकता है।

आज सवेरे मैं गया यहाँ आपके ट्रॉम्बे में, जहाँ बड़ा काम हो रहा है हमारा,<sup>79</sup> यही अणुशक्ति, ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी के बारे में, ऐटम बम बनाने के लिए नहीं, क्योंकि हमने कह दिया हम नहीं बनायेंगे, लेकिन उस शक्ति से हम अपनी जनता को फ़ायदा पहुँचायेंगे। उसको लाभ हो, ताकत बढ़े, खुशहाल हो जनता। और वहाँ मैं रहा, दो-तीन घण्टे रहा, आज सवेरे, और मेरी आँखों के सामने एक चित्र आया, तस्वीर आयी नयी दुनिया की, जो कि इस ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी के पीछे नयी दुनिया है। तस्वीर आने लगी मेरे सामने। और एक दूसरी तस्वीर भी आयी कि

79. Nehru spent two hours at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre at Trombay on 9 March inspecting the construction of the Canada-India Reactor for isotope production, the uranium plant, and various laboratories.



अब इन सब बातों में एकदम से कुछ नहीं मिल जाता, एकदम से तो तकलीफ़ होती है, क्योंकि ज़्यादा काम करना होता है। एक दफ़े सब जम जाये तब तेज़ी से देश का लाभ होता है, इसलिए जो ऐसा देश होता है, हमारी हालत में, वो कोशिश करता है कि जोर लगा के किसी तरह से हम मज़बूत बुनियाद डाल दें। फिर देश मज़बूती से चलेगा। किसी देश को आप ले लें। मैं मुकाबला नहीं किया चाहता देशों का औरों से। क्यों मैं मुकाबला करूँ? कोई हमसे अच्छे हों, कोई बुरे हों, मैं नहीं, लेकिन आप देखें। एक देश को लीजिए, आप चीन को लीजिए, उसका चर्चा बहुत सुनाई देता है। ख़ैर, और बात मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन एक बात मैं जानता हूँ कि बड़ा परिश्रम कर रहे हैं, बड़ी मेहनत कर रहे हैं। बल्कि इत्ती मेहनत कर रहे हैं कि आश्चर्य होता है। कोई लोग कहें कि उनसे ज़बरदस्ती करायी जाती है, हो सकता है होगा, लेकिन बात यह है कि मेहनत कर रहे हैं और उनसे क्या कहा जाता है। उनसे कहा जाता है कुछ बरस तुम मेहनत करो, फिर बाद में आनन्द-ही-आनन्द है। इस वक़्त मेहनत, बाद में आराम। आज मेहनत, कल आराम। यह कहा जाता है उनसे। और बात ठीक है कि बग़ैर मेहनत के हम मज़बूत अपनी जगह नहीं कर सकते, और यह एक बुनियादी बात है आप समझ लें, क्योंकि हमारे देश में हर चीज़ की कमी है। अधिकतर लोगों को ज़रूरत है, चाहे आप किसान हों खेत में, चाहे आप मज़दूर हों। आप माँगें पेश करते हैं, और आपकी माँगें अक्सर ठीक होती हैं; मुनासिब हैं, लेकिन उसी के साथ ऐसे पेंच में पड़ सकते हैं वो कि उन माँगों को मानने से इस समय गाड़ी चलना बन्द हो जा सकती है सारे मुल्क की। ये पेंच पड़ जाते हैं।

तो इसलिए मुल्क को तेज़ी से चलाना है एक तरफ़ तब उससे लाभ उठ सकता है। ये मोटी बातें हैं जो आप सब जानते हैं। मैं फिर भी आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि हमारे देश के सामने एक बहुत कठिन समस्या है। क्यों कठिन समस्या है, इसलिए कि हम ज़ोरों से बढ़ रहे हैं। इसलिए नहीं कि हम रुके हुए हैं, इसलिए नहीं कि हम गिर रहे हैं, इसलिए कि हम तेज़ी से बढ़ रहे हैं, इसलिए कठिनाई आती है। यह एक निशानी है हमारे आगे बढ़ने की। अच्छी निशानी है, उससे घबराना नहीं है। और कोई देश किसी को आप ले लें, चाहे अमरीका को लें, अंग्रेज़ों को लें, रूस को लें, चाहे साम्यवादी देश हो, चाहे समाजवादी हो, पूँजीवादी हो, कोई देश बग़ैर परिश्रम और मेहनत के नहीं बढ़ा है।

आप देखें जर्मनी एक देश है, पूँजीवादी देश है। रूस एक देश है, साम्यवादी देश है। दोनों देश पिछली लड़ाई में, बारह बरस हुए, बिल्कुल तबाह हो गये थे। बिल्कुल। उनके शहर मिट्टी के ढेर हो गये थे। सारे कारख़ाने टूट गये, बारह-तेरह बरस की बात है, बहुत दिन नहीं। और एक साम्यवादी देश, एक पूँजीवादी देश। अब आप जाइए दोनों देशों में बारह वर्ष बाद तो आप पाइए, दोनों फिर से बड़े ज़ोरों से खड़े हैं। रूस बड़े ज़ोरों से तरक्की कर रहा है, बहुत ज़ोरों से। जर्मनी भी बड़े ज़ोरों से कर रहा है, क्योंकि दोनों मेहनती और परिश्रमी देश हैं। उनकी नीति जो है वो अलग है, उस पर आप विचार करें। लेकिन दोनों मेहनती हैं, परिश्रमी देश हैं और दोनों के यहाँ सीखे हुए लोग थे, विज्ञान के सीखे हुए लोग थे। उन्होंने फिर बना लिये अपने शहर दस-बारह बरस के अन्दर। तो हमें भी अपनी ताक़त इस तरह से बढ़ानी है

और ये सब बातें जो हो रही हैं, वो बहुत कुछ बुनियाद पड़ गयी है, ये मैं आपसे कहता हूँ, चाहे वो लोहे के कारखाने हों, चाहे तरह-तरह की और बातें हों, जो हो रही हैं मुल्क में, बहुत कुछ बम्बई शहर में भी, और-और जगह वो एक बड़ी बुनियाद डाल रही हैं। मकान ऊपर नहीं निकला अभी, लेकिन निकलेगा।

अब हमारी कोशिश यह है कि इस सात बरस में, सात बरस में...सात बरस इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि हमारी दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना आजकल है, दो बरस उसके और हैं, उसके बाद तीसरी आयेगी। तो पाँच और दो बरस मिला के सात बरस होते हैं।...हम चाहते हैं कि इन सात बरस में ज़ोरों से कोशिश करके हम अपने देश को दो बातों में—एक तो खेती के मामले में और एक इण्डस्ट्री के मामले में—पक्की बुनियाद उसकी हो जाय मज़बूत। जो कि हिलने से न हिले। हम अपनी मशीनें बनायें यहाँ, अधिकतर बाहर से मँगाने की ज़रूरत नहीं हो। हम अपनी पावर पैदा करें, शक्ति पैदा करें और जब हम यह करने लगते हैं तो हमें बाहर से मदद की, सहायता की, आवश्यकता नहीं होगी। थोड़ी-बहुत वो हो तो हो। यानी हम ऐसा प्रबन्ध करें अपने देश में कि अपनी शक्ति से हम आगे बढ़ते जायें। जब ऐसा कोई देश कर लेता है तब वो पहला बड़ा कदम उठाता है ग़रीबी के गढ़े से निकलने का। फिर चलने लगता है। तो ये हमें सात बरस में करना है ज़ोर लगा के, कुछ तकलीफ़ उठा के। हम ये जो ग़रीबी का पिंजरा है, इससे निकल जायें। मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि सात बरस में सब लोग खुशहाल हो जायेंगे, ये मेरा मतलब नहीं है, मैं धोखा नहीं देना चाहता, लेकिन हमने जो अब तक तरक्की की है पिछले दस बरस में..जब से स्वराज आया काफ़ी हमने तरक्की की है, और हमारे देश के चारों तरफ़ और देश हैं, उनसे आप मुकाबला कर लें किती हमने की है...अब हम यह कह सकते हैं कि और ज़ोर लगा कर पाँच-सात बरस, और पुरानी तरक्की जो है उसको मिला कर हम मज़बूत हो जायेंगे और फिर हमारी तिजारत, हमारी इण्डस्ट्री, हमारे कारखाने बहुत बढ़ेंगे, अपनी शक्ति से बढ़ेंगे, अमरीका और जर्मनी की शक्ति से नहीं।

अभी ज्वार को लीजिए आप, ज्वार की औसत भी ऐसी है, दस-बारह मन की। अभी मेरे पास नमूने आये हैं नयी ज्वार के, जो एक-दूसरे से मिलाने से हुए हैं, एक एकड़ में एक सौ पच्चीस मन ज्वार होती है। देखिए न, अगर इस तरह से हम फैला सकें इसे तो हमारे देश का धन-दौलत कित्ता बढ़ता जाय। तो ग़रज़ कि जो बात मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ वो ये कि हमें चारों तरफ़ से कोशिश करनी है, खेती में बढ़ाना, उधर कारखानों को बढ़ाना, मशीन बनाना, कोयला, लोहा, शक्ति, चारों तरफ़ से बढ़ें, तब वो नतीजा हासिल होता है और ये पाँच-सात बरस हमारे सामने एक इम्तहान के हैं, परीक्षा के, और मुझे तो इसमें सन्देह नहीं है कि हमारा देश उसको पास करेगा।

लेकिन कभी-कभी हमारे देश में हमारे लोगों के ध्यान भटकते हैं, इधर-उधर चली जाती है शक्ति कभी। कभी-कभी लड़ाई-झगड़ा होता है हमारे कारखानों में। कभी-कभी हड़ताल, लॉक आउट, क्या-क्या, आप जानते हैं। अब जो कोई हड़ताल हो या लॉक आउट हो, उसका पहला असर तो ये होता है कि देश का धन कम हो जाता है, पैदा नहीं होता वो। हम तो एक



अगर उसका दुरुपयोग हो तो दुनिया का नाश हो जाय, सारी दुनिया का। दोनों तस्वीरें आयीं।

तो यह बात हमें देखनी है कि आजकल हम किस ज़माने में रहते हैं। एक तरफ़ से ऐसा समय है जिसमें हमारी-आपकी आशाएँ बहुत बढ़ सकती हैं। दूसरी तरफ़ से ऐसा समय है कि भयानक समय है। सारे भय, ख़तरे हैं जिसमें सारा संसार नष्ट हो जाय। ऐसे समय में आप लोग रहते हैं। तो ऐसे समय पर यह विचार करना होता है कि हम क्या करें, सोच-समझ कर किस रास्ते पर चलें। हमारे हाथ में कोई सारी दुनिया की बाग-डोर तो है नहीं कि दुनिया में लड़ाई हो या शान्ति हो, हम कैसे उसको रोकें; अगर और देश करना चाहेंगे, वो करेंगे। हाँ, हमारे हाथ में लोगों को कुछ-न-कुछ अपनी सलाह देना है। अपने को सँभाल कर रखना है, कि हम कोई ग़लत बात न करें, औरों से मित्रता करें, औरों को समझायें, जो कुछ है। तो हमारे हाथ में दुनिया की बाग-डोर तो नहीं है, लेकिन कम-से-कम अपने देश की बाग-डोर तो होनी ही चाहिए, और उसको ठीक तरफ़ ले जाना चाहिए।

अब ठीक तरफ़ ले जाने में, कौन-सा ठीक तरफ़ है, यह प्रश्न उठता है। एक सवाल मैंने आपसे कहा कि स्वराज आने पर एक सवाल यह हुआ कि कैसे जनता का उद्धार हो। और जनता का उद्धार कोई बाहर के देश आ कर तो नहीं कर देंगे। बाहर के देश हमारी सहायता कर सकते हैं तो अच्छा है, थोड़ी करें। लेकिन हमारे उठने का परिश्रम तो हमें करना है। ज़ाहिर है, औरों के उठाने से तो कोई जाति नहीं उठती है, कोई देश। और अगर उठ जाती है औरों के उठाने से तो जब और हट जायें तो गिर जाती है फिर। अपनी शक्ति से कोई बात होती है, तब मज़बूत होती है। तो हमें अपने देश को अपनी शक्ति से उठाना है, अपने परिश्रम से। किस तरह का परिश्रम, यह प्रश्न है। अगर हम इसको छोड़ दें कि जैसे मन माने, हरेक आदमी काम करे और कुछ उसका प्रबन्ध न करें तो हो सकता है देश की कुछ उन्नति हो, हो सकता है यह भी कि नहीं हो, और यह भी हो सकता है कि हमारी शक्ति ग़लत तरफ़ चली जाय देश के। इसलिए यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम योजना बनायें, प्लैन करें, और इसीलिए प्लैनिंग कमीशन बना, जो कि सलाह-मशवरा करके, विचार करे, किस तरफ़ हमें जाना है।

इसके माने नहीं हैं कि सब छोटी-छोटी बातों पर विचार करें, सारे। लाखों बातें होती हैं देश में। लेकिन मोटी बातों पर विचार करें, किधर जाना है। अब यह ज़ाहिर है कि हम अगर अपनी दरिद्रता से दूर हों तब...तभी होंगे जब हमारे यहाँ अधिक धन पैदा होगा। अधिक सामान पैदा होगा। अधिक पैदा हो, ज़मीन से पैदा हो, कारख़ाने से पैदा हो, और हज़ारों-लाखों नये कारख़ाने बनें जिनमें हम नयी-नयी शक्तियाँ लगायें। यह हमें करना है। अब इसके करने में बड़ा रुपया लगता है। रुपया कहाँ से आये, क्योंकि जब देश ग़रीब है तो उसके माने हैं कि उसके पास रुपया नहीं बचता। अगर अमीर होते तो कोई सवाल ही नहीं होता। एक देश में क्या रुपया बचता है लगाने के लिए। जित्ता देश भर कमाये और जित्ता वो ख़र्चे, देश भर समझिये, सरकार का मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ, देश भर का; अगर जित्ता कमाता है, उतता ही सब खा जाता है तो कुछ नहीं बचता आगे बढ़ने को। अगर वो जित्ता कमाता है, उससे कम खाये तब बचा रहता है आगे बढ़ने को, जिससे हम नये काम करें, नये कारख़ाने बनायें, ज़मीन की

तरक्की करें, मशीन लायें, ये है, वो है। यानी जित्ता देश कमाता है, उससे कम खर्च हो।

अब हम...जब हमारा देश...आम जनता अब भी कम खर्चती है। बेचारी गरीब है। तो उससे अब कौन कहे जा के कि और कम खर्चो। यह बड़ा प्रश्न उठ आता है गरीब देशों में। सब देशों में, और बड़ा कठिन होता है यह, क्योंकि अजीब बात यह होती है कि आगे बढ़ने के लिए परिश्रम करना होता है और तकलीफ़ उठानी होती है, आराम नहीं होता। तकलीफ़ उठानी उसी माने में होती है कि पहले एक दफ़े ज़ोर लगा कर हम आगे बढ़ जायें तब उसका लाभ हमें मिलने लगता है। बाद में लाभ हो, पहले नहीं। हम बनायें...ये चार लोहे के कारखाने बन रहे हैं, इस समय बहुत बड़े-बड़े और उसमें बड़ा रुपया खर्च होता है, कई सौ करोड़ रुपये लगते हैं और एक पैसे की आमदनी नहीं उसमें अभी होती है, लेकिन साल भर बाद, दो वर्ष बाद, उससे बड़ी आमदनी होगी, उस समय आमदनी होगी। पहले मुसीबत उठा के तब आमदनी होती है।

देश भर में बड़ी-बड़ी नदियों की योजनाएँ हैं। भाखड़ा नांगल है और दामोदर है और क्या-क्या है। बड़ा रुपया खर्च हुआ उनमें, लेकिन उनमें से अब लाभ होना शुरू होने वाला है। एक तो नहरें निकलती हैं, पानी होता है खेती के लिए। दूसरे बिजली पैदा होती है जिससे कारखाने चल सकते हैं। तो इन सब बातों में पहले खर्च होता है, बाद में, कई बरस बाद, लाभ होता है। तो हमारे देश में वो ज़माना पहले का है अभी कि हम ज़ोर लगा कर बुनियाद डालें देश की तरक्की की, चाहे खेती में, चाहे कारखाने में।

कारखानों को आप लीजिए, आप कारखाने में काम करने वाले हैं, कैसे कारखाने चलते हैं, क्या चीज़ें उसमें होती हैं, बहुत सारी चीज़ें हैं, लेकिन दो-तीन मोटी हैं। एक तो लोहे की बहुत ज़रूरत है। दूसरे शक्ति की, पावर की, चाहे बिजली की हो, चाहे कोयले से आये, उसकी ज़रूरत है। तीसरे, मशीन की ज़रूरत है। चौथे, सीखे हुए आदमियों की ज़रूरत है। वो सबमें ज़रूरी बात है। तो अगर हम चाहते हैं यहाँ कारखाने बहुत बनें तो हमें चारों बातों की फ़िक्र करनी है। लोहा देश में पैदा हो, शक्ति पैदा हो, बिजली हो या कोई और। तीसरे मशीन, मशीन हम अपने घर में बनायें। यह नहीं कि जा के जर्मनी से और अमरीका से हम ले आयें। ले आयें, अच्छा है, एक रोज़ के लिए ले आयें, एक-दो, लेकिन आप लाखों मशीनें तो नहीं ला सकते? तो हम यहाँ बनायें। और चौथे, आदमी सीखे हुए हों, और बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे के सीखे हुए हों। ये चार बातें हों तब देश तरक्की करता है। तब उधर हमें ध्यान देना है। काफ़ी समय लगता है, इन बातों के करने में। हम लोहे का कारखाना बनायें, पाँच बरस में बन जाये, छै बरस में बन जाय। लेकिन जो आदमी लोहे के कारखाने को चलायेगा, बड़ा इंजीनियर, उसको बीस बरस सीखना पड़ेगा तब वो चलायेगा। सोचिए न आप। मैं सबमें बड़े इंजीनियर का कहता हूँ। और इंजीनियर होंगे, छोटे भी होंगे उसमें, सभी को कुछ-न-कुछ सीखना पड़ेगा। तो ये बुनियाद डालनी होती है तैयारी के लिए, देश के बढ़ने के लिए। बहुत सारे लोगों को सिखाना नये-नये काम। लोहा पैदा करना, शक्ति पैदा करना, मशीन बनाना और इसीलिए योजना कमीशन ग़ैरह करता है।



तरफ़ से कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि बहुत पैदा हो, वो कम हो जाता है। हो सकता है और अक्सर हुआ है कि हड़ताल जो हुई है वो कोई अन्याय हुआ था या अन्याय हो रहा है, उसके विरोध में हुई, यानी ठीक हड़ताल थी। यह भी होता है, कभी-कभी ग़लत भी होती हैं। दोनों ही बातें हैं। लेकिन दोनों का नतीजा यह होता है कि देश का धन कम हो जाता है। मामूली तौर से हो, हमें फ़िक्र नहीं, लेकिन आजकल के ज़माने में जब हम ज़ोरों से एक दुश्मन से लड़ रहे हैं, और दुश्मन हमारे देश की ग़रीबी है, तब कोई ग़लत क़दम उठाना उसमें नुक़सान पड़ता है। तो हमें कोई उपाय ढूँढ़ना चाहिए कि किस तरह से जो कोई इण्डस्ट्री में आपस में झगड़े हों, वो शान्ति से तय हों, और इन्साफ़ से तय हों। यह नहीं कि एक जो आम हमारे कामगार लोग हैं, मज़दूर भाई हैं, वो दबाये जायें। उनके साथ इन्साफ़ हो। बजाय इसके कि हमें हड़ताल करनी है, क्योंकि उससे आखिर में आजकल की हालत में हरेक को नुक़सान होता है। उनको भी नुक़सान होता है।

असल में हम जा किधर रहे हैं? हम जाते हैं, मेरी राय में, ऐसी तरफ़ कि ये जो आजकल का समाज का संगठन है या आर्थिक संगठन है, यह बिलकुल बदला जाय। हमने कहा है कि हम समाजवाद की तरफ़ जाते हैं। समाजवाद के माने हरेक अपने निकालता है। ख़ैर, मैं उसमें नहीं जाता, लेकिन मोटे तौर से ये कि ऊँच-नीच देश में अधिक नहीं होनी चाहिए और हरेक को बराबर का मौक़ा तरक्क़ी का मिलना चाहिए। मैंने कहा अधिक नहीं होनी चाहिए, क्योंकि मैं नहीं समझता सब लोग एक-से होते हैं, बुद्धि में या शक्ति में, या चरित्र में। होते हैं फ़र्क़, लेकिन हरेक को बराबर का मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए तरक्क़ी का। आजकल नहीं मिलता है। मिलना चाहिए, और जो हमारा यह संगठन है समाज का, कारख़ाने वग़ैरह, ये या तो सारे समाज के हों या सहयोग से चलें, सहकारी तरीक़े से चलें, जिसमें जो लोग वहाँ काम करते हैं उनका उसमें अधिक-से-अधिक हाथ हो। उनकी सलाह से, उनके मशवरे से चलें। कुछ तो यह शुरू भी हुआ है और अधिक-से-अधिक बढ़ता जायेगा, क्योंकि पुरानी दुनिया ख़त्म हो गयी, अब पुराने ढंग नहीं चलते। मुश्किल यह है कि दुनिया बदलती है, लेकिन लोगों के दिमाग़ उसके साथ-साथ नहीं बदलते, पुराने रह जाते हैं। तो झगड़े होते हैं उससे। लेकिन वो भी आखिर में उन्हें बदलना होता है। तो दुनिया बदल गयी। न बदले तो ठोकर खा कर गिरते हैं लोग।

तो हमने ऐसी जगह जाना है जहाँ आजकल का ये सिलसिला समाज का, चाहे ज़मीन पर हो...ज़मीन पर बड़े ज़मींदार थे, पहले राजा-महाराजा हटाय़े गये, फिर बड़े जागीरदार, फिर बड़े ज़मींदार। अब भी ऊँच-नीच ज़मीन पर है, उसकी निस्वत भी अभी कुछ प्रस्ताव हुए हैं नागपुर काँग्रेस में। उसी तरह से मुझे कोई सन्देह नहीं कि हमें अपने इण्डस्ट्री में भी क़दम उठाने हैं। लेकिन हर बात के करने में हमें सोचना होता है कि उसके करने से इस वक़्त हमारे देश को हानि न हो, इस माने में कि देश का धन जो पैदा हो रहा है, वो कम न हो जाय, क्योंकि पहली बात यह है कि हम देश का प्रोडक्शन, देश में जो पैदा होता है, वो कम न हो, चाहे वो ज़मीन से हो, चाहे कारख़ाने से हो, इसका विचार करना होता है, और उसी के साथ हल्के-हल्के इन

बातों को बदलें। आप जानते हैं कि जो बहुत बड़े कारखाने हैं वो तो हल्के-हल्के...जैसे लोहे के या और इस ढंग के, वो तो समाज के हो गये, शासन के हो गये, इसके माने हैं कि जनता के हो गये। उसका किसी को अलग फ़ायदा नहीं होता। इसी तरह से जो बड़े हैं, होते जायेंगे। छोटे हो रहे हैं लोगों के। लेकिन कुछ लोगों के व्यक्तिगत रूप...उनके हाथ में शक्ति नहीं आनी चाहिए कि वो समाज के आर्थिक कामों को उलट-पलट कर सकें, आर्थिक नीति को उलट-पलट कर सकें। ग़लत बात है। इसके माने ये हैं कि कुछ लोगों के हाथ में आर्थिक शक्ति अधिक नहीं होनी चाहिए। आजकल है अक्सर। बहुत नहीं, लेकिन कुछ है।

और एक और बात मैं आपसे कहूँगा कि आखिर में यह होना चाहिए कोई शख्स जो कि अपने शरीर से, अपने हाथ-पैर से या दिमाग़ से काम नहीं करता, उसका आदर नहीं होना चाहिए समाज में। न उसको मुफ़्त में खिलाना चाहिए। (तालियाँ) यही बात होती जाती है दुनिया में, आप समझें, और होगी। काम कैसा करना, वो तो हज़ार क्रिस्म के काम हैं, मन के, दिमाग़ के, हाथ के, लेकिन ये कि बाप-दादा की कमाई पर हमेशा रहना, यह ठीक नहीं है। एक हमेशा के लिए पेंशन हो गयी, पुश्त-दर-पुश्त पेंशन हो गयी कि कोई दादा ने कमाया था और वो...आजकल के ज़माने में वो बात चलती नहीं है, न चलेगी। हरेक को इसमें भाग लेना चाहिए, और उसके लिए भी अच्छा, समाज के लिए भी अच्छा। तो, ख़ैर, तो हमें इस तरह से ये अपने सामने ध्येय रखना है और उधर जाना है। मैं इसकी तफ़सील में नहीं जाता, क्योंकि मैं कौन हूँ तफ़सील में जाने वाला, हल्के-हल्के समाज खुद निश्चय करेगी। समाज के हाथ में निश्चय करना है, दुनिया बदलती है। कोई पुराने नारे आजकल के काफ़ी नहीं हैं, वो पुरानी दुनिया के हो गये, और ये करना है [कि] उसमें सोच-समझ कर योजना बना कर हम अपना रास्ता ढूँढ़ें। उस रास्ते पे चलें और उसमें सब लोगों से मशविरा हो।

अभी मैंने आपसे कहा नागपुर काँग्रेस का, नागपुर काँग्रेस में कई प्रस्ताव हुए। दो विशेष प्रस्ताव हुए। एक तो यही योजना बनाने का, प्लैनिंग करने का, किस तरह से हम चलें और यह तीसरी योजना जो होने वाली है दो बरस बाद, उसका चर्चा; क्योंकि उसको हम ज़ोरों से उठाना चाहते हैं, क्योंकि हमने यह किया, इसलिए कि आवाज़ें उठीं, कुछ आवाज़ें उठीं और बम्बई से भी, और और जगहों से भी कि भई अब ये योजना-योजना बड़े ज़ोरों से चलते हैं, ज़रा हल्के हो जाना चाहिए, ज़रा इसका बोझा बहुत होता है। हल्के हो जायें, ज़रा आराम करें, फिर चार-पाँच बरस बाद फिर बड़ा क़दम उठावें। ये तो ग़लत बात थी, क्योंकि ज़रा भी कोई सोचे तो आप ऐसी बात में हल्के नहीं हो सकते, दरिया के बीच में जा कर आप तैर रहे हों, और फिर कहा जाय बस अब आप ठहर जाइए, रुक जाइए, आराम कीजिए तो आप गोता खा कर डूब जायेंगे। उसमें रुकना नहीं होता। उसमें तो आप जब तक उस पार नहीं पहुँच गये, आप आराम नहीं कर सकते, देश नहीं बढ़ सकता।

और एक बात और आप याद रखिए, ये मैं आपसे पैदा करने का कहता हूँ, हमें धन पैदा करना है तो एक चीज़ पैदा होती जाती है और वो बच्चे हैं। अब बच्चों से तो मुझे बहुत मुहब्बत है, सुन्दर होते हैं, और मैं नहीं कहता कि बच्चों का पैदा होना बन्द हो जाय, और मेरे कहने



से कुछ असर भी बहुत ज्यादा नहीं होगा। लेकिन यह आपके विचार करने की बात है, हम सभी की, और आप जानते हैं, हर साल हमारे देश में, पचास-साठ लाख बच्चे, नये खाने वाले हो जाते हैं। नये खाने वाले, नये कपड़ा पहनने वाले। नये मुस्तहक; घर रहने का, नये स्कूलों में जाने वाले। तो यह एक नया बोझा देश का बढ़ जाता है, और जित्ता अगर आप अधिक भी कमायें, और सिर्फ उतना ही कमायें जित्ता कि नये खाने वालों के लिए काफ़ी हो तो उसके माने हैं आगे बढ़ने के लिए कुछ नहीं रहा। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, मैं आपको मिसाल देता हूँ, फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि हमारी आबादी दो फ़ीसदी बढ़ती है साल में, क़रीब-क़रीब दो बढ़ती है, इसलिए मैंने कहा, दो से कुछ कम बढ़ती है। दो बढ़ती है। अगर हमारा देश का धन दो फ़ीसदी बड़े साल में तो इसके माने ये हैं कि हम वहीं-के-वहीं रहे। दो फ़ीसदी बढ़ा धन, दो फ़ीसदी आबादी बढ़ गयी, खाने वाले भी बढ़ गये। तो हम बराबर वहीं रहे, पिछड़े नहीं, माना मैंने, वहीं रहे, आगे नहीं बढ़े।

तो अगर हमें आगे बढ़ना है तो हमें दो फ़ीसदी नहीं, अधिक पैदा करना है हमें पाँच-छै करना है, उसमें से दो बाँट लीजिए नयी आबादी खायेगी तब तीन-चार बचते हैं आगे बढ़ने के लिए। इसलिए अधिक ज़ोर करना पड़ता है अधिक पैदा करने के लिए, सामान। लेकिन दूसरी तरफ़ भी विचार करना है और कई बातों से ये जो आबादी बढ़ती है हमारी...अपनी क़ौम को बढ़ाना है, लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि अगर बच्चे आपके बहुत हो गये, आपके ऊपर बोझा हो जाता है, खर्च का, पिलाने का, देख-भाल का। जो कि माता होती है बेचारी, सबमें बड़ा बोझा तो उस पर होता है। जैसे पाँच-छै-सात बच्चे हुए उसके तो उसका बरदाश्त करना मुश्किल हो जाता है, उसका स्वास्थ्य ख़राब हो जाता है और आपका रहन-सहन गिरने लगता है। उसका इतने बच्चों को सहारा बहुत चाहिए। कहीं अधिक अच्छा हो अगर आपके बच्चे दो-तीन हों, आप उनकी देख-भाल कर सकें, उनकी माता भी देख-भाल अच्छी करे, और उनको पढ़ा-लिखा सके, आपका भी भला हो, उनका भी। तो यह विचार करने की बात है और इसके तो आप जानते होंगे वो कहलाते हैं क्या, वो क्लिनिक्स खुले हैं इस बारे में, बम्बई शहर में भी और जगह भी, इसमें आप भी जा के और ख़ासकर जो हमारी बहनें हैं, जा के सलाह ले सकती हैं—क्या करें, किस ढंग से करें, क्योंकि यह एक बात हो गयी जो हमारे बढ़ने को रोक दे सकती है। इसलिए विचारणीय हो गयी।

हाँ, तो मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि अब जो नागपुर काँग्रेस में दो प्रस्ताव हुए बड़े...एक तो प्रस्ताव योजना का था, तीसरी योजना का, कैसे हम योजना बनायें, कैसे बनती है, योजना के माने नहीं कि फुटकर कारख़ाना यहाँ कर दिया, खड़ा कर दिया, और वहाँ कर दिया, यह नहीं है, लेकिन हिसाब लगाना। फ़र्ज़ करो, हम तीसरी योजना बना रहे हैं तो वो आज से दो वर्ष बाद शुरू होगी, और सात वर्ष बाद ख़त्म होगी। तो सात वर्ष बाद भारत की क्या आबादी होगी। कित्ते लोग भारत में होंगे। फ़र्ज़ करो, हमें मालूम हुआ कि सात वर्ष बाद चालीस करोड़ होगी या उससे अधिक तो फिर हमें चालीस करोड़ आदमियों के लिए आवश्यक चीज़ें पैदा करनी हैं। चालीस करोड़ के लिए खाना पैदा करना है। चालीस करोड़ के लिए कपड़े पैदा करने

हैं। जहाँ तक बन पड़े घर बनाने का प्रबन्ध करना है, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध करना है, पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध करना है और काम का प्रबन्ध करना है कि बेरोज़गारी न हो। ये तस्वीर हो गयी न सामने। अब कैसे करें इसका प्रबन्ध उसको, तस्वीर को, रख कर हर समय। फिर हम कहें कि अच्छा, खाने का प्रबन्ध करने में खेती में ये-ये करना है, जो-जो करना है। हमें इत्ती खाद लगानी है। तो खाद पैदा करें उत्ती। अच्छा, कारखाने करने हैं। कारखाने में हमें बुनियादी चीज़ें किती चाहिएँ। लोहा चाहिए, बिजली का पावर चाहिए या जो कुछ है। अच्छा, लोहा पैदा करना है, किता पैदा करना है, उता ही लोग करें। बिजली की पावर उत्ती बनायें, उसके लिए प्रबन्ध करें; और सबमें बड़ी बात कारखाने में मशीन चाहिए तो मशीन हमें बनानी पड़ेगी तो हम मशीन बनाने की मशीन यहाँ खड़ी करें अभी से। बरसों लगते हैं इसमें।

ये तो मैंने आपको दो-चार मिसालें दीं। ऐसी सैकड़ों बातें हैं। बड़े-बड़े नक्शे बनते हैं। कोई नक्शा पूरा तो हो नहीं सकता, क्योंकि कोई आदमी कैसे कहे भविष्य में क्या इन्सान करेगा। लेकिन फिर भी इस तरह से बनते हैं कि हमारे लोग अपनी मेहनत से जिती उनकी आवश्यक चीज़ें हैं, वो बनायें। ये तो ग़लत बात है न कि एक तरफ़ तो हमारे पास चीज़ें कम हैं, दूसरी तरफ़ हमारे पास लोग बेकार बैठे हैं। रोज़गार उनके नहीं हैं। तो ग़लत बात है। इन बातों को जोड़ देना है कि उनके परिश्रम से वो वस्तुएँ पैदा हों जो आवश्यक वस्तुएँ हैं उनके लिए। इस तरह से देश का काम करते हैं। तो ये, इस पर ज़ोर दें।

दूसरा प्रस्ताव असल में देहात के लिए था, वो नागपुर काँग्रेस का। वो ज़मीन के ऊपर था। कई बातें उसमें तय हुईं। लेकिन एक बात जिस पर तो बहुत बहस हुई है, उसका हमें चर्चा आपसे करूँ। ये निश्चय हुआ कि ज़मीन सारे देहात में सहकारी संघ से काम हो। एक-एक गाँव में सहकारी संघ हो, कोऑपरेटिव हो, और कोऑपरेटिव ख़ाली वो बनिये का करने के लिए नहीं, पैसे का क़र्ज़ा देने को, वो तो होगा ही, लेकिन सब काम, उनके लिए, किसान के लिए जो कुछ है, उसको ख़रीदना, बेचना, सब, इत्यादि, सब काम उसका सहकारी संघ करें। उसी का होगा, वही लोग उसमें होंगे। आजकल दुनिया में इसी तरह से काम होता है। मेरी राय में तो सहकारी संघ से सब काम होने चाहिएँ। कभी-न-कभी होंगे, आपके कारखाने चलने चाहिएँ, आपकी दुकानें चलनी चाहिएँ, सब बात सहकारी संघ से लोग मिल कर करें, वो ठीक तरीक़ा है। ख़ैर, वो बात हमें करनी है, लेकिन इस वक़्त ज़मीन में किसानों को...अपनी ज़मीन अलग रखें, लेकिन मिल कर वो सहकारी संघ बना के सब अपना बेचना-ख़रीदना, काम करें। मैं आपको बताऊँ यूरोप में किसान बड़े खुशहाल हैं, सहकारी संघ से उनका काम होता है।

किसी आप देश में जायें, यूरोप के क़रीब-क़रीब किसी देश में, खुशहाल देश में तो आप देखेंगे वहाँ के किसानों के पास ज़मीन अधिक नहीं होती है। हाँ, पाँच-सात-दस एकड़ हो, आम तौर से, ज़्यादा नहीं है कुछ। लेकिन वो जानवर रखते हैं। गाय रखेंगे, शायद सुअर रखें, मुर्गी रखें उसके अण्डे के लिए। इस तरह की चीज़ें रखते हैं। जो कुछ उनको चाहिए, किसान को, वो सहकारी संघ से कह देगा—भेज दो। अच्छे-से-अच्छे बीज भेज देगा, वो खाद भेज देगा। उसकी मुर्गी ने अण्डे दिये, वो दरवाज़े के सामने रख देगा। सहकारी संघ की गाड़ी आयेगी, उठा



कर ले जायेगी वो, उसके दाम बाद में...दूध उसकी गाय ने दिया, सहकारी संघ वाले उनका दूध ले जायेंगे...और खूब दूध देती हैं वहाँ...वो भी उसके नाम में लिख लिया गया। किसान का काम ख़ाली पैदा करना हो गया अपने परिश्रम से, और काम सहकारी संघ उसकी तरफ़ से करता है। उसका बोझा कम हो जाता है, उसकी आमदनी बढ़ जाती है। मोटी बात है कि आजकल मिल कर काम करने से लाभ होता है।

इसलिए हमने कहा कि हर गाँव में सहकारी संघ हो। गाँव में। हम बहुत बड़ा नहीं चाहते, क्योंकि बड़े होने में वो गाँव वाला खो जायेगा। हम तो चाहते हैं कि एक जैसे बड़ा परिवार गाँव का हो, मिल कर काम करे। सौ, दो सौ, तीन सौ, चार सौ, पाँच सौ आदमी जो गाँव में रहते हैं, परिवार हो, वो करें। एक-दूसरे को जानते हैं। तो इससे काफ़ी...और सहकारी संघ उनको रुपया भी देगा, जो आवश्यक हो, क़र्ज़ा देगा, बनिये का काम करेगा, गरज़ कि बचने, ख़रीदने, रुपया देने, सब काम उनका सहकारी संघ करेगा। और मैं नहीं चाहता कि उसमें अफ़सर लोग दखल दें। एक तो मैं नहीं चाहता कि बड़ा सहकारी संघ हो। गाँव का हो, और अफ़सर लोग दखल न दें। मैं जानता हूँ गाँव वाले आपस में लड़ेंगे। आपस में लड़ते हैं। बुरी बातें करते हैं, उनकी हानि होगी। लेकिन अच्छा है वो लड़-लड़ कर सीखें अपना काम। धोखा खायेंगे, दूसरी दफ़े नहीं करेंगे। हाँ, जो सरकारी अफ़सर हैं, उनको उनकी मदद करनी चाहिए; सहायता करें, सलाह दें, लेकिन सहकारी संघ का बोझा तो कुछ उठायें, चलायें। ये तो एक बात है।

इसी के साथ हमारी राय है, काँग्रेस ने कहा है कि बाद में हमारा ध्येय होना चाहिए कि वो सहकारी संघ गाँव का जो हो, वो खेती भी मिल कर करे। क्या माने इसके। यानी उनकी ज़मीन...उनकी ज़मीन तो रहे उनकी, लेकिन ज़मीन के बीच में जो मुँडेर है, अलग-अलग है, वो उसको हटा कर सब लोग मिल कर उस पर [खेती] करें और फिर अपना-अपना हिस्सा बाँट लें। मुझे कोई शक नहीं, यही ठीक तरीक़ा है और मुझे कोई शक नहीं कि इससे लाभ होगा और जो आजकल भी हिन्दुस्तान में कहीं-कहीं होता है, उससे फ़ायदा होता है। कहीं-कहीं होता है। ठीक नहीं हुआ तो उससे नुक़सान भी हुआ है। जिसको जॉयण्ट फ़ार्मिंग कहते हैं, वो हो। हमने यह नहीं कहा कि अभी करो। हालाँकि अगर कोई अभी करना चाहे तो खुशी से करे। लेकिन पहला काम है सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव का। वो जो मैंने आपसे कहा जॉयण्ट फ़ार्मिंग के, वो नहीं, पहले और, ज़मीन अपनी अलग-अलग रखें, लेकिन और काम मिल कर करें। फिर अपनी रज़ामन्दी से, अपनी खुशी से वो जॉयण्ट फ़ार्मिंग कर सकते हैं, और हमारी राय में करें एक वक़्त में। उससे काफ़ी लाभ हैं। मैं उसमें जाता नहीं, इस वक़्त आपका समय क्यों लूँ, लेकिन दुनिया जानती है इन बातों में लाभ है। विशेषकर इसलिए कि हमारे यहाँ किसानों की ज़मीन बहुत कम होती है। अरे, दो बीघे, तीन बीघे, एक बीघे, आप जानते हैं। एक एकड़, डेढ़ एकड़...थोड़े-से लोगों पर ही अधिक होती है तो एक-दो बीघे की ज़मीन वाला आदमी तरक्क़ी नहीं कर सकता। नये विज्ञान से, साइन्स से, नये खाद से, नये बीज से, नयी बातों से। वो नहीं कर सकता। लेकिन वो मिल जायें सारे गाँव वाले तो तरक्क़ी कर सकते हैं, लाभ उठा सकते हैं, और उस लाभ से उनका गाँव उठेगा, मिल कर स्कूल बनायेंगे, मिल कर वो औषधालय

बनायें, अस्पताल बनायें, मिल कर पचास बातें कर सकते हैं। इसलिए।

अब बड़ी बहस हुई कि क्या यह अन्याय हो रहा है, और क्या ग़लत फ़ैसले किये काँग्रेस ने, कह दिया कि अभी जॉयण्ट फ़ार्मिंग हो। मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि हमारे देश में और किसी क्रूर आपके बम्बई में भी किस ज़माने के लोग रहा करते हैं, कुछ थोड़े-से? अभी तक उन्हें पता नहीं चला है कि दुनिया बदल रही है, और भारत भी बदल रहा है। अभी तक उन्होंने देखा नहीं कि जब उन्होंने अपने स्कूल में पढ़ा था, वो ज़माना ख़त्म हो गया। अब नयी किताबें निकली हैं और नये दिमाग निकले हैं। अजीब तमाशा है, मैं तो हैरान हूँ और बड़े ज़ोर से मैदान में कूद पड़े हैं तलवारें ले के कि कौन करता है, हम लड़ेंगे उससे। अजीब हालत है। ख़ैर, लड़ना-वड़ना ये तो फ़िज़ूल बात है, ये तो बचपने की बातें हैं। लेकिन मैंने आपको समझाया, आप कोई, खास कोई खेती नहीं करते, बम्बई शहर के रहने वाले हैं। लेकिन बहुत सारे आप में से लोग आये हैं गाँव से। आपको दिलचस्पी है। हमारा पहला काम हिन्दुस्तान में होना चाहिए हिन्दुस्तान के किसान को उठाना। सब में ग़रीब बेचारा है। सबमें गिरा हुआ है और जब तक हमारे तीस करोड़ किसान नहीं उठेंगे तो देश कैसे उठेगा? बम्बई शहर या कलकत्ता शहर थोड़े ही देश को उठा देगा? बम्बई शहर बहुत अच्छा शहर है और बड़ा अच्छा काम होता है, लेकिन आखिर में देश किसान की पीठ पर सवार है। किसान नहीं उठेगा, तब देश नहीं उठता। इसलिए सारे हमारे विचार इस बेचारे किसान को उठाने के लिए हैं, और ये जो हमने प्रस्ताव किये, इसीलिए [ताकि] किसी तरह से वो अपनी इस ग़रीबी से निकले और हम चाहते हैं देहात में कारख़ाने बनें, बड़े तो बनते ही हैं, ग्रामोद्योग हों या छोटे हों, ताकि गाँव में भी एक तरह-तरह के पेशे हों, तरह-तरह के काम हों, रोज़गार अधिक लोगों को मिल सके। ये सब बातें हैं और ख़ैर, ये तो बहुत सारी बातें हैं, ये करनी हैं, लेकिन ये तभी हो सकती है जब ज़ोरों से परिश्रम हो और मेहनत हो और हम छोटे झगड़ों में अपने नहीं पड़ें। झगड़े हमारे कभी धर्म के नाम से होते हैं, मज़हब के नाम से, कभी जाति के नाम से, कभी प्रदेश के नाम से, कभी भाषा के नाम से, हर तरह से झगड़े होते हैं हमारे देश में। हर चीज़ जो हमें अलग करे, फूट पैदा करे, उसको लोग बढ़ाते हैं, लेकिन ज़ाहिर है अगर बड़े काम जो हमने उठाये हैं, जो बड़ी लड़ाई हम लड़ रहे हैं, बड़ी लड़ाई किसी देश से नहीं, बड़ी लड़ाई अपनी ग़रीबी से, उसमें ज़भी कामयाबी होगी अगर हममें एकता हो और मिल कर हम सब चलें और परिश्रम करें और बाद में आराम करें।

तो मैं चाहता हूँ आप विचार करें, आप इस सुन्दर शहर में रहते हैं जहाँ [जो] कि देश का एक मणि है, रत्न है, और हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ाई में इसने बड़े काम किये—बम्बई शहर ने—और इस नयी लड़ाई में भी बड़े काम कर रहा है, और शायद करेगा। तो इसलिए मैंने कोशिश की मोटी-मोटी, सीधी-सीधी बातें आपके सामने रखने की। आपने देखा मैं आपको कोई जोश तो दिला नहीं रहा हूँ, यह करो, वो करो, और नारे उठाओ। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि आपके मन में मैं पहुँचूँ और आप समझें, क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ किसी तरह से भारत की ग़रीबी दूर हो। किसी तरह से हमारे बच्चे, सुन्दर बच्चे हैं, एक-एक भारत का बच्चा हमारी एक अमानत है, हमारी दौलत है, मुझे दुख होता है जब मैं देखता हूँ उनका ठीक प्रबन्ध नहीं होता,



न स्कूल का, न खाने का, न पढ़ने का। यह हमारा फ़र्ज है कि यह हो एक-एक बच्चे का। मैं चाहता हूँ यह हो, और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस चार-पाँच, सात-आठ बरस में ज़ोर लगा कर हम इस पहली खाई-खन्दक के, मुसीबत की, पार हो जायें। उसके बाद भी परिश्रम करना है। देश इत्ता बड़ा, कोई पाँच-सात बरस में काम पूरे होते हैं?

रूस में चालीस वर्ष हुए क्रान्ति हुई थी। चालीस बरस में उन्होंने कुछ अपने को बनाया है। याद रखिए, बरसों लगते हैं। अब भी बनाते जाते हैं वो। हमें भी बरसों लगेंगे, लेकिन कम-से-कम मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इस आठ-दस बरस में, जो हमारे सामने हैं, हम इस पहली बड़ी खाई से पार हो जायें और फिर देश अपनी शक्ति से बढ़ेगा, और देश के हर रहने वाले को मौक़ा मिलेगा, और ये हम बेरोज़गारी के सवाल को भी बहुत कुछ हल कर देंगे, और विशेषकर जो हमारे बच्चे हैं, लड़के-लड़कियाँ, उनको मौक़ा मिलेगा ठीक तौर से देख-भाल होने का, बढ़ने का। ये बड़े-बड़े काम हैं। अब इसमें एक जोश नहीं आता।

स्वराज के वक़्त हम सब मैदान में कूद पड़े, गोली का सामना करेंगे और सब कुछ ठीक था, समय का काम वो था। यह उससे ज़्यादा कठिन काम है ठण्डे दिल से मेहनत करना, सब मिल कर और हमेशा अपने सामने जो लक्ष्य है, उसको रखना। मेहनत का काम है। लेकिन उसी के साथ जानिए दुनिया के इतिहास में बड़े-से-बड़ा काम ये हो रहा है, भारत का भविष्य क्या होता है, और हमारी तरफ़ दुनिया देखती है। दुनिया देखे या न देखे, हमें तो अपनी तरफ़ देखना है और इन बड़े कामों को उठाना है, हल करना है, और अपने छोटे झगड़ों में नहीं पड़ जाना है। हमारा भारत का इतिहास, बहुत सुन्दर इतिहास है और बड़ा बुरा इतिहास है, दोनों ही बातें हैं। सुन्दर है, बड़े-बड़े महापुरुष हुए। बुरा है कि आपस में हम लड़ते बहुत आये हैं।

अभी कल मैं राजस्थान में था, मेवाड़ में, आप जानते हैं। हर भारत का बच्चा जानता है राजस्थान की वीरता की कहानियाँ। राजपूत लोगों की, और राणा प्रताप और कौन-कौन अब तक... उस वीरता को पढ़ कर आश्चर्य होता है, लेकिन यह भी आप जानते हैं वही वीर पुरुष एक-दूसरे से लड़ा करते थे राजस्थान में। दुश्मन आता था और एक-दूसरे से लड़ कर गिरा देता था। वीरता थी, सब बातें थीं, शान थी, लेकिन बुद्धि नहीं थी मिल कर काम करने की। तो मैं... और मैं कल था वहाँ, और मैंने देखा बढ़ रहा है राजस्थान। तगड़े लोग हैं राजस्थान में, सब जानते हैं, तगड़े पुरुष, तगड़ी स्त्रियाँ, बदल रहा है, राजस्थान का रूप बदल रहा है और मैं देख कर खुश हुआ और जहाँ-जहाँ मैं गया हूँ, देखता हूँ, भारत का रूप बदल रहा है। आप देखना चाहें, नयी-नयी शक्तियाँ पैदा हो रही हैं, नयी-नयी बातें और हमारे लड़के-लड़कियाँ स्कूल में जा रहे हैं, कॉलेज में जा रहे हैं। कभी-कभी उपद्रव भी करते हैं, लेकिन भारत बदल रहा है। नयी पौध, नयी क्रौमें आ रही हैं। अच्छी बात है यह, लेकिन कम-से-कम हम अपने ज़माने में कोई ज़ोर से, पूरे तौर से ठीक तरफ़ उसको झुका दें, और ठीक तौर से बदलें, और इस ग़रीबी के दलदल से निकलें। इस काम को हम पूरा कर दें तो फिर आइन्दा जो पौध आयेगी वो अपना कर्तव्य जो समझेगी, उसको करेगी।

आपने बड़ी शान्ति से मुझे सुना इतनी देर तक, उसके लिए धन्यवाद। जयहिन्द! मेरे साथ

कहिए तो जय हिन्द तीन बार।

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!।

[Translation begins:

Dear sisters and brothers,

Whenever I come to Bombay, a huge public meeting is organised on Chowpatty. I am glad that, this time it is being held here. I did not reply when I was consulted about it, but I had liked the idea, because most of our workers live in this area and I was very keen to meet them. In a huge city, it is not possible for the entire population to meet in one place.

While I was coming to speak to you today, I was in a dilemma as to what I should talk to you about. There is a great deal to be said. What am I to choose? You must have some questions to ask. That is always so. You must have raised them before your trade unions. There are often problems about the relationship between workers and factory owners. There are great disparities. I cannot say very much about that, because I do not know all the facts. But broadly speaking, I am aware of what the relationship ought to be. We have to be clear in our minds about where we are going and what we are trying to do, what the major issues before the nation are, etc.

Broadly speaking, immediately after Independence the most urgent problem before us was to uplift India's masses and to put this backward country on the path of progress. We were faced with the task of improving the standard of living of thirty-six, thirty seven crore people living in India, getting rid of their poverty and ensuring jobs for everyone. We had the example of affluent nations of the West like United States, England, Germany, France and other European countries, the Soviet Union, etc. Why should we also not become affluent like them? Earlier we had the excuse of being ruled by a foreign power which is all right. But now that was over. If we fail to deliver the goods we will have no one except ourselves to blame.

So, we have to find a solution to our problems. This is above and beyond your internal disputes, strikes or any other quarrel. It is extremely important that we should increase the production of wealth in the whole country. It is not a question of merely distributing the wealth that is already there. Distribution will come later. The problem is to increase production. India is a poor country. There are rich people in Bombay, perhaps some millionaires too. But on the whole, India is considered to be among the poor nations of the world. There is progress. But millions of people are still in the clutches of terrible poverty, particularly in the rural areas. The main problem is to somehow get rid of this poverty.



Twelve years have passed since India became free. We set up committees and the Planning Commission to go into this question. Nothing could be achieved by passing resolutions or shouting slogans. We had to take some concrete steps to increase production of goods in the country. What is wealth? It is not gold or silver which are merely things of trade. You cannot consume gold and silver; albeit, if people wish they can wear them as ornaments.

Real wealth consists of the essential goods produced in the country, like food grains and other agricultural goods, goods produced from factories, village industries, etc. Anything new that is produced, adds to a nation's wealth. The more we produce, the richer the country will become. That is the matter in a nutshell. Why is the United States so wealthy? It is not because there are vast reserves of gold there, but because every year enormous quantities of goods are produced from their land and industries. Let me tell you that the old concept of wealth has changed today. In the old days countries were considered rich because there were wealthy kings and landowners.

Then came an age when the big mill-owners who amassed money were considered rich but their wealth did nothing for the country. Today, goods produced every year in a country, essential consumer goods, are what constitute real wealth. Gold and silver cannot take us very far.

The countries of the West are extremely affluent today, because they produce a great deal of essential goods. Now, the question is how they manage to do so, because we must learn from them. They have made use of science and technology in the last couple of centuries to adopt new techniques of production by building new machines, etc. Their capacity for production went up. If you think about it, what they have discovered is nothing new but things hidden in nature. They learnt to recognise the potential behind the natural sources of energy. For instance, steam power is used to run huge machines and railways. Now steam is nothing new. It has been known for thousands of years. But it is only when one human being discovered the hidden power of steam that it became an instrument of progress. The whole world has benefitted tremendously by this discovery.

Then they went on to discover electricity. Now, that is again nothing new. People had always seen lighting in the sky, but were afraid of it and worshipped it out of a superstitious fear. When it was discovered that electricity could be produced through friction, it became a great source of power. Now electricity is used in industries, for lighting and for a million other purposes. All these changes have come about by the discovery of the sources of energy in nature. This is how the West advanced so far and become militarily powerful. New armament factories began producing more and more lethal weapons. Soon they were able to get a foothold in every corner of the world and establish great

empires. But behind all that was hard work and the curiosity to understand and discover new aspects of science and technology.

Now, as you know, yet another source of energy has been discovered, atomic energy which has led to the atom bomb. If it is used properly, atomic energy can benefit the world greatly. It is, after all, a source of energy which can be used wisely or for evil. If you have a knife, you may use it for something good or you may cut your neighbour's throat; the knife is not to blame. Similarly, if an atom bomb is dropped somewhere, it could destroy whole cities. That is a terrible misuse of atomic energy. But it is a source of energy which can be used wisely for the benefit of mankind.

I had gone this morning to Trombay where good work is being done in the field of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.<sup>80</sup> We have already said that we shall not make an atom bomb but use atomic energy to better the standard of living of the people. I spent two to three hours there and a picture of a new world came before my eyes, the new world which is coming in the wake of this atomic energy. I saw yet another picture of how atomic energy, if misused, could destroy mankind and our entire civilisation. We have to remind ourselves constantly about this. We are living in an age when on the one hand, we can let our hopes soar. On the other, it is a dangerous age with a very real fear of total annihilation. Therefore, it is extremely important that we should choose the right path. We do not control the whole world and if the other countries are bent upon destruction, we cannot stop them. We can merely speak out in favour of peace and follow a policy of friendship with all nations. We must have complete stability at home and evolve the right path for ourselves.

Now, the question is, which is the right path. As I said, one of the most urgent problems which arose when India became free was how to improve the standard of living of the people. No foreign countries would come and help our people. We may be able to get some aid from other countries. But everything ultimately depends on our own hard work and effort. Undoubtedly, no nation or race has ever risen to greatness by relying on others. Even if it does succeed in doing so, it is bound to be short-lived and once the prop is removed everything falls apart. We can become strong only by being self-reliant and working hard. The question is what sort of hard work. If we leave it to every individual to do as he pleases, it is possible that there may be some progress. Conversely, this may not happen and it is even possible that the energy of the nation is frittered away in the wrong direction. Therefore, it is very essential to plan, to decide our course in advance. And that is why the Planning Commission was set up to carry out consultations and determine the course that we should adopt.

80. See fn 79 in this section.



That does not mean that it will go into all the minutest details. There are a million and one details in the country. But, it should merely chalk out a broad framework of policy. It is obvious that we can get rid of our poverty only by increasing production from land, from our industries and by setting up thousands of new industries using new sources of energy. Now all this requires a great deal of investment. Where is the money to come from? Being a poor nation, it means that we do not have a surplus to invest in new tasks. If we had been a rich country, there would have been no problem. If a nation spends less than what it earns, then there is a surplus. If it spends everything, there is nothing left over. If there is a surplus, it can be used to set up new industries, to improve agriculture and use new machines, etc.

In India, people are already living below the subsistence level. How can we tell them to consume even less? This is one of the most acute problems in poor countries; all countries and this is very difficult, because the strange thing is that progress requires extremely hard work. There is no time for relaxation. Everyone has to be prepared to bear great hardships. Once the process gathers momentum, and we get ahead, things will become easier and we will reap the benefits. For instance, we are setting up four new steel plants at an enormous investment of hundreds of crores of rupees. We do not get any returns at all just now. But when they go into production, we will start to reap the benefit. We have to bear some hardship in order to benefit later.

We are taking up huge river valley projects all over the country at Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley and what not. We have had to spend enormous sums of money. But we will soon begin to reap the profits. For one thing, canals will be dug for irrigation. Secondly, electricity will be generated which can be used in industries. So, although a great deal of investment has to be made initially, we will continue to reap the benefits for years to come. We are in the phase of a transition in which we are laying the foundations of progress in every field — agriculture, industries, etc.

Take industries, for instance. What are the basic requirements for our industry? Two or three things are fundamental. One is steel. The second is power, whether from electricity or from coal, we need that; three, we need machines, and four, trained manpower. Therefore, if we want to industrialise the country, we have to make arrangements for all these four things. We must produce steel, power and machines in the country. We cannot keep importing machines from Germany and the United States. It is not possible to import millions of machines. We must produce them here. Fourthly, we need highly skilled and trained manpower. Only when all these four things are available together, there can be progress. Therefore, we must pay attention to that. It takes a long time to do everything. It takes five to six years to build a steel

plant. But to train an engineer to run the plant takes twenty years. I am talking of the top engineers. Then we require junior engineers, overseers, etc., who also need training. So, there are various ways in which the foundations have to be laid for a nation's progress. Thousands of human beings have to be trained for new jobs and steel, power, etc., have to be produced. Machine-making industries have to be set up. The Planning Commission helps to chalk out a plan of priorities.

All this naturally means hardships in the beginning for there is no immediate benefit. It requires greater effort and very hard work. Once the process gathers momentum, we will begin to reap the benefits. For a country situated as we are, it is extremely important to pit its entire energy into the task of laying the firm foundations on which it can progress. I do not wish to make comparisons. We are not superior to anyone. But take China, for instance, about which we hear a great deal. I do not know about other things, but I do know that China is hard at work. In fact their energy is amazing. Some people criticise them for using coercion. It is possible that there is coercion. But the fact remains that they are working extremely hard. The people are told that if they work hard now, they can enjoy a good life later on. It is absolutely true that without hard work, we cannot acquire stability or lay the foundations for progress. I want you to grasp this basic fact. Everything is in short supply in India. Farmers and workers and others have their own demands which are often justified. But at the same time fulfilling those demands could create such complications that our work could come to a complete standstill. This is our dilemma.

So, our first priority is to give a fillip to the nation's progress. These are well-known facts which everybody is aware of. Yet I want to reiterate them, because India today faces an extremely difficult problem precisely because we are set on the path of progress, not because we are standing still. The difficulty arises from the fact that we are progressing very fast. The problems and difficulties that we are facing today are symbolic of our growth. It is a good sign. There is no cause for panic. You will find that no country in the world, whether it is communist or capitalist, has progressed without hard work. You can take the example of the United States, England, or the Soviet Union.

Germany is a capitalist country and the Soviet Union a communist country. Both these countries lay in ruins after the Second World War, twelve years ago. Their cities lay in a heap of rubble; the industries were laid out flat. All this happened just twelve-thirteen years ago. Now if you visit either of them, twelve years later, you will find that they are both once again on their feet and are marching ahead steadily on the path of progress, because both Germany and the Soviet Union are extremely hard working nations. Ideologically, they are completely opposite to one another, but both are progressing steadily because



the people are hard working and skilled and educated in science and technology. So they have been able to rebuild their countries within ten-twelve years. We must also progress quickly on our own steam. The foundations are being laid by the various steps that we are taking, like the steel plants and other projects. You can see many new things happening in and around the city of Bombay and elsewhere. The edifice is yet to emerge but that will come.

Now, our effort is that in the next seven years—I say seven because there are two years to go for the Second Plan and then the Third Plan will start—we should lay the firm, foundations of agriculture and industry in India. We should build our own machines and not have to import from outside. We must produce more power. Once we have the capacity to do these things, we will no longer have to look for aid from outside. We must make arrangements to enable us to go ahead on our own steam. When a nation does this, it is the first step towards climbing out of the mire of poverty. We have to do this during the next seven years. It will mean some hardship, but at least we would have got out of the strange hold of poverty. I do not mean that everybody will become well off in seven years. I do not wish to mislead anyone. But we have made considerable progress during the last ten years since India became free. You can compare it with the countries all around us. Now we are confident that if there is a great spurt during the next six-seven years, we would have laid strong foundations for our industry, trade and agricultural production and be able to go ahead independently.

For instance, take jowar. The average yield per acre is ten-forty maunds. I have been shown samples of the new hybrid variety which has a yield of 125 maunds per acre. If our production increases at this pace, the national wealth will increase by leaps and bounds. So, in short, what I want to say is that we must make an all round effort to increase agricultural production, set up new industries, including machine building industries, produce more coal, steel and power, if we want to get the same results. These next few years are going to be a testing time for us and I have no doubt that India will come out with flying colours.

However, sometimes the attention of our people tends to wander and our energies are frittered away in useless things. There are labour disputes, strikes, lock-outs and what not in our factories. As you know, the direct consequence of such actions is that production suffers. On the one hand we are trying to raise the level of production and on the other all this unrest. Strikes and lock-outs are obstacles to that. It is possible that they are undertaken to protest against some injustice. Sometimes strikes are undertaken for the wrong reason too. But no matter what the reason, strikes cause production to halt. If it is on a small scale, we are not bothered. But today when we are waging a war against

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*I told the union leader, Sir, that you wouldn't yield to threats!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 11 MARCH 1959)

our great enemy, India's poverty, any wrong step causes harm. So we must find a way by which all industrial disputes are solved in a peaceful way and justice is done. The workers must not be done out of what is rightfully theirs. They must get justice. Strikes do harm to everyone including the workers.

Finally, where are we going? In my opinion, we are progressing towards the creation of an entirely new social and economic order. We have adopted a socialist pattern of society as our goal. Socialism has many connotations. Well, I will not go into that, but broadly speaking, the disparity between the haves and have-nots must be reduced. Everyone must get equal opportunities for progress. Not everyone can be exactly alike. There are bound to be differences of intellect, physique or character. But everyone must get equal opportunity to go ahead which is not available today. Our social organisation, factories and so on, should be based on cooperation, so that the workers have the greatest participation and say in management. A beginning has been made and it will gain ground because the old order has gone. The problem is that the world



changes but the outlook of the people does not keep pace with the changing world. But, ultimately, they will be forced to change; otherwise, they will stumble and fall.

So, we have to reach the place where the present structure of society, whether it is related to land... There was the old order of big landholders, jagirdars, zamindars and rajas, maharajas, but they were removed. Even then, there are disparities in the matter of land-holdings. Some resolutions were passed recently in the Nagpur Congress. I have no doubt in my mind that the steps need to be taken in the industrial field too. But at all times we have to keep in mind what would be in our national interest. Nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of increasing production for that would mean a decrease in the national wealth. At the same time, changes have to come about. As you know, all the major industries and plants are in the public sector. There is no question of personal profit. No individual will be allowed to concentrate so much financial power in their hands that they can turn the socio-economic order upside down. That is wrong. That means that a coterie of individuals must not be allowed to concentrate great wealth. It happens even today to some extent.

There is one more thing which I would like to point out. Ultimately, we must build a social order in which no individual who does not do something useful manually or intellectually must be respected in society. Nobody should be allowed to be a parasite and live off the labour of others. (Applause) This is happening all over the world. Work can be of different kinds, physical work, and mental, intellectual work. But it is not right to live on acquired wealth, acquired from one's forefathers. It is a sort of a perpetual pension to fatten on acquired wealth. Such things can no longer be allowed to exist today. Everyone must do something useful, for his own good as well as the good of society. Anyhow, this is the goal we must have before us. I will not go into the detail because it is not up to me, but for the society to decide what should be done. The world is in a state of flux. Old slogans will no longer do. They belong to an old order. We have to evolve a path of our own through intelligent planning, with the help and cooperation of the masses.

As I told you just now of the many resolutions passed in the Nagpur Congress, two were significant. One was on planning and what our goal should be. The Third Plan which is to start in a couple of years was discussed, because it is going to be a more ambitious plan. Voices have been raised against that from Bombay and elsewhere, that the burden must be lightened, and that we must go slowly as far as planning is concerned. The feeling among some sections seems to be that we should relax for a few years before we take a major step. It is absolutely wrong. If you care to think even a little, you will realise that we cannot relax in midstream for we will drown. There is no stopping midway. We

cannot relax until we have safely crossed over to the other side.

There is one more thing which you must bear in mind. When I talk about increasing production, I mean the production of wealth. But what keeps increasing is the production of babies. I am very fond of children and I do not say that they must not be produced. Even if I said that, it would not have much effect. But all of us must think seriously about the population explosion. Every year now, fifty-sixty lakh children are born in India. That means so many more mouths to feed, and to provide for clothes, housing and schools. This is a burden which keeps increasing. Whatever we produce, it is consumed by the increasing population and there is no surplus for development. Let me give you an example, our population grows at the rate of two per cent per annum, though it is slightly less at the moment, and the rate of production of national wealth is also two per cent. It would mean that we remain where we are. I agree that we will not slide back, but nor will there be any progress.

So, in order to progress, we must increase our production by five or six per cent of which even if two per cent is consumed by the growing population we have three to four per cent left over. Therefore, we have to place greater emphasis on increasing production of goods. But on the other hand, we must think seriously about controlling the population growth. Too many children impose a great burden on the family, particularly the mother whose health suffers through repeated child-bearing and the living standard falls. It would be far better to have two or three children who are well looked after and educated properly. As you know there are family planning clinics which have been opened in Bombay and at other places, where the women can get advice about family planning methods. A fast growing population can bring our progress to a halt. It is a serious matter.

I was telling you about the resolutions passed at the Nagpur Congress. One of them was on the Third Plan and planning in general. Planning does not mean putting up a factory here and a factory there, but calculations based on correct statistics and figures. For instance, the Third Plan will start two years hence and finish after seven years. What will be the population of India at the end of seven years? If we estimate that it will be around forty crores, we can plan to produce the essential consumer goods to feed, clothes and house that many people, provide health care, education and jobs for them so that there is no unemployment. This is a complete picture that we can have before us. Then we get down to the details, about steps which need to be taken to increase food production, how many new industries need to be set up to produce the required amount of steel and power, etc. The most important thing is machines. We have to set up machine-building industries.

I have given you a few examples at random. There are hundreds of such



details. Careful planning is essential. No plan can be complete without taking into account the human factor because nobody knows how human beings will react at a given time. But it is very important to produce essential consumer goods to provide the entire population with the basic necessities of life. It is wrong that on the one hand, we have shortages and on the other, we have people sitting idly, there is great unemployment. The two things must be linked together and the basic necessities of life must be produced through their labour. We have to lay stress on this.

The second resolution in the Nagpur Congress was in fact about villages, it was related to land. Many decisions were arrived at. But I shall tell you about one point on which there was a lengthy debate. It was decided that in the rural areas, agriculture should be on a cooperative basis. There should be a cooperative society in every village, not merely credit societies, but institutions which can help the farmer with buying and selling, etc. The farmers will run the cooperatives themselves. This is the trend all over the world. In my opinion, everything should be done through cooperative societies. I am sure the time will come when factories, shops, farming will all be run through cooperative societies. It is the only way. Anyhow, joint farming will come later. At the moment, the titles to the land will be separate and only the buying and selling will be done through cooperatives. The farmers in Europe are extremely well off because they work through cooperatives.

You go to any country in Europe, though the land-holdings are small, not more than five to ten acres each, but they rear cattle, pigs, poultry. The cooperative societies provide good seeds and fertilizer, and sell the farm produce such as eggs and milk etc., collecting them from their doorstep. The only task left to the farmer is to work hard and produce things. His burden is lightened and his income increases, because it is quite obvious that cooperation benefits everyone.

That is why we have said that there should be a cooperative society in every village. We do not want them to be too large, because the villagers will be lost in it. We want that every cooperative should be like a big family, consisting of a few hundred peoples who live in the village and know one another. The cooperative society can give credit when necessary. In short, the society will buy and sell their goods, lend money, etc. I do not want official interference in the running of cooperatives. I know that the villagers fight among themselves and misuse the money. But it is good that they learn from experience; the officials should help them, guide and counsel them, but the villagers must run the cooperatives themselves.

The Congress has also declared in the resolution that our ultimate goal will be to take up joint cultivation, too. The titles of the peasants will remain intact

but the boundaries in the fields will be removed and the land cultivated jointly, the profits shared. I have no doubt that that is the only way and it will benefit everyone. Wherever it has been tried in India, it has succeeded very well. In other places, where it has not been run properly, there have been losses too. We are not insisting on joint farming right now though those who wish to take it up on their own are welcome to do so. But the first step is to set up service cooperatives and joint farming can come later. There is no doubt that it will be very effective. I will not go into the details and waste your time. But the whole world knows that the farmers in India have very small land-holdings and there cannot be much progress with them. The small farmer cannot avail himself of new scientific techniques, new seeds and fertilizers, etc. That is why cooperatives can help a great deal. The whole village will benefit and new schools and hospitals and a hundred other things can be built through the cooperatives.

There has been a great hue and cry about this resolution, that the Congress has taken an unjust decision by calling for joint farming. I am amazed. I wonder in which era some people of our country and to some extent Bombay also live. They do not seem to have realised that the world is changing and so is India. They have failed to grasp the fact that new knowledge and thinking have come on the scene. I am amazed that they should jump into the fray. What are they fighting against? It is all extremely childish. But I explained all this to you because though the citizens of Bombay are not farmers, many of you may have come from the rural areas and have an interest in this.

Our first priority ought to be the upliftment of the Indian farmer who is poor and downtrodden. Until our thirty crore farmers prosper, there can be no progress in India. It is not cities like Bombay or Calcutta which will make India prosper. Cities are important no doubt, but ultimately it is the farmer who is the backbone of the country. There can be no progress in India until the farmer is uplifted. Therefore, all our thinking lays stress on this. The resolutions that we have passed aim at somehow eradicating poverty in the rural areas. We want to set up small scale industries in the rural areas in order to open up new avenues of employment and jobs for the people. However, all these things can be done only through the effort of the people. They must not waste their time and energy in futile squabbles. People in India often fight in the name of religion, caste, province, language, etc. Every notion that creates barriers and disunity is fostered among the people. But it is obvious that we can succeed in the great task that we have taken up, in the war that we are waging against poverty, only if there is unity among the people, a spirit of cooperation, and a will to work. We can relax later.

So, I want you to think about these things. You are living in a city which is a jewel in the crown of India. Bombay played a prominent role in our freedom



struggle and it continues to do so in the new war that we are waging against poverty. So, I have tried to put some broad facts before you. You would have seen that I have not tried to raise slogans or make an impassioned speech. I want to reach your mind and heart so that you can help somehow in task of removing India's poverty. We should look after our children well, for they are a sacred trust, the nation's wealth. I feel sad to see so many of them not being properly cared for. It is our duty to look after every single child. If we can pit all our strength into the task that we have taken on, we can take a flying leap forward within the next seven-eight years. Even after that we will have to continue to work hard, because the tasks of a huge country like ours cannot be completed in a short-span of seven-eight years.

More than forty years have passed since the Russian Revolution took place. It has taken them this long to build themselves and the process still continues. It will take us years too. But at least I hope that we would have tided over the worst in the next ten years. Then India will go ahead on its own steam. There will be equality of opportunity and we would have solved the problem of unemployment too. I want that our children in particular must be properly cared for. These are big tasks in which there is no room for momentary enthusiasm.

During the freedom struggle, we faced bullets with courage. But today we face a far more difficult task which has to be done with calm determination, always keeping our goals before us. It requires a great deal of hard work. But at the same time, you must realise that it is one of the most challenging tasks that is being undertaken in the world. The eyes of the world are upon us to see how we shape our future. But whether the world looks at us or not, we have to keep an eye on ourselves and pick up these big tasks and solve them and not indulge in petty squabbles.

The history of India is a glorious one but there are dark periods in it too. Great men have been born here but at the same time there has been great disunity too. Yesterday I was in Rajasthan. Even a child in India has heard the stories of valour of the warriors of Rajputana, of Rana Pratap and others. But we also know how these great heroes used to fight with one another; with the result that the enemy from outside would come in and defeat everyone. There was no dearth of valour and pride but the wisdom to work together was lacking.

So when I was in Rajasthan yesterday, I was happy to see that the State is changing fast. The men and women of Rajasthan are strong and tough. I see changes wherever I go in India. New developments are being taken up, our boys and girls go to schools and colleges in large numbers. They are undisciplined at times. But India is changing. New shoots are sprouting; a new generation is on the rise. It is a good thing. But we must try in our own lifetime to give a proper sense of direction to the new generation to get out of the mire

of poverty. If we are able to do this the coming generation can do as it thinks best.

Thank you for listening to me so patiently. Jai Hind! Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

(iv) Alwar

## 9. Public Meeting<sup>81</sup>

वहनो और भाइयो,

अभी थोड़ी देर हुई मैं वहाँ दूसरे सम्मेलन में था जहाँ बहुत सारे हमारे मण्डलों के सभापति और मन्त्री राजस्थान के अलग-अलग भागों से आये थे, और कुछ आजकल जो हमारे सामने देश के प्रश्न हैं, [उन]का मैं चर्चा कर रहा था।<sup>82</sup> आजकल विशेषकर एक बड़ा प्रश्न उठा है गाँवों के लिए, देहातों के लिए, किसानों के लिए कि किस ढंग से हम गाँवों को बदलें, किस ढंग से हमारे किसानों का उत्थान हो, उठें, उनकी गरीबी दूर हो, क्योंकि देश में अधिकतर तो आप जानते हैं गाँव हैं, शहर थोड़े-से हैं। गाँवों का उठाना भारत की एक निशानी हो गयी कि बढ़ रहा है कि नहीं। आप लोग दिल्ली जायें तो आप दिल्ली में देखेंगे बड़े-बड़े मकान खड़े हैं, ऊँचे-ऊँचे नये मकान बनते हैं। एक सुन्दर शहर है। लेकिन भारत का नमूना दिल्ली नहीं है, भारत का गाँव है और जितना गाँव उठेगा, उतना भारत उठेगा। यह बात सब लोगों को हमेशा याद रखनी चाहिए। देश में बड़े-बड़े नगर, बड़े-बड़े शहर उनकी भी आवश्यकता होती है। गाँव और नगर, दोनों होने चाहिए। एक-दूसरे की सहायता करें, लेकिन इस ढंग से नहीं होने चाहिए कि गाँव गिरे रहें और विशेषकर हमारे देश में जहाँ सौ में अस्सी आदमी गाँव में रहते हैं। तो कितने ही हम बड़े-बड़े काम उठायें देश में, जैसे कि हमने उठाये हैं, पहला काम हो जाता है किसान कैसे हैं, कैसे उनकी खेती होती है, कितना उत्पादन है, गाँव की हालत कैसी है, गाँव में कितनी पढ़ाई होती है, कितने स्कूल हैं, कितने अस्पताल हैं, कैसी सड़कें हैं, अच्छा पानी पीने को मिलता है कि नहीं। ये सवाल सबमें पहले हैं, फिर और बातें उठती हैं। इसीलिए विकास योजना जो है, आप जानते होंगे कम्युनिटी ब्लॉक, वो हमने चलाये [...] छै वर्ष हो गये और छै वर्ष हुए वे देश भर में बहुत फैले हैं। कोई तीन लाख गाँव उनकी लपेट में आ गये हैं, फैले तो बहुत हैं और अच्छा काम किया, लेकिन फिर भी हम चाहते थे कि और भी अच्छे काम करें, और विशेषकर हम यह चाहते थे कि गाँव का काम गाँव वाले करें, अफसर आ कर के बाहर

81. Speech, Alwar, 20 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

82. See item 24.



के न करें। तो चाहे विकास योजना हो, चाहे पंचायत हो, चाहे कुछ हो, गाँव वालों को समझना है कि इस बड़े काम को उन्हें उठाना है, उन्हीं के लाभ के लिए है। अगर नहीं उठता तो उन्हीं की हानि होगी।

अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में, अंग्रेज़ी समय में कोई बहुत ज़्यादा, बहुत ज़्यादा क्या बिलकुल कोई गाँव वालों के या शहर वालों के कोई अधिकार नहीं थे, बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर अधिकारी थे, और वो जो हुक़ूम देते थे वो कुछ-न-कुछ होता था। उनको इस बात की बहुत फ़िक़र नहीं थी कि गाँव की हालत अच्छी हो, कुछ थोड़ी बहुत होगी भी। लेकिन अब वो सिलसिला नहीं चल सकता कि बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर हुक़ूम दें, क्योंकि अब हमारे सामने जो काम हैं, वो जनता के काम हैं और जब तक लोग...जनता उसमें...अपने कन्धे पर नहीं उठायेँ उस भार को तो गाँव कैसे अच्छा हो? लेकिन अगर आप उठायेँ, अगर आप समझ जायें और एक-एक गाँव वाला मिल कर काम करे ज़ोरों से तो देखते-देखते सारे देश का रूप बदल जाये। इसलिए अब अधिकतर ज़ोर इस बात पर दिया जा रहा है कि एक तो गाँव की पंचायत जो है, वो मज़बूत हो और पंचायत के अधिकार हों। अभी तक अधिकार कम हैं और उसके अधिकार बढ़ायेँ जायें और जो पंच हों, उनके ऊपर ज़िम्मेदारी रखी जाये। एक तो यह बात, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं हमारे स्वराज की जड़ गाँव में हो, गाँव के रहने-वालों में हो।

दूसरी यह बात कि हर गाँव में सहकारी संघ हो, जिसमें गाँव वाले मिल के अपनी खेती का जो कारोबार हो, उसमें सहयोग से करें, जो कुछ लेना है, देना है, ख़रीदना है, बेचना है, अच्छे बीज हों, अच्छी खाद हो, बेचना हो या कभी रुपया क़र्ज़ा लेना है। जो पहले बनिया काम करते थे वो अब बनिये ऐसे लोग, बीच के लोग...तो हम नहीं चाहते, उनको लाभ होता है। हम तो चाहते हैं, किसान मिल कर सहकारी संघ बनायें तो उसमें जो कुछ लाभ हो तो उनको मिले। ये सब पुराने ढंग निकल जायें। पुराने ढंग हैं। एक तो बनिया का मैंने आपको कहा, तक्रावी का, और न जाने क्या-क्या, यह आते हैं। यह बात ठीक है कि गाँव में किसानों को फ़सल के पहले सहायता की ज़रूरत है, मदद की ज़रूरत है। उसका प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए। लेकिन क्या प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए? न वो होना चाहिए बनिया क़र्ज़ा दे, न होना चाहिए कि तक्रावी का जो है। यहाँ तक्रावी अभी तक चलती है और चलेगी, ठीक है चले; लेकिन सब में ठीक तो जब हो जब गाँव वालों के हाथ में ये खुद बात आ जाये और सहकारी संघ वो रखें। तब सीधा उनको सहायता मिल सकती है। फिर बीच में कोई झगड़ा करने वाले लोग नहीं रहते।

अब हमारे देश में अधिकतर गाँव में, अधिकतर ज़मीन एक-एक किसान की कृषक की थोड़ी होती है, अधिक नहीं होती। वो बेचारा...उसकी शक्ति नहीं होती, वो दूर तक नहीं जा सकता, उसकी पहुँच भी नहीं होती। तो ये बातें हटानी चाहिएँ। अब लाखों, करोड़ों किसानों के लिए हटाने में तो समय लगे। लेकिन अगर वो अपना यह संघ बनायें, सहकारी संघ बनायें, कोऑपरेटिव बनायें, तब उनकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है काम करने की और सरकार से माँग करने की, बातचीत करने की, बेचने की, ख़रीदने की, सब बातें बढ़ जाती हैं और उसमें जो कुछ लाभ

होता है, वो गाँव के लोगों का होता है, कोई बीच वाले का नहीं होता। तो यह हमारे सामने है और हम समझते हैं कि दो-तीन बातें पक्की तौर से हुई, यानी एक तो पंचायतें मज़बूत हुई, और दूसरे सहकारी संघ हुआ, और सहकारी संघों के द्वारा गाँव का आर्थिक काम हुआ और बाद में यह भी हम चाहते हैं कि सहकारी संघ के द्वारा यह निश्चय हो कि मिल कर खेती हो गाँव की। जैसे एक परिवार करता है मिल के खेती, मिल के हो, और अलग-अलग लोग अपना-अपना हिस्सा उसका ले लें। इसमें कोई ज़मीन ज़ब्त करने का प्रश्न नहीं है। इसमें तो यह है कि अपना-अपना हिस्सा हरेक का रहेगा और सब लोग मिल कर खेती करें तो उससे लाभ अधिक होगा, हिस्से में आप को अधिक मिलेगा। ये दो-तीन बातें हमने निश्चय कीं।

अब इस पर कुछ लोगों ने विरोध किया है। लेकिन अजीब बात यह है कि जिन्होंने विरोध किया है, वो अधिकतर ऐसे लोग हैं जो ज़मीन पर काम नहीं करते। वो कलकत्ते से... बम्बई... बड़े-बड़े नगरों में रहने वाले... वो विरोध करते हैं। यह अजीब आश्चर्य की बात है। क्यों विरोध करते हैं? मैंने बहुत विचार किया, क्योंकि उनकी हानि तो उसमें होती नहीं; न लाभ, न हानि; उनसे मतलब नहीं। लेकिन उनके मन में एक, यह एक भय है कि अब यह देश ध्वस्त आ रहा है, समाजवाद की तरफ़, उससे बाद में कहीं उनको कुछ हानि न हो। लेकिन देश तो बढ़ रहा है और बढ़ेगा और देश तो ऐसे बढ़ेगा जिसमें आम जनता बढ़े; अब हम नहीं चाहते कि किसी की हानि हो उसमें। हम नहीं चाहते थे कि... अब यहाँ देशी राज्य था राजस्थान में, हम राजाओं की हानि तो नहीं चाहते थे। लेकिन हम यह नहीं चाहते थे कि राजा लोग जनता के कन्धे पर बैठे रहें, छाती पर बैठे रहें। हम नहीं चाहते थे कि सारा परिश्रम जनता करे और उसका लाभ थोड़े-से आदमी ले लें, और बड़े-बड़े महल बना दें बग़ैर कुछ किये हुए। अब वो समय ख़त्म हो गया, अन्त हो गया उसका। इसी तरह से हमें समाज का संगठन ऐसा करना है, जिसमें सभी का लाभ हो। अगर सभी के लाभ होने में किसी दो-चार, सौ-पचास आदमी को कुछ हानि होती है तो फिर लाचारी है। यह तो नहीं हो सकता कि दो-चार लोगों की हानि बचाने के लिए सारा देश, सारे देश की जनता को हानि हो।

आप जानते हैं कि महात्माजी किसी की हानि नहीं चाहते थे। हाँ, सारी जनता का उद्धार चाहते थे, और सबमें जो नीच लोग गिने जाते हैं, ग़रीब, उनका सबमें अधिक उद्धार चाहते थे। तो वो तो सब से मिल के काम करते थे, कोई लड़ाई किसी से नहीं लड़ते थे। लेकिन उन्होंने एक समय कहा था, मैं नहीं चाहता किसी का नुक़सान करना, लेकिन अगर किसी की बात, किसी का हक़ जनता के लाभ के रास्ते में आता है तब उसको झाड़ू से हटा देना चाहिए, उस हक़ को। तो यह बात ठीक है। इसीलिए हमने अपने देश में देशी राज्य हटाये। देशी राज्य हटाये, क्योंकि वो प्रथा अच्छी नहीं थी। देशी राज्यों में एक देश तरक्की नहीं कर सकता था। स्वराज नहीं था वो, स्वराज राजाओं का था, जनता का नहीं थी। उसमें ऊँच-नीच बहुत होती है। उसमें जो लोग मेहनत करते हैं, उनको लाभ बहुत कम होता है, ऊपर वालों को अधिक होता है। हमने देशी राज्य हटाये, लड़ाई-झगड़ा करके तो नहीं हटाये, बल्कि प्रेम से हटाये और देशी राज्य थे, उनको काफ़ी पैसा दिया, काफ़ी पेंशन अब भी मिलती है। कुछ ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा



मिलती है, क्योंकि ठीक है, हमने निश्चय किया हम उनको देते हैं। लेकिन मेरा विश्वास यह है कि हर पुरुष-स्त्री को जैसे वो काम करता है, उतना उसको मिलना चाहिए। जो काम नहीं करता कुछ, उसको नहीं मिलना चाहिए कुछ। यह एक सिद्धान्त मैं मानता हूँ। अब हाँ, बच्चों को तो मिलना ही है बेचारे बच्चे क्या करें, बूढ़े क्या करें? वो तो और बात है। लेकिन तगड़े लोग जो काम नहीं करें, उनको कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है कि समाज उनकी सहायता करे और बड़े ज़ोर से सहायता करे। यह बात ग़लत है और हल्के-हल्के इस बात को हटाना है।

यह भी बात ग़लत है कि एक आदमी के पास मकान, घर रहने को नहीं हो, और दूसरे के पास पचास महल हों। यह भी ग़लत बात है। यहाँ अलवर में भी बहुत कुछ पुराने महल हैं; मैंने सुना है, ख़ाली पड़े हैं, बड़े-बड़े महल बन के, ख़ाली हैं, ख़राब होते हैं, अस्तबल हो गये, गौशाला हो गये, आदमी भी नहीं रहते, लेकिन महल हैं और मामूली लोगों को घर रहने को नहीं है। यह बात कुछ ठीक नहीं समझ में आती है, और यहाँ के जो महाराजा हैं ज़रा उनको भी सोचना चाहिए कि उचित बात नहीं है। माना कि अब उनको कोई अधिकार नहीं रहे, लेकिन हर एक आदमी का चाहे अधिकार हो चाहे नहीं, कर्तव्य है जनता की सेवा करना, चाहे वो महाराजा हो, चाहे कोई हो। बहुत दिन तक जनता ने महाराजाओं की सेवा की। अब थोड़ी-सी वो भी सेवा करें जनता की तो अच्छा हो। (तालियाँ)

तो अब हम देश में चाहते हैं, हमारे देश का एक परिवर्तन हो। आप जानते हैं, हमारा देश हिन्दुस्तान, भारत, बहुत पुराना देश है। हज़ारों वर्ष पुराना है। कितने हज़ार वर्ष हुए...पुराना है और इसकी कहानी बहुत लम्बी है, और हमारी पुरानी किताबें हैं, वो भी बड़ी पुरानी हैं, बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे की पुस्तकें हैं। बड़े ऊँचे सिद्धान्त हैं हमारे, सब ठीक हैं। लेकिन जब देश बहुत पुराना होता है, तब उसमें थोड़े-थोड़े दिन बाद ज़रा जवानी आनी चाहिए, नहीं तो बहुत बूढ़ा हो जाये। शक्ति आनी चाहिए। हमारे देश के इतिहास में भी कई बार आप देखो कि देश फिर उठ खड़ा हुआ, जवान हो गया, तगड़ा हुआ और बड़ा आगे बढ़ा, फिर बाद में दुर्बल हो गया, और फिर उठा। अब अंग्रेज़ी राज्य हटा, देशी राज्य हटा तो फिर से हमको मौक़ा मिला है, देश बड़े ज़ोर से उठ खड़ा हुआ। एक जवान देश की तरह से। तो पुराना देश भी हमारा रहे और जवान देश भी हो जाये, ऐसा हमें करना है। तगड़ा देश, खुशहाल देश, जिसमें से ग़रीबी वगैरह को हम निकाल दें।

अभी यह हमारे यहाँ की अलवर की म्यूनिसिपैलिटी के प्रधान ने एक मानपत्र पढ़ कर मुझे सुनाया, और उन्होंने कहा कि अलवर को बहुत बातों की आवश्यकता है। यहाँ कारख़ाने हों। यहाँ बिजली हो, यहाँ क्या-क्या हो, बहुत बातें। ठीक है, अलवर को आवश्यकता तो है ही, और हमारे देश में कई हज़ार अलवर हैं जहाँ इसी की आवश्यकता है और कई लाख गाँव हैं जहाँ इसकी आवश्यकता है; वो तो है ही; हमारे देश की आवश्यकता है। भले ही अलवर में जो कुछ हो सके वो किया जाये, करना चाहिए, लेकिन जिस चीज़ की सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता है वो क्या? बताओ? वो न बिजली है, न कारख़ाने हैं, न कुछ और है। वो तगड़े लोगों की है, तगड़े मनुष्यों की है, तगड़े पुरुष-स्त्री, सीखे हुए तगड़े पुरुष-स्त्री, उनकी आवश्यकता है, क्योंकि यह

सब काम जो होते हैं, चाहे कारखाने हों, चाहे बिजली हो, चाहे खान खोदी जाये, कौन करता है? आदमी करते हैं, तगड़े आदमी करते हैं, सीखे हुए आदमी करते हैं, संगठित समाज करती है। इसी तरह से देश बढ़ते हैं। खाली मुझे मानपत्र देने से तो कुछ नहीं होगा, और आपका नहीं कहीं भी। वो पुराने ज़माने गये जब कोई सरकारी अफ़सर आते थे और मानपत्र दिया जाये और कहा जाये कि आप यह कर दें, वो कर दें। आजकल उन्हीं का होता है जो खुद काम करते हैं।

अब मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि खुद वहाँ अलवर की म्यूनिसिपैलिटी कारखाना खड़ा कर दे। उसकी शायद शक्ति के बाहर हो। लेकिन फिर भी जो मन्त्र आपको समझना है, सीखना है, वो यह है कि खुद अपने काम करने से हम अपना, अपनी समाज का भला करते हैं। चाहे आपका परिवार हो, चाहे आपका गाँव हो, चाहे आपका कोई शहर...नगर में रहते हों...और इसलिए अगर आप इस सारे को देखें जो हमारे गाँव हैं आजकल और छोटे शहर हैं, वहाँ आपको हमें उठाना है तो चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना है। चालीस करोड़ आदमी कोई ऊपर के हुक्म से नहीं उठ पाते। दिल्ली में क़ानून बनायें और उनको तो अपने परिश्रम से उठाना है। हाँ, दिल्ली की सहायता से, जयपुर की सहायता से...और दिल्ली के पास वो पैसा कहाँ से आता है? उनसे कहा जाय कारखाना खड़ा करो तो कहाँ से पैसा आता है दिल्ली के खज़ाने में। कहीं अमरीका, विलायत से तो आता नहीं। वो पैसा तो आता है, आम जनता की जेब से आता है। आप देते हैं। आप दें, आप दें, सब लोग देश भर का पैसा थोड़ा-थोड़ा जो देते हैं, टैक्स लगता है, लगान लगे, मालगुज़ारी, जो कुछ लगे, वो जमा हो कर सरकारी खज़ाने में आता है। वो जो रुपया सरकारी खज़ाने में आता है, उससे फिर देश के काम होते हैं, चाहे कारखाना बने, चाहे नहर बने, चाहे सड़कें बनें, चाहे बिजली आये, यह सब उसी पैसे से आते हैं। तो जितना पैसा जनता से आयेगा, उतना ही उस पर खर्च हो सकता है, अधिक नहीं हो सकता। कहाँ से आये जब है ही नहीं? जनता पैसे कैसे देती है? जनता टैक्स में, मालगुज़ारी, लगान में पैसा देती है? जितना वो कमाती है, अपने परिश्रम से उसका एक भाग देती है। अगर कमाये अधिक तो अधिक दे, अधिक सरकारी खज़ाने में पैसे आयें। तो धूम-धाम के बात, यह बात हो जाती है कि हमें अपने देश का उत्पादन, पैदावार बढ़ानी है। कारखाने तो बनने ही हैं, लेकिन किसान को खेती से अधिक पैदा करना है। हम काम करते हैं, बहुत कम करते हैं और देशों के मुकाबले में कम करते हैं। और आप राजस्थान में और भी कम करते हैं। आपसे अधिक पंजाब में करते हैं, आपसे अधिक मद्रास में करते हैं। तो क्यों कम करें आप? हाँ, माना, कहीं पानी नहीं मिलता। वो तो ठीक है। पानी मिलने से अधिक होगा, या फिर और चीज़ नहीं मिलती। उसका तो प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए, जहाँ तक बन पड़े। लेकिन आखिर में हमें अपनी समाज को ऐसे बदलना है जिससे अधिक-से-अधिक काम हो और एक-दूसरे से मिल कर काम हो। यह प्रश्न उठता है?

हमें स्वराज मिला। कैसे मिला स्वराज? याद है आपको? लोग तो भूल जाते हैं। अब स्वराज मिले भी तो कितने वर्ष हुए। बारह वर्ष हुए और लोग भूलने लगे क्या हुआ था? हम



महात्मा गाँधी की जय पुकारते हैं। लेकिन महात्मा गाँधी ने जो सिखाया हमें, उसको हम भूल जाते हैं। स्वराज की लड़ाई बहुत वर्ष चली, बहुत वर्ष। स्वराज की लड़ाई चली। देश की महासभा है काँग्रेस, उसने चलायी। अब देश की महासभा कितने वर्ष हुए, वो भूल गये आप। पचहत्तर वर्ष हुए, चौहत्तर-पचहत्तर वर्ष हुए उसका जन्म हुआ था, काँग्रेस महासभा का। हल्के-हल्के बढ़ी वो। जितनी फैली उतनी उसकी शक्ति बढ़ी, जनता की। फिर महात्माजी आये। उसको भी चालीस वर्ष से ऊपर हुए, पैंतालीस वर्ष। तो वो तो बड़े महापुरुष थे। उन्होंने कहा कि स्वराज तो आना है, लेकिन स्वराज आता है ताक़त से, शक्ति से, परिश्रम से। मानपत्र दे के स्वराज नहीं आता, न लोगों से कुछ माँग के। तो ताक़त, शक्ति कैसे आती है? वो आपस में मिल कर रहने से, एकता से और अपना संगठन बना के, मिल कर काम करने से, सहयोग से, और त्याग से, इससे आता [आती] है।

कोई चीज़ आप बाज़ार में मोल लेने जाओ तो उसकी कीमत देनी पड़ती है, पैसे से। अच्छा, जब तुम इतनी बड़ी बात चाहो, स्वराज तो उसकी कीमत क्या है? पैसे की कीमत तो नहीं। पैसे से स्वराज तो नहीं मिलता, बाज़ार में बिकता नहीं। स्वराज की कीमत है, परिश्रम और त्याग और एकता, आपस में मिल कर रहना, सहयोग। यह स्वराज की कीमत थी, बलिदान करना, त्याग करना। तो यह महात्माजी ने हमें सबक सिखाया और हल्के-हल्के उन्होंने जनता को सिखाया...और देश की जो यह बड़ी महासभा थी काँग्रेस की, जिसके बड़े नेता हुए वो, देश भर में फैली और उसने अपना संगठन फैलाया। ऊपर से ले कर हिमालय पहाड़ से उत्तर में, दक्षिण तक कन्याकुमारी तक, रामेश्वरम तक वो फैली, गाँव में, शहर में और उसमें सब लोग आये, समझो। एक धर्म के नहीं थे, एक जाति के नहीं, सब देश के जितने धर्म हैं, सब उसमें गये, सब जातियाँ आयीं, ऊँच-नीच, जाति वो नहीं मानते थे। जब हम स्वराज चाहते हैं तो स्वराज सबके लिए कि ऊँची जातियों के लिए। मोटी बात थी और अगर हम कहें कि ऊँची जातियों के लिए तो अंग्रेज़ कहें कि साहब स्वराज हमारे लिए, तुम्हें क्यों? हम सबमें ऊँची जाति अपने को समझते हैं। तो किसी को स्वराज नहीं मिले तो ऊँच-नीच जाति कहने से फिर तो स्वराज नहीं मिलता।

स्वराज है तो सबके लिए, बराबर का अधिकार और संगठन है तो सबके लिए। इसलिए जो काँग्रेस महासभा का संगठन बना, उसमें सब लोग थे, सब जाति के, सब धर्म के हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिक्ख, बौद्ध, पारसी, ईसाई लोग। सब जो हमारे देश के रहने वाले हैं। सब लोग रहे, सब जातियों के थे, चाहे आप उनकी अछूत गिनें कुछ, सबको बराबर का अधिकार था और महात्माजी ने उस पर बड़ा जोर दिया। तो ऐसा बड़ा संगठन बना तो उसकी बड़ी शक्ति हो गयी, कैसी शक्ति? कोई हम लाठी से, तलवार से, बन्दूक से तो लड़ते नहीं थे, शान्ति से हम लड़ते थे। लेकिन मिल कर काम करने की शक्ति इतनी हो गयी कि अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य था इतना बड़ा और बड़ी फ़ौज उसकी, सब कुछ उसको यहाँ से हटना पड़ा और जब वो हटा तो आपके जो छोटे राजा-महाराजा थे, वो अपने आप गिर गये, क्योंकि उनकी शक्ति तो...अंग्रेज़ों के साये में रहते थे, अपनी जनता की शक्ति से तो नहीं थे वो। तो मेरा मतलब यह है कि

स्वराज हमें मिला जनता की शक्ति से, जनता के संगठन से, जनता की एकता से, जनता के त्याग से, जनता के बलिदान से। सब लोग मिल कर बड़ी ताकत होती है।

अच्छा, अब जो हम एक और यात्रा पर जाना चाहते हैं। स्वराज की यात्रा हुई तो अब दूसरी यात्रा क्या? स्वराज की लड़ाई का अन्त हुआ तो अब दूसरी लड़ाई क्या? हम किसी देश से तो लड़ाई नहीं चाहते हैं। हम तो आपस में भी लड़ना पसन्द नहीं करते। तो हमारी लड़ाई जो है, वो किसी पुरुष से नहीं, किसी देश से नहीं, किसी जाति से नहीं, किसी धर्म से नहीं। हमारी लड़ाई है देश की दरिद्रता से, देश की गरीबी से, देश की बेरोज़गारी से। यह लड़ाई है। जो इस लड़ाई में हम जीतें तो सबका लाभ हो। एक बड़ी लड़ाई हो गयी और जो हमारी यात्रा है, वो भी यात्रा हो गयी कि स्वराज से हम आगे बढ़ के सारे देश को एक खुशहाल कर दें। यह काम है, बड़ा भारी काम है। अब जैसे हमने स्वराज में एकता से किया था, वैसे ही हमें करना है, क्योंकि यह बड़ा कठिन काम है। एकता से हमें बढ़ना है, मिल कर। आपस में लड़ना-झगड़ना नहीं है, चाहे गाँव में, चाहे शहर में। यह हमारी पुरानी बीमारी है आपस में लड़ने की। गाँव वाले आपस में लड़ने लगते हैं। शहर वाले आपस में लड़ें। यहाँ तक कि हमारी काँग्रेस के अन्दर भी लोग लड़ते हैं, एक-दूसरे से, दलों में। यह तो बड़ी एक दुर्बलता है, हमें दुर्बल कर देती है। अगर ऐसी बात चली तो हम गिर जायेंगे। तो हमें अब जो बड़ा काम देश का करना है, देश में एक बड़ी क्रान्ति लानी है, परिवर्तन करना है, अपने समाज को, उसको, उसी ढंग से करेंगे, अपनी एकता से और परिश्रम से, त्याग से और उसमें कोई भय भी नहीं है। अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में तो भय था, गोली चलाये, जेल में भेजे। अब तो हम देश के भले के लिए काम करते हैं, हमारा भी लाभ हो, देश का भी लाभ हो।

सो यह बात आपको याद रखनी है। और देश में तो बड़े-बड़े काम होते हैं और आपने सुना होगा पंचवर्षीय योजना और क्या-क्या बड़े-बड़े काम हैं। आप में से कुछ लोग फिरे भी होंगे, भारत दर्शन करने। आजकल बहुत लोग जाते हैं भारत का दर्शन करने कि आजकल क्या हो रहा है भारत में? और देखते हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी नहरें बन रही हैं, बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बन रहे हैं, बड़े-बड़े खेती में भी नये-नये काम हो रहे हैं, नयी-नयी खाद बनती है, नये-नये बीज आते हैं, उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है और ये सहकारी संघ बन रहे हैं, जिससे मिल के काम हो। ये सब बातें देश भर में हो रही हैं। उसको देखते हैं आ के। तब जो-जो देखता है आ के, उसको बड़ा आश्चर्य होता है कि हमारा देश कैसे बदल रहा है? आपमें से कोई जा सके तो जाये देखे, अच्छा है। अपने देश को तो पहचानना होता है। अपने घर को पहचानना होता है। यह सारा देश तो हमारा घर है, किसी और का तो नहीं है। चाहे आप राजस्थान में रहें, चाहे आप दिल्ली में, चाहे बम्बई में, कलकत्ते में जायें, सारा देश आपका है, किसी और का तो नहीं। हम सभी का मिल कर है। किसी की ज़मींदारी देश नहीं है, न किसी की जागीर है। सारी जनता का यह देश है, पुरुष, स्त्री सब मिल कर, और कोई बाहर वाला अब इसको हमसे ले नहीं सकता। तो यह याद करके हमें देखना है कि अब देश में क्या हो रहा है? उससे सीखना है। खैर, सब लोग तो नहीं जा सकते देश भर में घूमने। तो अपने घर में सीखना है और वो जो विकास योजना



है, जो आपके यहाँ भी कम्युनिटी ब्लॉक खोले होंगे, उससे सीखना है, क्या हमें काम करना, क्या देश के लिए? तो पहली बात तो हमें समझना है कि हमें कहाँ जाना है। कोई यात्रा करे, जान लेता है कि कौन-से तीर्थ की हम यात्रा कर रहे हैं? उत्तर जाना, दक्षिण, पूर्व, पश्चिम जाना है। यों ही तो नहीं चल दिये। चल दिये, कहीं-न-कहीं, पहुँच जायें, खो जायें? तो फिर कहाँ जाना है? कहाँ जाना है देखने के लिए विचार करना होता है कि कैसे हम समाज का परिवर्तन करें, जिससे समाज की अच्छाई हो।

कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि तुम योजना बनाते हो, यह व्यर्थ है। कुछ योजना न बनाओ, बस लोग काम करते जायें, पहुँच जायेंगे मंज़िल पर। यह तो बात समझ की नहीं है। हमें सोचना है कि किस तरफ़ जाना है, तभी तो मंज़िल पहुँचे। अगर हमें हिमालय जाना है और हम दक्षिण जाने लगे तो हम और दूर हो जायेंगे। हमें जाना है, ऐसा कि हमारी समाज एक समाजवादी समाज हो, सोशलिज्म की समाज हो, एक-दूसरे के बराबर हों लोग, एक-दूसरे में ऊँच-नीच बहुत न हो। सब लोगों को बराबर के अधिकार हों आगे बढ़ने के, मौक़ा मिले। ऐसी समाज हमें बनानी है। यह तो बड़ी बात हो गयी न? कहाँ आजकल देखो अमीर आदमी, कहाँ ग़रीब, कहाँ दिल्ली के महल और कहाँ आपके गाँव के मिट्टी के मकान। कितना अन्तर है, किता फ़र्क़ है। ख़ैर, मैं तो नहीं कहता कि यह सब फ़र्क़ मिट जायेगा। मैं नहीं कहता कि आपके गाँव में बड़े-बड़े महल खड़े हो जायेंगे। और कोई आवश्यकता भी नहीं है महलों की। लेकिन हाँ, आपको अधिकार है कि अच्छे मकान हों; साफ़, स्वच्छ मकान हों, अच्छा पानी आपको मिले पीने को, अच्छा खाना मिले, काम मिले। आपके बच्चों की पढ़ाई ठीक-ठीक हो, वस्त्र मिले आपको, अस्पताल हों ठीक-ठीक, ये सब बातें हर एक का अधिकार हो और तरक्की कर सकें जितनी उसकी बुद्धि हो। ऐसा होना चाहिए, और ऊँच-नीच बहुत नहीं होनी चाहिए। तो इस ढंग का हम समाजवाद चाहते हैं यहाँ।

अब वो समाजवाद ऐसा ही आयेगा। उस समाजवाद में आप सोचो कि विशेषकर उनका लाभ हो जो आजकल हमारे गाँवों में रहते हैं, क्योंकि वो शहर वाले फिर भी उनसे कुछ ऊँचे हैं। गाँव वाले ज़रा गिरे हैं। तो गाँव वालों की तरफ़ हमें विशेष ध्यान देना है, सोचना है और उन लोगों को आप लोगों को समझना है कि वो अपनी शक्ति से उठ सकते हैं, दूसरे की शक्ति से नहीं। अपनी शक्ति के माने यह हैं कि अपने गाँव में काम करना है, अपने खेत में। खेत में ऐसा काम करें जिससे उनका उत्पादन अधिक हो, बहुत ज़्यादा हो पहले से। उससे उनको धन मिलेगा। मिल कर करें। उधर वो अपने गाँव को बनायें। जब वो मिल कर करेंगे, उनकी अच्छी सड़क बनायेंगे, अपना पंचायत-घर बनायेंगे, विद्यालय बनायें, ये सब बनें, फिर अपना घर बनायें, गाँव का रंग बदलने लगेगा ऐसे हल्के-हल्के। आगे मिल कर काम करें, संगठित रूप से करें। इसलिए एक तरफ़ से तो वो हैं, मैंने आपसे कहा विकास योजना, कम्युनिटी ब्लॉक; उसमें एक बात हम चाहते थे, वो अभी तक नहीं हुई।

हम नहीं चाहते कम्युनिटी ब्लॉक में बड़े-बड़े अधिकारी काम करें। वो बड़े हुकम चलायें। हम तो चाहते हैं गाँव की या ब्लॉक की जनता की सलाह से वो काम हो। वो अपने पंच भेजे,

उनसे सलाह ली जाये, वो उसका बोझा उठाये। तब काम ठीक होगा, क्योंकि आपका काम है। यह अफ़सरों का काम थोड़े ही है। एक अफ़सर आता है, कल उसका तबादला हो गया है, दूसरी जगह जाता है। आप जो गाँव में रहते हैं, आपकी कोई अदला-बदली तो नहीं होती। आप तो वहीं रहते हैं। तो आपको तो अपने गाँव को उठाना, आपका काम हो गया, वो अफ़सर का थोड़े ही काम है। तो इसलिए यह विकास योजना शुरू हुई और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस विकास योजना में आप ख़ूब अच्छी तरह समझें कि क्या काम होता है और उसमें भाग लें, हिस्सा लें आपके पंच लोग। और आप ही के लोगों में लड़कों में से चुन के सिखा करके तो ग्राम सेवक बनते हैं। यह जो यह है, यह बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ है देश में, यह जो गाँव में आजकल हो रहा है, और इससे अगर हम चाहते हैं जितना जल्दी हो उतना अच्छा है।

अब जो दूसरी बात मैंने आपको कही थी कि गाँव में पंचायत हो, गाँव में सहकारी संघ हो। पंचायत तो ख़ैर, सब लोग मानते हैं। सहकारी संघ भी अधिकतर मानते हैं। लेकिन कुछ लोगों ने कुछ गुल मचाना शुरू किया है सहकारी संघ के विरोध में। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह विरोध बड़ा ग़लत है और बड़ा हानिकारक है और इससे कोई किसान का लाभ नहीं है, क्योंकि मोटी बात है, किसान का लाभ इसी बात में है, जिसमें अधिक पैदा हो, अधिक उसको हिस्सा मिले, अधिक धन मिले, अधिक उसको सहूलियत हो। वो जभी होगा जब मिल कर गाँव में सहकारी संघ के द्वारा काम किया जाये। सब लोगों को लाभ हुआ, देश का भी और उसका भी। तो हमारे सामने ये सहकारी संघ एक-एक गाँव में करने हैं। देश के पाँच लाख गाँवों में पाँच लाख सहकारी संघ करने हैं। हाँ, उसमें सीखे हुए लोगों को...हमें सिखाने हैं, जो लोग चलायें और उसका प्रबन्ध हो रहा है। सिखाने का बहुत लोगों का कि एक-एक सहकारी संघ में एक-एक सीखा हुआ आदमी हो, आपके गाँव का, और ऊपर तो ख़ैर, बहुत सारे।

तो इस बात को आप समझिए, क्योंकि इस समय गाँव के लिए सबसे बड़ी बात गाँव वालों के लिए, अपनी-अपनी पैदावार बढ़ाना है, आवश्यक है, इसके बग़ैर देश नहीं बढ़ सकता और इसे बग़ैर आपके ऊपर शहर या गाँव का रुपया भी अधिक खर्च नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि जितना धन आप पैदा करेंगे, उतना ही धन होगा खर्चने के लिए। यह आवश्यक है। अब इसके करने के लिए मैं समझता हूँ आवश्यक है कि सहकारी संघ हों, सहकारिता की कमेटियाँ हों, संघ हों, कोऑपरेटिव, जिससे आप नये ढंग का काम करना सीखें, और हम जान जायें कि कैसे ये अंग्रेज़ लोग, अमरीका के लोग, जर्मन लोग, बग़ैरह, कैसे ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करते हैं, हम भी उसको जान लें। और इसमें कोई बड़ी मशीन का मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि बड़े-बड़े ट्रैक्टर आयें, बड़ी-बड़ी मोटरें। वो तो अलग है जिसको लाना है लाये। सीधे-सीधे जो हरेक किसान को करना चाहिए—अच्छे बीज, अच्छी खाद, अच्छा हल, ज़रा मेड़ बनाना, थोड़ा-सा पानी भी हो, जिससे उससे पूरी तौर से लाभ उठाना।

ये सब बातें हैं जो कि दुनिया में सब किसान लोग सीख रहे हैं। जिन्होंने सीखा है, वो आगे बढ़ गये हैं। हम पिछड़ गये। हम अपनी बहस में पड़े रहते हैं और घबराते हैं आगे बढ़ने से। तो अब इस बात को हमें समझ लेना है और ऐसा बनाना है सहकारिता संघ। तो यह बात है।



यह तो मैंने आप लोगों को कहा है, उसका काम यह भी होगा कि आपके लिए जो कुछ चाहिए, खरीदना हो, वो आपको दे। जो आपको बेचना हो, वो आपकी तरफ से बेच दे। उसमें किसी बीच वाले को लाभ न हो। बीच वाले को, चाहे वो बनिया हो या और और कोई हो, वो जनता का हो। न कोई सरकारी अफसर बीच में आये। कहीं ज्यादा अच्छी बात हो जाये। इस ढंग से काम हमें करना है और तेज़ी से करना है और मैं समझता हूँ कि राजस्थान में आप लोग कोशिश करें तो बहुत जल्दी यह हो सकता है।

मानपत्र में कहा गया कि राजस्थान एक बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ प्रान्त है हमारे देश का। एक ढंग से सही बात है। मैं नहीं जानता कि सबमें पिछड़ा हुआ है कि नहीं। और भी हैं। लेकिन कुछ ठीक है, क्योंकि हमारे देश भर में जो सब में पिछड़े हुए हिस्से हैं, वो पुराने देशी राज्य हैं। जहाँ-जहाँ देशी राज्य थे, वो जगह पिछड़ी हुई रही। सिवा एक-दो देशी राज्य थे जो ज़रा आगे बढ़े, लेकिन ज्यादा अधिकतर पिछड़े रहे, जो राजा-महाराजा रहे। हाँ उन्होंने अपनी राजधानी में तो बड़े-बड़े मकान बना लिये, बड़े-बड़े महल बना लिये, लेकिन राजधानी के बाहर जाओ तो बिलकुल दरिद्रता फैली थी। इसलिए राजस्थान पिछड़ा हुआ है, क्योंकि यहाँ देशी राज्य थे। उससे हमें इसे निकालना है। यह बात ठीक है। तो राजस्थान पिछड़ा हुआ तो है, लेकिन एक-दूसरे ढंग से देखो तो पिछड़ा हुआ नहीं है, क्योंकि राजस्थान में तगड़े लोग रहते हैं, मज़बूत लोग, काम करने वाले। राजस्थान के इतिहास में कितने वीर पुरुष हुए हैं, बहादुर लोग हुए हैं, बहादुर स्त्रियाँ हुई हैं। तो जहाँ लोग तगड़े हैं, वो जगह पिछड़ी हुई नहीं होती है। आखिर में अन्दाज़ा होता है कि लोग कितने तगड़े हैं और कितने वीर पुरुष हैं, कितना काम कर सकते हैं, डरते तो नहीं हैं। इन बातों से आदमी नापा जाता है। पैसे से कोई नाप होती है? पैसे से नाप आदमियों की नहीं होती है। जो अपनी दुकानदारों की नाप हो, इन्सानों की नहीं होती है। जो बढ़ते हैं आगे, वो दूसरी नाप है। जिस आदमी में वीरता है, परिश्रम करने की ताकत है, वो आगे बढ़ता है, सब बातें सीख लेता है। खाली पैसे को हाथ में ले कर हेरा-फेरी करने से कोई क्रौंमें नहीं बढ़ती हैं।

तो अब ज़माना आया है, समय आया है आपके लिए, हम सब के लिए कि हम ज़ोर दिखायें। इस तरह से ज़ोर दिखलायें कि इस पाँच-सात-दस बरस में, जो आने वाले हैं, हम अपने को दरिद्रता के दलदल से खेंच लें। एक दफ़े खेंच लें, तब तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ेंगे और इसमें मुझे कोई सन्देह नहीं है और इसमें खाली पुरुष नहीं, स्त्रियों को काम करना है। सभी को काम करना है, अपने-अपने ढंग से, अपनी-अपनी जगह पर। सभी को समझना है कि इस बड़ी यात्रा में वो भी एक यात्री हैं, जो आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, वो भी एक इस बड़े परिवार में हैं भारत के, जो आगे बढ़ रहा है और वो अब हम इस बात की प्रतिज्ञा कर लें कि हम भारत को बदलेंगे, भारत की समाज को बदलेंगे, इसकी गरीबी को दूर करेंगे और खुशहाल मुल्क बनायेंगे। हमने, हमारे ज़माने के लोगों ने, जो कुछ कठिनाई उठायी, उठी। लेकिन कम-से-कम जो हमारे बच्चे हैं, वो लोग बड़े हों, एक अच्छे खुशहाल भारत में उनको ये कठिनाइयाँ न हों। यह हमारे सामने तस्वीर रखनी है और इसको हमें बढ़ाना है। तो यह तो बड़ी भारी तस्वीर है न? बड़े काम हैं। इससे

बड़ा काम क्या हो सकता है कि आप भारत को बदल दें और करोड़ों आदमियों को लाभ पहुँचायें और उसमें हमारा लाभ हो, आपका भी हो। यह तो नहीं कि कोई इसमें बड़ा बलिदान तो नहीं है। मुश्किल यह है, कठिनाई यह है कि कुछ लोग इन बातों को सोचते नहीं और आपस में बहस में पड़े रहते हैं, आपस के झगड़ों में पड़े रहते हैं, छोटे-छोटे और इससे अपनी शक्ति का नाश करते हैं।

मैं आजकल देखता हूँ, एक तरफ़ से मैं देखता हूँ कि हमारे लड़के-लड़कियाँ, बच्चे, स्कूल जाते हैं और उनको देख कर मुझे बड़ी खुशी होती है, प्रसन्नता होती है। वहाँ जाते हैं, वहाँ सीखते हैं और अक्सर अपने माँ-बाप से अधिक सीख लेते हैं वो। ठीक बात है यह, उनको बढ़ना है आगे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक-एक बच्चा देश का, उसको अच्छी तरह से पढ़ाई मिले, क्योंकि पढ़ाई से वो सीखता है। इसलिए नहीं कि पढ़ कर वो जा कर शहर में नौकरी कर ले, बाबू बन जाये, यह नहीं। शहर पढ़ कर, वो गाँव में रह के अपने गाँव की सेवा करे, अपने परिवार की सेवा करे और अपनी खेती अच्छी करे और सीख के, इस तरह से देश उठेगा। और दूसरी तरफ़ से मैं देखता हूँ कभी-कभी गाँवों में कुछ बच्चे हैं जिनके लिए अभी तक स्कूल नहीं है, पढ़ाई नहीं, खाने को नहीं मिलता है तो मुझे बड़ा दुख होता है, क्योंकि देश के सारे बच्चे हमारा सबमें बड़ा धन हैं। सोना-चाँदी धन नहीं है, हमारे देश के बच्चे धन हैं, और अगर हम उनकी देख-भाल न करें और उनकी रक्षा न करें, उनको सिखायें नहीं, उनको खिलाने का प्रबन्ध न करें ठीक-ठीक तो हम यह उनके साथ और अपने साथ इन्साफ़ नहीं करते। इसलिए मुझे बड़ी फ़िक्र है कि प्रबन्ध चाहे बड़ों का कुछ कम भी हो, बच्चों की देख-भाल का प्रबन्ध ठीक हो, क्योंकि आजकल के बच्चे कल का भारत हैं जो कि बड़े हो के वे भी भारत होंगे। तो ये बातें आपके सामने हैं बड़ी-बड़ी।

आजकल की दुनिया में एक क्रान्ति हो रही है। कभी लड़ाई-झगड़े का चर्चा होता है, कभी कुछ। थोड़ी बहुत ऊँच-नीच पाकिस्तान में एक अजीब हाल है, जो हमारा पड़ोसी देश है, जो भारत से अलग हुआ। यूरोप में जाओ वहाँ भी बड़ी लड़ाई-झगड़े की बातें रहती हैं। ये सब बातें हैं। तो ऐसे मौक़ों पर अगर हम कमज़ोर हो गये और हमें फ़िक्र नहीं हुई, बेफ़िक्रे हो गये, हमने तगड़े हो कर हमने काम नहीं किया तो हम दुर्बल हो जायेंगे, मज़बूत नहीं होंगे, हम तरक्की नहीं करेंगे। इस समय पर तो और भी आवश्यक है कि हम पूरी शक्ति से ज़ोर लगा कर अपने देश को मज़बूत बना दें, अपनी जनता को मज़बूत बनायें, अपने लड़के-लड़कियों को ऐसा सिखायें कि देश का बोझा बढ़ कर वो उठा सकें, आगे बढ़ें। इस तरह से हम करें और कारख़ाने उठें और सब हो, और हमारे खेतों से अधिक पैदावार हो। ये सब बातें हों। देश मज़बूत हो जाये। फिर दुनिया में इसके विरोध में कोई नहीं कर सकता। हमें तो किसी से लड़ना नहीं, किसी देश से। लेकिन अगर हम दुर्बल हों, कमज़ोर हों तो कमज़ोर आदमी तो एक दावत देता है एक और लोगों को आ जाने की उसके देश में, बात ठीक नहीं।

आप जानते हैं आजकल की दुनिया कैसी है? आपने सुना है कि बड़ी-बड़ी मशीनें आजकल चाँद तक पहुँच जाती हैं यहाँ से फेंक कर। नयी-नयी शक्तियाँ निकलती हैं। शक्ति



क्या होती है? क्या शक्ति है? आप...यह रेलगाड़ी चलती है, किस शक्ति से चलती है। भाप से चलती है। आप सब लोग भाप जानते हैं। भाप कोई छिपी हुई चीज़ तो नहीं है। लेकिन एक अक्लमन्द आदमी ने भाप को पकड़ के उससे पहिया चलाया, पहिया चलाया तो रेलगाड़ी चलने लगी। बहुत दिन बाद दूसरे आदमी ने कुछ और इन्तज़ाम करके इससे मोटर गाड़ी चलायी। कोई जादू तो नहीं है, आप भी चला सकते हैं। आप भी, हम भी। हवाई जहाज़ चलते हैं आजकल। मैं आज हवाई जहाज़ से आया दिल्ली से। दिल्ली से यहाँ सौ मील मैं चालीस मिनट में पहुँच गया। अभी थोड़ी देर में जा रहा हूँ दिल्ली। यह कहाँ से शक्ति आती है? बिजली से। यह भी एक अजीब चीज़ है कि बिजली से मैं बोल रहा हूँ, आवाज़ फैल जाती है, बिजली की रोशनी है, बिजली के कारखाने बनते हैं। यह सब प्रकृति की शक्तियाँ हैं। कोई जादू नहीं है। आपका कोई लड़का या आप उसको सीख सकते हैं, अगर आप सीखना चाहें। लेकिन आपको प्रकृति को समझना है, उसकी शक्ति को। जब आप समझ जाते हैं तो आपकी शक्ति हो जाती है वो। ये अंग्रेज़ लोग और अमेरिकन लोग प्रकृति की शक्ति को समझ गये। उन्होंने उसकी सेवा की, समझ गये। हम लोग आँखें बन्द करके पड़े रहे वहाँ, समझते थे कि हम तो अक्लमन्द हो गये, अब खाली और कुछ नहीं करना है। बस जो कुछ हो गया, हो गया। उसी को हम दोहराते जायें। वहीं पड़े रहें। दुनिया आगे बढ़ गयी, इसलिए हम पिछड़ गये।

अब हमें आगे बढ़ना है। हमें भी वो बातें सीखनी हैं, प्रकृति की सीखनी हैं। नयी-नयी बातें निकालनी हैं, विज्ञान सीखना है कि हम किसी और देश के पीछे न रहें। इसलिए और भी आवश्यक है कि आपके बच्चे स्कूल जायें, कॉलेज जायें और सीखें कि आजकल की दुनिया क्या है? जैसा आपने पहले काम किया, वैसा ही खेत में करें। आप पिछड़ जायेंगे, जैसे पिछड़ गये, गरीब हो जायेंगे। नयी दुनिया में नये क़दम उठाने हैं, नये मन से समझना है। तब आगे हम बढ़ें। ये बड़े काम हैं न? और इसमें आप अगर काम करें तो आपकी आँखों के सामने आपका देश बदलता जाये, जैसे कि बदल रहा है। हम एक बड़े क्रान्तिकारी समय में पैदा हुए हैं।

तो ये बातें मैंने कुछ आपसे कहीं। आप कुछ इस पर विचार करें और अपने-अपने जहाँ आप जायें, गाँवों में, शहर में तो वहाँ भी लोगों से कहें कि अब समय आ गया है ज़ोरों से आगे बढ़ने का। एक समय था पहले स्वराज लेने के लिए ज़ोर दिखाने का, अब दूसरा समय आया है कि इस यात्रा को पूरा करने का, जिसमें हमारा भला है, हमारे गाँव का भला है, हानि किसी की नहीं है और उसमें हमें मिल के चलना है। सब एक बड़ा परिवार समझ के भारत को हमें आगे बढ़ाना है। और काम क्या है? आपका काम तो यही है न कि अपने गाँव को सँभालना। गाँव को सँभालें, अपने खेत को सँभालें, अधिक पैदा करें, पंचायत मज़बूत बनायें, यह सहकारिता ठीक तौर से चलायें, वहाँ अपने संघ बनायें और यह विकास योजना है, कम्यूनिटी ब्लॉक है उसमें मदद करें। इस तरह से जो आपके आस-पास चीज़ें हैं करें। तो आपका गाँव फ़ौरन तरक्की करेगा, आगे बढ़ेगा, सबको लाभ होगा और एक छोटा-सा अंश समाजवाद का आपके गाँव में आने लगेगा और अगर सब गाँव यह करें तो सब गाँवों में आने लगेगा और

देश में आने लगेगा। तो इन बातों को आप सोचें, आपस में बात करें। ये बातें कठिन हैं, मैं जानता हूँ, क्योंकि सारे समाज का बदलना कठिन होता है, लेकिन यह भी मैं जानता हूँ और आप भी, ताक़त ही शक्ति है। जब हमने इस बात की प्रतिज्ञा की थी तो हमने स्वराज्य ले लिया। अब फिर से हम प्रतिज्ञा कर रहे हैं इसको बढ़ाने की। तब भी हम अवश्य इसमें भी सफल होंगे।

लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ जल्दी ही सफल हों तो इस काम को फैलायें, करें, और एक साल, दो साल के अन्दर आपके राजस्थान भर में यह कोऑपरेटिव, सहकारिता संघ आ जायें, पंचायतें मज़बूत हों और ज़ोरों से आप चलें। एक-दूसरे की सहायता करके और सहयोग करके और फिर वो जो बात आपमें है, राजस्थान वालों में, जो मैंने आपसे कहा, तगड़े लोग आप हैं, मज़बूत लोग हैं, वीर पुरुष राजस्थान में रहते हैं, वीर स्त्रियाँ हैं। फिर उनकी वीरता से पूरा लाभ हो, आगे बढ़ें। वीरता अच्छी चीज़ है। लेकिन वीरता से आप कम बुद्धि जोड़ दीजिए, मूर्खता जोड़ दीजिए तो वीरता भी नष्ट हो जाती है। बुद्धि भी साथ होनी चाहिए, वीरता भी होनी चाहिए और आपस में मिल कर चलना चाहिए। तब ठीक-ठीक चलते हैं।

तो अब तो मैं पन्द्रह-बीस मिनट के अन्दर दिल्ली वापस जाता हूँ। पहली बार मैं आज अलवर आया। बहुत भारत में घूमा हूँ, अलवर पहले दफ़ा आया। तो यहाँ आ के मुझे बड़ी खुशी हुई। पहले जो मण्डल में पदाधिकारी लोग थे, उनसे मिल कर, वो सारे राजस्थान से आये हैं और अब आप सब भाइयों और बहनों से मिल कर। आपने बड़े प्रेम से मेरा आज स्वागत किया, उसके लिए धन्यवाद।

जय हिन्द! मेरे साथ जय हिन्द कहिए तीन बार। जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

A short while ago, I was at another conference in which many presidents of our mandals and ministers from various parts of Rajasthan were present. I spoke about some of the problems in the country which we are facing.<sup>83</sup> Nowadays, the most important question relates to the rural areas and our farmers and how to change the villages and make them better-off. As you know, we have mostly villages and few cities in India. Therefore, the upliftment of the villages has become a symbol of India's progress. If you go to Delhi, you will find huge big mansions and houses coming up. It is a beautiful city. However, it is not Delhi but the villages which are a sample of India and it is only when they progress that India will advance. This is something that everybody must bear in mind at all times. The country needs big cities, too. There should be both villages and cities in the country and they should help each other. But we cannot have villages

83. See fn 82 in this section.



downtrodden, especially since eighty per cent of our population lives in villages.

So, no matter what tasks we take up the most important thing to be considered is the condition of the villagers and farmers, the condition of the villages, how many schools, hospitals, and roads there are and whether they get good drinking water or not. This is the most important question. The rest follows later. Therefore, as you know, six years ago, we started the community development projects which have spread to nearly three lakh villages. Good work has been done. But we want that more should be done, particularly by the villagers themselves and not by government officials. Whether it is community projects or the panchayats or something else, the villagers must understand that they will have to take on these big tasks themselves for it is they who will reap the benefit. If the villages do not prosper, it is the people who will be affected.

During the days of British rule, the villagers and city dwellers had no rights whatsoever. Orders were given by government officials from above. They were not bothered about improving the condition of the villages. But we can no longer go on like that because the tasks at hand are for the people and so long as they do not shoulder the burden themselves, the condition of the villages cannot improve. Once the villagers learn to help themselves and work in mutual cooperation, the entire country can be transformed before we know where we are. Therefore, now the emphasis is on a strong panchayat in every village with full powers which they do not have at the moment. We want the panchayats to take on more responsibility. This is because we want that the roots of democracy should lie in the villages.

Secondly, there must be a cooperative society in which the villagers can come together for the task of farming and do their buying and selling through it. The cooperative society will help them to procure good seeds and fertilizers, arrange for loans, etc. We do not want money-lenders to get a hold on the farmers. We want the farmers to form a cooperative society which will give them some benefit. We must get rid of the old practices of money-lending and taccavi loans, etc. It is true that the farmers need help before the harvest and arrangements should be made. But it should not be in the form of taccavi loans and farmers must not be allowed to fall into the clutches of the money-lenders. The best thing would be for the villagers to take up this matter themselves through the cooperative society so that they can benefit directly and the middlemen can go.

In most of our villages, the farmers own very little land. So, the poor, individual farmer does not have the strength to go very far. These obstacles must be removed. It may take a long time if these obstacles were to be removed for lakhs and crores of farmers individually. But if they form a cooperative society, their strength increases and they will be in a better position to bargain

and all the profits will go to them instead of going to the middlemen. Anyhow, we feel that the roots have been laid down for the strengthening of the panchayats and cooperative societies through which the economic tasks in the villages can be undertaken. We want the villagers to take up cooperative farming. The title to the land will remain intact and the profits can be shared. There is no question of giving up one's own land. It is merely a question of coming together for farming which will help in increasing production. We have decided upon these two or three things.

Some people have opposed this. The strange thing is that the people who are opposed to it are mostly those who do not work on land. People living in Calcutta, Bombay and other big cities oppose this move which is very surprising. I have given it a great deal of thought because they do not stand to lose or gain

### *Operation Locust*



*Attacking the opponents of cooperative farming, Pandit Nehru declared at Alwar that there shall be no place for parasites.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 29 MARCH 1959)

in any way. But I think there is a fear in their minds about the direction in which the country is going, towards socialism, which may be against their interests in the future. But the country is progressing and we want the masses to benefit. We do not want to cause harm to anybody. We did not wish to do harm to the princely states which existed in Rajasthan earlier, nor did we want the princes



to continue to ride on the shoulders of the people. We did not want that a handful of men should prosper and flourish on the labour of the masses, and live in luxury. Those days are gone. We want to build a social organisation in which everyone may benefit and if, in that process, a handful of people are affected, we are helpless. We cannot let the entire country suffer for the sake of a few people.

As you know, Mahatmaji did not wish to cause harm to anyone. He worked for the welfare of the people, especially for the very poor and the downtrodden. He worked in unity with everyone and had no enmity with anyone. But even he said once that though he did not wish to cause harm to anyone, if any vested interest came in the way of the good of the people, it should be swept away with a broom. This is why we removed the princely states because it was not a good system. There could be no democracy or progress under that system, because it was the princes who ruled and there was too much disparity. Under that system, the people who worked benefitted very little from their labour while the rulers lived in luxury. We removed the system of the princely states peacefully, with no violence or acrimony and gave a great deal of money as compensation. Even now they get a pension which is extraordinarily generous. We decided to give them a large amount, it is true. But it is my belief that every man and woman should get paid according to the amount of work he or she does. Those who do nothing must not get anything. I believe strongly in this principle except in the case of children and the old people. Able-bodied men and women should not expect anything from society and we must make every effort to stop people from sponging off society and living as parasites.

It is equally wrong that one individual should have no roof over his head while another owns huge mansions. I have heard that even here in Alwar there are a number of palaces which are lying in disuse and are falling into disrepair or are being used as stables, but they are palaces while the ordinary folk have no houses to live in. I cannot understand this and the maharajas should realise that it is not right. I agree that they no longer enjoy the right to rule, but it is the duty of every individual whether he is a king or an ordinary mortal, to serve the people. For a long, long time, the masses have served the princes and so now it is time they served the people a little. (Applause)

We have embarked on the task of bringing about changes in the country. As you know, our country India, Bharat, is a very ancient country, thousands of years old, with a long history behind it. We have ancient texts which are full of wisdom and high ideals. But when a country is very old, it needs to be rejuvenated periodically. It needs a fresh burst of energy. The history of India shows a pattern of ups and downs, with the country becoming strong and vibrant and then getting weak gradually. With the removal of British rule, we have once again got an

opportunity to progress like a young nation. So we must cherish our ancient past and at the same time rejuvenate ourselves and make India a strong and prosperous nation and remove the great poverty which afflicts the country.

Just now, the chairman of the Alwar municipality read out a manpatra, a citation in which he has listed a number of things like industries, electricity and what not, which need to be done in Alwar. It is no doubt true that Alwar needs all these things but there are thousands of Alwars in India who need them just as urgently. We must certainly do what we can for Alwar. But do you know what we require most in the country? It is not electricity or industries or things like that. What we need most urgently is strong men and women who are trained and skilled. It is after all human beings, trained human beings, who run industries, work on land and in mines or produce electricity and what not. This is how we can progress and not by giving me a manpatra. The days are gone when it was the custom to give manpatra to any visiting official along with a request for the things that need to be done. Today the people have to do the work themselves.

I do not mean to say that the Alwar municipality should set up an industry on its own. It will be beyond its power. But it is very essential for you to learn the secret, the formula for success, which is self-help and self-reliance, whether it is for your own work or the family, the village or city in which you live. It is essential to uplift forty crore human beings in the country in all the cities and villages. It cannot be done by a fiat from the top. They will have to work hard and make an effort. They can certainly be given help by the government in Delhi or Jaipur. Now where does the government get the money from? It does not come from the United States or England. The money has to come from the pockets of the people by way of taxes and land revenue, etc. It is this money which is utilised for national tasks, such as, building roads, dams, industries and producing power and what not. The government can spend only as much as it earns. The people give money for public expenditure in the form of taxes and land revenue. They give a portion of what they earn to the government. The more they earn, the more they can give to the government for investing in tasks of development. So once again we come round to the question of the need to increase production in the country. We must industrialise the country but it is equally important for the farmer to increase production from land. We produce very little from land in comparison with other countries. In Rajasthan particularly, the average yield is very low. Punjab and Madras produce much more. Why is it so low in your State? I agree that there is very little water for irrigation. Arrangements will certainly have to be made for irrigation facilities as far as possible. But ultimately we must change the society in such a way that the maximum amount of work is done with mutual cooperation. That is the question.



Do you remember how we got freedom? People tend to forget easily and moreover twelve years have gone by since then. We often shout. But we forget the lessons taught by him. The struggle for freedom lasted for a very long time and the Congress was our chief instrument. The Congress was born nearly seventy-four to seventy-five years ago. It grew and spread gradually and the more it spread, the stronger the people became. Then Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene. Even that was over forty to forty-five years ago. He was a very great soul. He taught us that freedom would be achieved only by becoming strong and working hard, and not by giving manpatras or making demands. How are we to become strong? Strength comes with unity and organisation, cooperation, sacrifice, etc.

You have to pay the price if you buy something in the market. Then when you wish for something as big as freedom, what is the price that you pay for it? It cannot be paid for in money. You cannot buy freedom in the marketplace. The price of freedom is hard work, sacrifice, unity and cooperation. This is the lesson that Mahatma Gandhi taught the people through this great national organisation called the Congress which grew and spread under his leadership from the Himalayas in the North to Kanya Kumari and Rameshwaram in the South, to every village and city. People belonging to different religions and castes joined the Congress, because we wanted freedom for everyone and not for the higher castes alone. If swaraj was meant for only the higher section of the society, the British would have said it is for them, because they consider themselves the superior caste. So, freedom is for everyone. And, thus, the doors of the Congress were open to everybody. People of all castes and religions, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsis, Christians joined the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi had laid special emphasis on equal rights to the untouchables. So a mighty organisation was created which grew very strong. The might of the Congress was not of the lathi or the sword or the gun. We believed in peaceful methods. But our capacity to work in unison increased so much that we shook the might of British imperialism to its core and ultimately it was removed. In the process, the princely states were also merged into the Indian Union because the mantle of British protection was removed. So what I mean is that we got freedom through the strength of the people, their organisation, unity, sacrifice and hard work. When people come together they become a mighty force.

Now we want to embark upon yet another journey. This is a bigger battle than the struggle for freedom. We do not wish to fight with any other country, nor do we wish to fight among ourselves. Our battle is not against an individual or a country or caste or religion. Our battle is against the country's poverty and unemployment. Our progress depends on our emerging victorious in this battle. With the coming of freedom, one long battle came to an end and now our goal

is to make the country prosperous and wealthy. It is a great task and we need unity and cooperation for it as we did in the battle for freedom. We must not indulge in internal feuds in villages and cities. Disunity is an ancient vice among us. Villagers as well as city-dwellers often fight among themselves. In fact, even within the Congress, members fight and form themselves into groups. This is something that weakens us terribly and if it persists we shall certainly fall. We need unity, hard work, cooperation and sacrifice for the big tasks at hand and to bring about a revolution in the country by changing our social structure peacefully. We have nothing to be afraid of any longer. In the days of the British, there was a danger of being sent to jail or fired upon. Now we work only for the good of the country, so that we may prosper and the country, too, should prosper..

So you must remember this. You must have heard of the big things that are happening in the country like the five year plans and what not. Nowadays, many people go on a Bharat darshan, a tour of India, to see what is happening in the country. They can see big dams being built, industries coming up and tremendous improvement taking place in agricultural production. New fertilizers and better seeds are being used, production is increasing and cooperative societies are being formed all over the country. People are amazed at the pace at which the country is changing. All of you must go and see these things if you get an opportunity. It is a good thing to learn to know your own country which is your home. The whole of India belongs to you, whether you live in Rajasthan, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta or somewhere else. India belongs to all of us. This country is not the property of any individual or group of people but it belongs to the people, to all of us and nobody can take it away from us. So, we must remember this and see what is happening in the country and learn from it. Everybody cannot tour all over the country. But you can learn from the community projects and national extension service and understand what we have to do for the country. So the first thing that we must understand is the direction in which we wish to go and the goals that we wish to work for. If we work aimlessly, we will stray from our goal. We must be clear in our minds about the changes that we wish to make in our social structure for the maximum good of the majority.

Some people say that all this planning that we do is useless. We must make no plans, people should just work and we shall reach our goal. This does not seem very wise to me. We must be clear in our minds about where we wish to go. If we wish to reach the Himalayas and we travel towards the South, we will go farther away from our goal. We want to build a socialistic pattern of society, in which there is equality and no disparity between the rich and the poor. Everyone must have equal opportunities to progress. This is the kind of society



that we wish to build. It is a big task because today there is tremendous disparity between the rich and the poor, and the mansions in Delhi and the hovels in the villages. There is a tremendous difference. Well, I do not say that the disparity will be completely removed or that mansions will be built in the villages overnight. In fact, there is no need for mansions. But you certainly have the right to good and clean houses, clean drinking water, enough to eat, clothes to wear, education for your children, health-care facilities, etc. These should be available by right to everyone so that each one is free to progress as far his intelligence or ability permits. There should not be a great disparity among the people.

This is the kind of socialism that we wish to bring about in the country. It should benefit particularly the people who live in the villages because the people who live in the cities are slightly better off. Therefore, we must pay particular attention to the rural areas. The villagers must be made to understand that they will have to rely on their own strength for their progress. They will have to work hard in their own villages, on land and in other professions, increase production, so that they may prosper and invest money to build good roads, panchayat houses, schools, etc. In this way gradually the complexion of the villages will change if the people unite and organise themselves into a strong force. One thing that we had expected of the community projects has not happened so far. We do not want them to be run by government officials from the top. We want that the work should be done with the help and advice of the people of the village or the block. The panch that is, the elder must participate in these tasks because they are for the people of the village. Officials may come and go. But the people who live in the villages must take on the burden of these tasks. These community development schemes were started for this purpose. I want you to understand the aims behind them and participate in the tasks. After all, the gram sevaks are being selected from among the village boys. It is a revolutionary thing that is happening in the villages and we want that it should spread as quickly as possible.

Now, the second thing that I told you about is that there should be a panchayat and a cooperative society in every village. People generally accept the idea of a panchayat, and most people also accept the cooperative societies. But recently some people have started raising a hue and cry against cooperative societies. I think such opposition is very wrong and harmful. It is evident that the farmers' interest lies in having a cooperative society which will help them to increase production and get additional facilities. This is possible only when the farmers work through a cooperative society. Everyone stands to gain by it. Therefore, we must have a cooperative society in each of the five and a half lakh villages. We need trained people to run them efficiently and we are making

arrangements for that. There has to be at least one trained individual in each village cooperative from the village. And above that the number is likely to be very large.

At the moment, the most important task before the villagers is to increase production because the country cannot progress without that. Unless the production increases, there will be no money to invest in the tasks of development and the more money you make, the more money there will be for other tasks. This is vital and I feel that to achieve this, it is essential to have cooperative societies which will teach you new methods of working. We must learn how the countries of the West—the British, the Americans, the Germans—have advanced and increased their production. I am not talking of heavy machines or tractors, etc. Let those who can afford them buy them. What every farmer needs is good seeds, good fertilizers, modern ploughs, and to make some arrangements for storing water by making bunds, etc.

These are things which farmers all over the world are doing and advancing as a consequence, while we have remained backward. We are scared to learn anything new. So, we must understand the need to form cooperative societies which will also help in buying and selling so that the middleman might not reap the profits, whether it is the bania, the trader, or someone else. Neither should officials interfere very much in their working. We must work in this manner and at great speed. I feel that if you make an effort in Rajasthan, it can produce results in no time at all.

The manpatra says that Rajasthan is a very backward state in India which is true in a way. I do not know if it is the most backward or there are others more backward than this. But the parts of the country which were under the erstwhile princely states are extremely backward, except for one or two small pockets. The princes lived in great luxury, but the rest of the population lived in dire poverty. So, Rajasthan has remained backward because there were innumerable princely states here. But looked at from another point of view, Rajasthan is not backward because its people are extremely strong and brave. The history of Rajasthan is full of tales of bravery and courage and of brave warriors and women. So, a place where the people are strong does not remain backward for very long. The ultimate yardstick of a state or a country is the character of the people, and whether they are strong, courageous, capable of hard work and fearless. The yardstick is not money. Human beings are measured by a different yardstick. The human being, who is daring and has the ability to work hard, can progress and learn new things. No nation can progress by juggling with money.

The time has now come when all of us should show our mettle so that in the next five to ten years, we may be able to pull ourselves out of this mire of



poverty. Once we do that, we shall progress fast. I have no doubt about that. It is essential that not only the men, but women must also play a role and participate. The people must realise that they have embarked upon a great journey and that they are part of the larger family of India which is on the march towards progress. Every one of us must take a pledge to transform India and her society, remove her poverty and make her a prosperous nation. Our generation has had to bear some hardships. But at least by the time our children grow up, they must live in a prosperous India with no difficulties and hardships. We must keep this picture in mind and try to give it reality. This is an ambitious task for what can be bigger than trying to change the entire country and make millions of people better-off? All of us stand to gain in this way. The problem is that some people fail to realise this and are busy in mutual quarrels and arguments and debates, and fritter away their energies in useless, petty things.

When I see young boys and girls going to school, I feel very happy. They are being educated and will soon know more than their parents. It is right that they should progress. I want that every single child in the village should get good education not because he may get a job as a clerk somewhere but so that he may live in his village and serve his family and village. This is how the country will progress. On the other hand, when I see that there are children in many villages where there are no schools and often they do not get enough to eat. I feel very sad. After all, the greatest wealth of our country is not gold or silver, but children; and, if we fail to look after them properly and educate them and make arrangements for them to be properly fed, etc, we will be doing a great injustice to them. Therefore, I am very keen that even if the adults are neglected a little, there should be proper arrangements to look after the children for they are the future of India. So these are some of the big problems before us.

The world is in a revolutionary ferment today with constant talk of war. An extraordinary situation full of ups and downs exists in Pakistan since Partition. If you go to Europe, you find constant mention of war. So in such circumstances if we become weak and complacent, if we fail to work hard and become strong, we will never progress. It is more than ever necessary that we should concentrate all our energies into the task of making the country and the people strong and train our young boys and girls to shoulder the burdens of the nation in future. We must become industrialised and increase agricultural production and strengthen the country in every possible way. Then no other force in the world can beat us. We do not wish to fight with any country. But if we are weak, we are vulnerable to external attacks and that is not right.

You are aware of what the world today is all about. You have heard of the attempts to send rockets to the moon. New forces are being discovered. What

is a force or power? What is the power on which a train runs? It is steam which all of you know about. There is no secret about it. But an intelligent man discovered its potential and now we have railways. Later, motorcars made their appearance. There is no magic in all this. Even you can learn to do these things. Nowadays, you have airplanes. I came here today by airplane from Delhi and covered a distance of 100 miles in forty minutes. I shall return in a little while, to Delhi. What is the force that operates it? It is through electricity. Is it not an extraordinary thing that my voice reaches all of you through electricity? There is light because of it and industries are run on electricity. All these forces have always been present in Nature. There is no magic about it. Any of you can learn about it. But you must first understand Nature and learn to use it to your advantage. The West has become so powerful because they have learnt to use the forces of Nature while we remained steeped in ignorance and pride and closed our minds to everything that was happening in the world. We continued to repeat things learnt by rote. So, we became backward while the rest of the world advanced.

Now, we must progress rapidly by harnessing the forces of Nature and make new discoveries. We must advance in the field of science so that we do not remain backward. So it is even more essential that your children should go to schools and colleges and learn what the world is all about today. The world is no longer what it was and the old methods of working will no longer do. If we continue to adopt them, we will become backward and poor. We have to learn new techniques and bring to bear a new way of thinking in this new world if we wish to progress. These are big tasks and if we work hard, we can see the country being transformed before our very eyes. We are living in revolutionary times today.

I have talked to you about a few things and I would like you to think about them and to tell the others when you go back to your villages and cities that the time has now come to progress very fast. There was a time before we got freedom when we had to work with all our might. Today we are once again embarked on a journey and the good of all of us lies in completing it successfully. So we must march together as one big family and contribute to India's progress. What is your role in all this? Your job is to look after your village, increase production, form strong panchayats and cooperative societies, and help in the work of the community projects and other schemes. You must do your task well in your own chosen field. In this way, your villages will immediately progress and everybody will benefit. You will be able to bring about socialism in a small way in your villages and if everyone does these things in all the villages, it will soon spread to the whole country. I know that it is a difficult thing to do because it is not easy to change the entire society. But at the same time, all of us know



that we have the strength to do it. When we took a pledge, we succeeded in getting swaraj. Now, we have taken a pledge of a different sort and I am sure we shall succeed in this too.

But I want that we should do it quickly, so that within a year or two, there may be cooperative societies and strong panchayats all over Rajasthan. Moreover, as I said, the people of Rajasthan are strong and full of courage. We must take full advantage of their daring and courage. But courage without wisdom is useless. There should be courage backed by wisdom and cooperation for us to succeed.

So, I am going back to Delhi in fifteen, twenty minutes. I have gone all over India. But this is the first time I have come to Alwar and I am happy to have been given the opportunity to meet the office-bearers of the mandals from all over Rajasthan and now all of you. I thank you for the warm welcome that you have given me. Jai Hind.

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

### (c) Press Conference

#### 10. At Delhi<sup>84</sup>

Subjects suggested by correspondents for discussion:

- (1) U.S. Pakistan Pact-Military Aid Pact
- (2) Law Commission's Report

Prime Minister: I cannot criticise the Law Commission's Report and I may not approve of it and therefore I have to remain silent. I have not read the report.<sup>85</sup>

- (3) Communist Party's Resolutions on Land Reforms.
- (4) The General Budget.
- (5) Mr. Macmillan's<sup>86</sup> visit to Moscow.
- (6) Composition of Congress Working Committee.
- (7) U.P. Congress Affairs.
- (8) Orissa Government's defeat.
- (9) Situation in Tibet.

84. Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 6 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in File No. 43(73)/59-PMS and PIB files.

85. The Law Commission's report on the reform of judicial administration was presented to Parliament on 25 February 1959.

86. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

(10) Government Policy on oil distribution.

(11) Mr. Pearson's<sup>87</sup> suggestions for a summit conference.

Prime Minister: About U.S.-Pakistan Military Aid Pact there was some reference to it in today's paper. We have been informed on behalf of the U.S. Government that there is nothing new or additional in this Pact. There is no further aid first of all except for the old commitments, and secondly, that is governed by the Eisenhower Doctrine, as it is called, which is limited to aggression from Communist countries. I am merely telling you what we have been told. More I do not know about it. I have not seen the document of course. We had only reports.<sup>88</sup>

Question: When was this clarification made?

Prime Minister: It was made last night. It was made previously also repeatedly but last night, presumably after the news came it was repeated. But previously, of course, on several occasions we had been told that.

Question: Did they make the clarification on their own?

Prime Minister: Previously there had been talks, but last night the Ambassador<sup>89</sup> made this to our office. He did not see me; he told the External Affairs Ministry.

Question: Are all these voluntary explanations or have we also made our views known?

Prime Minister: I am rather surprised to learn that. There have been references to this in Parliament, in these press conferences repeatedly. We must have discussed this score of times, so many times, constantly, naturally.

Question: You have expressed your views in public, that is something. Have you made your views known diplomatically?

87 Lester Pearson, Leader of the Opposition in Canada.

88. The USA signed identical defence pacts with Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey at Ankara on 5 March 1959. The Eisenhower Doctrine did not seem to apply, for press reports quoted M.S.A. Baig, the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, as saying on 5 March that (i) the agreement was a guarantee against "aggression from any quarter," and (ii) the United States would "view with the utmost gravity" any threat to these three countries.

89. Ellsworth Bunker, US Ambassador to India.



Prime Minister: I am saying so, I forget how many times.

Question: Reduction in Defence budget, is it because of the fact that we are satisfied with the US explanation on the Pakistan military potential or not?

Prime Minister: It has no relation to that. It is simply because we are very anxious to save money wherever we can and we do not save money on anything that we considered vital from the point of view of Defence. That is to say, certain schemes are postponed and all that.<sup>90</sup>

Question: Since these war pacts always have a long-term repercussion on the neighbouring countries, has our Foreign Office tried to make any estimate in what [way] in the long run India will be affected economically, politically and in other ways?

Prime Minister: By this pact?

Question: Yes. All these war pacts always have a long-term effect.

Prime Minister: I don't quite understand it.

Question: On adjacent countries. See the example of Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. They immediately affected all the European countries, particularly smaller countries.

Prime Minister: I am sorry I don't see the connection between Berlin, Rome, etc., in this. It is not at all apparent to me but it is obvious that whenever one considers such matters, one tries to do so in all its aspects. Obviously one does not consider the matter in the air. One sees whatever the—political, military, economic, etc.,—aspects are in the present and in the future.

Question: The Foreign Secretary of Pakistan has said that it is against all aggression.

90 Morarji Desai, Union Minister of Finance, said in his Budget speech on 28 February: "The real saving occurs in Air Force estimates which show a drop of Rs. 23.84 crores due to reduced provision for payment on account of the purchase of aircraft spares and other equipment, as a substantial portion of the payments for this purpose would have been made in the current year."

Prime Ministers: Against all aggression. I know that. I saw that in this morning's papers. He said that and I am telling you what the American Ambassador has told us.

Questions: Are you satisfied with the explanation given by the American Government?

Prime Minister: Yes and no. Yes—that the American Government's explanation is a true one from the American Government's point of view. No—in the sense that whatever the understanding may be, events may tend to develop in such a way that issues are blurred and it becomes difficult to distinguish for them, I mean, and one gets caught, caught in a tangle, just like you have said. I have no doubt that the American Government has made it clear to Pakistan that they should not use their military aid, etc., against India. But the fact remains that even in these border frays, American arms are used and are found by us. Accepting the statement of the United States Government fully, it is not wholly in their power to stop the consequences, certain consequences happening.

Question: Have you drawn the attention of the American Government that we are finding American arms in the border raids?

Prime Minister: I don't remember that whether that particular statement has been made but broadly speaking, I think they have been informed of this, I do not remember that.

Question: Don't you think that there is an instance where the U.S. Government itself has yielded to the pressure of the Pact countries?

Prime Minister: I have told you the facts as I know them. I don't think I can add anything more to that. I have not seen the document or had it examined carefully. I have only seen extracts. We have before us a statement made on behalf of the U. S. Government to us, a statement which is in continuation of similar statements previously made—not a new one, and we have, as was pointed out, a statement made in Pakistan giving their interpretation. The two do not fit in quite.

Question: Do you think that this revised version of this Pact is more dangerous or less dangerous than the previous Pact?

Question: Particularly when the Baghdad Pact was languishing.



Prime Minister: This particular military Pact is a sign of the Baghdad Pact not languishing but fading out.<sup>91</sup> It will remain, of course, in form or substance. But it is obvious that these separate bilateral Pacts will present the fading out of the Baghdad Pact. Something has to take the place of the Baghdad Pact practically ceasing to exist except in some kind of nominal way. Therefore, these bilateral Pacts.

All these developments took place at the time of the Revolution in Iraq. When the Revolution took place in Iraq, well, it produced powerful reactions, three, four, five or six months ago—I forget the date, July, it was, I think. It produced powerful reactions in the Baghdad Pact countries because the very bottom of the Baghdad Pact had been dropped. Iraq, Baghdad itself is dropping out of the Baghdad Pact. And so, at that time certain meetings were held of those countries—in London, I think—and certain commitments were made and since then those old commitments which were made practically on the assumption that Baghdad Pact was going out, those commitments went to effect the bilateral Pacts, I think, and these have been given effect to in some form or the other now, as far as I know of that matter.

Shall we go on to the next subject?

Question: The message says that this Pact will be registered with the United Nations. Does it lend any touch of respectability to it?

Prime Minister: The United Nations is an essential and very worthwhile organisation which has achieved much, and we hope, will achieve more. But it covers many things that are not desirable too and so it may cover pacts—I do not know what the rules are—pacts and other things which are not shining examples of peace or peaceful effort.

Question: Does your Government attach any value to the word defensive alliance or defensive agreement particularly when the quantum of military aid to these countries is not known?

Prime Minister: No. I do not think very much value can be attached to the use of the word defensive. There is no known line except a mental line dividing defence from becoming some form of aggression.

91. The Central Treaty Organisation or CENTO, also known as the Baghdad Pact, was formed in 1955 by the UK, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan but effectively under US leadership. After the military coup on 14 July 1958, Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact on 24 March 1959.

Shall we go on to the next subject? Somebody referred to the Communist Party Resolution; I don't quite know what it means.<sup>92</sup> Any group, party or individual working for the policy laid down by the Congress will be welcomed. We go by policies, not by individuals or particular groups and, naturally, the working out of this policy lies chiefly in the villages or lower down, where, so far as we are concerned, we do not want to bring in party politics in villages and possibly we may not always be successful. That is a different matter. That is to say, our present programme; broadly speaking, ceiling on land and village cooperatives, service cooperatives, aiming later at cooperative farming on the village scale. We welcome all cooperation in that.

Question: How is the Congress as a political party and Government going to meet the challenge of those elements who are out to subvert and sabotage the national effort of which the President has spoken in Parliament—the threatened civil war and bloodshed?

Prime Minister: I do not think that the Congress or the Government is taking them very seriously. Civil war and bloodshed are of course very undesirable terms to use by anybody. But, sometimes the use of them—it depends on the context of course—becomes rather ludicrous.

Question: Sir, we are expecting legislation on land ceiling by the end of 1959. Pending that, so many manipulations are taking place in order to cheat that there is no surplus land. Now, what is the Government proposing to do in that respect?

Prime Minister: It is frightfully difficult. I would not call it cheating. It is certainly a manipulation. For instance a father divides his land with his sons. You would not call it cheating. You may call it, at the most, a clever dealing. That kind of thing always happens and it has happened, it has in fact happened in a large way. There is nothing to stop it except, I mean to say, going through novel forms of legislation, etc. There is nothing to prevent it, that is, brothers dividing property between themselves.

Question: But the law may refuse to take recognition of this if it takes place retrospectively.

92 This refers to the CPI's resolution supporting the Nagpur resolution on land policy. See also item 1, p. 5, fn 7.



Prime Minister: After the law is passed, it will be followed. Before the law is passed, if two brothers want to divide their property, it is perfectly legal; I cannot say that this is immoral—if two brothers want to divide their property between themselves.

Question: The question relates more to fictitious transfers.

Prime Minister: That, of course, should be stopped as far as one can.

Question: As far as retrospective effect is concerned.

Prime Minister: If it is proved to be fictitious, then surely the law can be invoked.

Question: Is it the intention of the Government to legislate to stop those transfers with retrospective effect?

Prime Minister: As I said, there are transfers and transfers. Nobody can stop or even disapprove of two brothers separating their properties. You cannot stop that. There is no machinery to stop it. It depends, and again, remember that these matters are to be dealt with by State Governments separately and I cannot give you precise answers as to how a particular State Government will deal with it.

Question: There is no central directive about it?

Prime Minister: The central directive is to expedite the final ceiling, etc. But before that is done there are certain things which are perfectly legal and there is nothing to stop them. You cannot stop them till the changeover takes place.

Question: Since quite a few of the non-Congress Parties have expressed their support to the Nagpur Resolution, is it likely that the Congress will take for the implementation of the resolution in a united manner in the villages, as you said just now?

Prime Minister: Lower down, that is on the village scale, what are the functioning organisations? There is a panchayat. There is, or should be, the village cooperative. There is the community block. Those are the major things at that stage. We do not want any parties as parties to function in any of these organisations. Therefore, the door is open for the fullest cooperation and of course, higher up too—the community block's advisory committees and all

that and above the block stage too. And then comes, this is the execution part, where there can and should be as much cooperation as possible. Difficulties arise when, suppose, a party starts an agitation against something, against a tax, against a betterment levy as in the Punjab.<sup>93</sup> Well, naturally it becomes a little difficult for cooperation on the village or any level if one party is carrying on an agitation and the other party is committed to that particular measure.

Question: Has the Planning Commission completed the study of land reforms and is it proposed to draft some model legislation about land reforms and is it proposed to draft some model to be sent to the states?

Prime Minister: I really do not know what exactly the Planning Commission is doing now about that. They in a sense, I think, they finished their part of it sometime ago except that they keep in touch with the states and references are made, I do not think there is any special study going on. I am not sure, I may not be fully informed about it. Anyhow, it has not come before the Planning Commission itself. That Department of the Planning Commission which deals with it may be dealing with that. But more or less, it has been left to the states on the basis of what we were told previously.

Question: It is feared that the legislation on ceiling will be toned down in many states where the landed interests are very strongly entrenched in the Congress Party. Under the circumstances, would they recommend a Central legislation keeping in view the variations in different states?

Prime Minister: There is such a thing as the Constitution of India.

Question: But there are some concurrent subjects also.

Prime Minister: I know, and this particular subject comes in List II which is fully a State subject.

Question: The Communists have offered their cooperation now. But regarding the surplus land after fixation of ceilings, they oppose the decision and they criticise the decision to hand it over to cooperatives. They emphasise that it should be distributed to the tenants or the landless.

Prime Minister: Who has criticised?

93. See item 1, p. 6, fn 9.



Question: The Communists. Would you precisely say as to what led to the decision that it should be handed over to the village panchayat. They said that the panchayat will be captured by the landlords and there will be a lot of discrimination.

Prime Minister: There is no question of what led to that decision. We started with that presumption because we are always thinking in terms of cooperation; and what apparently the Communists say is, of course as usual, completely opposed to their own broad politics. They are not logical, of course, in their thinking or action. They merely wish to oppose if it profits their Party. It is completely wrong from the Communists' point of view—what they are saying. Leave my point of view. It is completely wrong from their own point of view because they should prefer the cooperatives owning it than for it to be distributed. But there may be, just because they think it is to their advantage somewhere they say so.

Question: Don't you think that in order to carry through your land reforms, the Congress needs a vast number of intellectually convinced body of people? Do you think that the Congress has got it?

Prime Minister: That is very difficult for me to answer. By intellectually convinced, what you mean—are people believing in this programme. I think you will find that normally people believe in programmes to the extent that it affects them. Beliefs follow interests, except for individuals who rise above them. It is a well-known fact that one believes in something that is likely to be beneficial to him; a rare individual rises above that and you will find if the Congress programme is a programme which is for the benefit of large numbers of people, those large numbers of people will and do believe in it. Those who fear that it might affect their interests do not normally believe in it.

Question: The programme of the Congress might certainly be to the advantage of a vast number of tenants and other people in the country, but who may not be the Congress members. Considering the Congress Party cadre as such, would you say that the interests and policy are in tune to enable implementation?

Prime Minister: Well, there may be people, there are people in the Congress who do not approve of this programme or react against it. That kind of thing always happens when an organisation takes a step forward, a major step forward. That has happened repeatedly in Congress history. If that step forward is right

and justified, well, those who disagree with it become a fringe which drops off and the others march forward. That has been the history of the Congress.

Question: But after Independence, they keep on clinging to the organisation, working from within, creating doubts and suspicions regarding the objectives.

Prime Minister: If that is so, then you should welcome a development which will make it difficult to do that. You should welcome a development in the Congress, i.e. these decisions which bring these subterranean conflicts to the surface. It is all to the good. It makes people think more clearly, for the public it is good education, for them and for all of us.

Question: With the introduction of land ceiling, some of the land is bound to be surplus, which will be taken away from the landlords and will be handed over to the landless peasants. Is there a move to introduce legislation to see that land is compulsorily cultivated and not left to rot?

Prime Minister: Quite apart from this move, all our tendency is not to allow land to lie fallow, unused. I have no doubt that that fact will be considered independently. It has to be used. If people do not use it, something will have to be done about it.

Shall we move on to the next question—Mr. Macmillan's visit to Moscow?<sup>94</sup>

I think that Mr. Macmillan's visit to Moscow has not brought about any kind of a settlement; it did not claim to bring that about. But I think it is correct to say that it has been helpful in the ways indicated by Mr. Macmillan himself and in bringing about a certain lowering of tension. It is always good to consider these matters face to face, than merely to send long letters from time to time.

Then you asked me about the budget, what about the budget?

Question: The abolition of the wealth tax will help only the big corporate companies and not the small industries. In that case, is it in line with the Nagpur Resolution?

Prime Minister: I do not consider that change as a matter of high principle. It really was causing us in the administrative side a good deal of trouble and a good deal of embarrassment to individuals concerned too, apart from companies.

94. 21 February-3 March 1959.



And the major reason was really simplifying procedures.<sup>95</sup> You will remember that one criticism that is made of some of the new takes is that they may lead to harassment of the individual. We are trying to remove that harassment part as much as possible in other matters too. Even a year ago we had doubts about the result of this, from the administrative point of view, I mean. You will notice that some rather important loopholes in the expenditure tax have been plugged—I think in the expenditure tax and other taxes.<sup>96</sup> We are watching it carefully. They should yield very much more once we know how to plug loopholes at various places.

Question: Abolition of wealth tax will mean tax evasion in the corporate sector.

Prime Minister: How is that so?

Question: There was a proper check on their balance sheet and prevented them from manipulating the profit and loss account. That is a claim made by the former Finance Minister.

Prime Minister: May be your talk of manipulation, if you will notice many steps have been taken and will be taken to prevent that kind of thing happening because we are anxious to prevent that.

Question: To avoid wealth tax people will convert private property into companies?<sup>97</sup>

Prime Minister: Surely not, I do not think. This is a novel proposition. (Laughter)

Question: When in the hands of the company, it will not be taxed and therefore a loophole has been opened.

Prime Minister: I shall have to think about that.

95 Morarji Desai proposed to replace wealth tax on companies with an income tax of 20 per cent and a super tax of 25 per cent, amounting to a total of 45 per cent, which, he claimed, would secure the same revenue as before.

96. Morarji Desai proposed to treat husband, wife, and minor children as one unit for the purpose of calculating non-taxable expenditure, even if they had independent incomes.

97. He proposed to abolish wealth tax for companies and to raise it for individuals and Hindu Undivided Families.

Question: You will find that it is only the shares of big companies like the Tatas, Birlas, that have shown an upward trend, whereas in the case of small companies they have come down.

Prime Minister: They have not shot up. Yes.

Question: What is the rationale of your standing out of the Congress Working Committee and inclusion of all Chief Ministers at the cost of Pradesh Presidents?<sup>98</sup>

Prime Minister: Well, first of all, it is not really for me to answer that question and I can tell you, confidentially (laughter) that I did not have very much to do with this matter. I won't say that they did not come up before me, occasionally, but it is more the present Congress President and I think the ex-Congress President. Maybe others too. But the rationale of this is not difficult to find out.

***Papa Not At Home***



*The Prime Minister is not a member of the new Congress Working Committee but, according to the President, he will attend meetings by special invitation.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 1 MARCH 1959)

98. On 20 February, Indira Gandhi, the new Congress President, announced the new CWC of 17 members without Nehru in it. She explained that he had wanted to be out of it, but added that she hoped he would be a permanent special invitee, and that there was no change in the Congress Parliamentary Board.



It is essential for the Congress Working Committee to be a body which really represents the seats of authority in the Congress. It should have the leading persons in the Congress wherever they may be. Otherwise it would tend to become either a body whose weight was not so much as it has been or a body in conflict with other leading persons in the Congress. Therefore, it becomes inevitable for it to seek an adjustment, an adjustment to be sought with, when I say leading persons I say leading from the point of view of, let us say, in the eyes of the public, the Congress generally. And if a leading person is a Chief Minister, as he often is by virtue of that position, not as Chief Minister, it is rather odd for you to say that a person is good enough for the Congress Working Committee today when he is not Chief Minister and when he becomes Chief Minister. He is not good enough. You create a dichotomy in this. It becomes inevitable that a number of Chief Ministers have to be taken but they are always balanced by others and in fact this practice which has become almost permanent, of inviting invites who may be called almost associate members, that keeps the balance, a proper balance.

Question: If your explanation is to be taken, how is it you are not there in it? Don't you represent any seat of authority in the Congress?

Prime Minister: I am here among the invitees.

Question: It is not the question of invitees. When you say that the member should represent the seat of authority in the Congress, you are giving all the credit to the Chief Ministers.

Prime Minister: No, no.

Question: And the danger is the Chief Ministers may run the Congress as one of the non-official portfolios when the Pradesh Congress Committee President is not there.

Prime Minister: The Chief Ministers have gone there because they were heads of the Congress. They have no other function there.

Question: Where are the heads of Congress?

Prime Minister: Annually, the Congress elects its Pradesh President or the other President. They come and go. Do you mean to say that annually the importance of people in that state or in India changes? Obviously not.

Question: Obviously at least in 90 per cent, the position is associated with the Chair in that Office. The moment they are gone, nobody cares for them.

Prime Minister: How did they go to that Chair?

Question: I don't propose to go into the reasons. (Laughter)

Prime Minister: They reached that Chair because they led the Congress organisation there. It is true that having got there, other aspirants may not like it. Unfortunately, these are aspects of the so-called democratic life which we have to face.

Question: A very fundamental principle is involved. The question is whether the organisations should run the Government or the Government should run the organisations?

Prime Minister: Neither.

Question: We want you to enlighten us on this matter.

Prime Minister: That is perfectly clear. So far as the broad policy is concerned, the organisation finally lays it down, finally I say. So far as the things that emerge from the broad policy are concerned, they have to be decided from day to day and month to month by the Government, and it is not possible for the organisation to interfere in those day-to-day things. It cannot. But the broad policy, certainly the organisation finally decides. But don't you see that, by and large, it is the same people who affect the Government and who affect the organisation in this case?

Question: Except U.P. and things like that.

Prime Minister: That may be so, locally speaking, but not in the all India sense.

Question: Why cannot the Chief Ministers and the senior Ministers do the same thing and attend like you as invitees and encourage the younger line of leadership?

Prime Minister: Well, as I said, it is always a question of balancing a number of factors and two persons' opinions about the balancing will vary. Let us go on to the next item.



Question: Uttar Pradesh.

Prime Minister: What about Uttar Pradesh?

Question: You have been there. What is your impression of the situation and how do you envisage the shape of things to come?

Prime Minister: No, palmistry or astrology for me. (Laughter) The shape of things will settle down. There is a measure of excitement there at the present moment and when people get excited, they say and do wrong things. Even when I get excited, I say and do wrong things. I cannot discuss that except that, naturally, I am distressed, as a Congressman and as a Prime Minister both, at certain developments there, and they should be remedied gradually.<sup>99</sup>

Question: Dr. Sampurnanand is an astrologer. What does he feel?

Prime Minister: No, he is not an astrologer. It is a different thing. I think, he believes in some form of astrology not, so far as I know, not the commonly accepted form, but some deeper forms of astrology, deeper aspects rather. The next item is, Orissa Government's "defeat".

I do not quite understand this. It is a very simple matter. I do not know all the ins and outs of what is happening in Orissa. So, I cannot answer that particular question specifically. It is quite a simple matter, not a metaphysical matter. We Indians are apt to be too metaphysical about the simplest political matters. If the Orissa Assembly has got a majority against the Government, the Government must go. It is a straightforward thing. If there is any doubt about it, let the Motion be brought forward and be cleared up, which way the majority likes. But because by a snap vote something happens, it does not necessarily follow that a Government has been defeated in that sense, in the Constitutional sense. It is for the Government to decide. I just do not understand it. Why argue about it? Why argue if a thing is green or white, instead of having a look at it, by sitting in another room and deciding it. It is a very simple proposition. It will be absurd for a Constitution to say that if on some minor matter or by some accident some kind of vote takes places, immediately the Government hops out of office. It is ridiculous. It has no sense. Yes, the Government should give every opportunity to the Opposition. If it wants to, in a matter of confidence or in any major matter, where it is understood, and if it is defeated, then out it goes that

99. See items 2-6.

very minute. But going on arguing as to where the majority lies, when there is an obvious way of testing it, seems to me to be going to metaphysical regions.<sup>100</sup>

Then, there was a question about Tibet. What about Tibet?

Question: One more question about this Orissa matter. Had it not been for the fact that the Motion was defeated at the introduction stage, suppose the Bill itself, in the initial stage, had been defeated, what would have been the attitude of Government?

Prime Minister: I do not know. I cannot say. As a matter of fact, the normal practice certainly in Parliament here is not to oppose a Bill or Resolution at the introduction stage. They are not opposed as a rule.

Question: Certain Bills were opposed in Parliament, like the Hindu Code Bill.<sup>101</sup> It was opposed at the introduction stage.

Prime Minister: There had been one or two, maybe, three cases in the last ten years of Parliament when, I think, it happened I forget exactly, but it was in two or three cases. But that is not the practice. When the Opposition brings any Bills which the Government thoroughly and absolutely disapproves of, but we do not oppose them at that stage and vice versa. Then again, nobody expects a vote to be taken then, if somebody jumps on one, it has really no importance really except that voting counts. The real test is not the stage when this happens, but whether it is a conscious effort, consciously met. Then of course the result is important. Even a trivial issue can be made a confidence issue, if it is known that it is going to be so made.

What about Tibet? What am I to say about it?

Question: Sir, there are many reports that there is a revolt in Tibet. Would you kindly say something about it?

100. The Orissa Congress Government's attempt to introduce the Orissa Municipal Election Bill was defeated unexpectedly on 23 February by 51 votes to 43. Hare Krushna Mahtab, the Chief Minister, refused to resign as this was a "snap" vote, when over twenty members of his Party were absent, and not one of no-confidence in his Government. However, after prolonged negotiations with the Opposition, Mahtab formed a coalition government of the Congress and the Ganatantra Parishad (led by R. N. Singh Deo) on 22 May 1959.
101. The Hindu Code Bill emerged as four pieces of legislation: the Hindu Marriage Act (1955), the Hindu Succession Act (1956), the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act (1956), and the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act (1956).



Prime Minister: It is well known that there have been troubles in certain parts of Tibet connected with people who are called the Khampas.<sup>102</sup> I cannot tell you the extent of those troubles. The Khampas, as you know, come from that part of the Tibetan region, which was more or less incorporated into China long ago, I meant not in the last few years, but previously. It has been a very difficult part to govern even in earlier years. It is that part that has apparently given trouble, I cannot tell you to what extent, but I will say this that often the news that appears in the press is grossly exaggerated as a rule, for the simple reason that the persons who give that news are refugees and like persons who may be good, who may not be good, but they are seldom accurate witnesses of anything. Apart from being partisans, they believe every rumour. So, it is not at all accurate news and tends to get exaggerated.

Question: Is it a fact, or have the Government of India any information that China has started as socialisation of schools, etc., in Tibet?

Prime Minister: Well, I do not know what they are doing now, but my own information was that their first effort which they made soon after the change there was to establish many schools there—no question of socialisation of schools but to establish schools there; but later they closed many of those schools, actually closed them and rather toned down their activities there. I cannot say what is happening now.

Question: Have you had any discussions with the Bhutanese Prime Minister about any possible repercussions in Bhutan as a result of this revolt probably by the refugees coming over to Bhutan side?

Prime Minister: Well, no. I have had no discussion with him. But I did ask him if any people have come over and crossed his border, and he said very few. We did not discuss it.<sup>103</sup>

Somebody said about oil distribution. What about it?

Questions: Reports suggest that any future expansion in oil distribution will be in the public sector not only with regard to the prospective production in Gauhati and Barauni, but also, in the existing production.

102. See item 1, paragraphs 17-27.

103. Nehru met Jigme Dorji, the Prime Minister of Bhutan, on 3 March 1959.

Prime Minister: Sometime or other it is obvious that oil distribution will have to be in the public sector. I cannot say when. The process may be a gradual one, that is, maybe in part of the territory. We do not want to take more than we can shoulder. We will have to come to agreements with the companies concerned for this gradual process to go on.

These are all the questions that I have noted.

Question: The Estimates Committee of Parliament, which has a Congress majority, has made a recommendation that the refinery should be given to the private sector in Saurashtra.

Prime Minister: Did it? I have not read it.

Question: There was a question on Mr. Pearson's suggestion.

Prime Minister: You are quite right. Mr. Pearson is a very good friend and whatever he says, certainly I attach value to it. But the suggestion he made was more, I think, an expression of his anxiety that something should be done than, well, a practical suggestion.<sup>104</sup> It is obvious that for me to function as he has suggested would be almost quixotic and embarrassing for us as for others. But the main point of Mr. Pearson's statement was his earnest desire that this kind of stalemate should be broken and people should talk to each other. Obviously, the main decision lies with the major countries concerned, above all, with the United States and the Soviet Union, and also with England and one or two other countries. I am not presumptuous enough to go about doling out good advice to these great countries. I presume sometimes to differ from them; that is a different matter. But my own behaviour, to tell them how to behave, is another matter. But essentially, Mr. Pearson's advice—not about me, leaving me out—is right that people should discuss this matter in a realistic way and it is because of that I welcomed Mr. Macmillan going to Moscow and I hope that this will gradually lead to further meetings at various levels which any how will help to clarify and ease the situation.

104. On 26 February 1959, the Canadian Opposition Leader, Lester Pearson, asked Nehru to call for a summit conference of Western and Communist leaders; for his (rather than an East or West) initiative was more likely to succeed. He could decide the basis and the agenda for the conference, and the personnel if necessary. The stakes were high and the rewards were great. Nehru might help to, "cut through the circle of fear which envelops us," Pearson said in the House of Commons during a debate.



Question: What is the stand that the Government of India is taking in regard to the resolution on developments in the Cameroons?<sup>105</sup>

Prime Minister: Broadly speaking, our stand is that the sooner independence comes to the Cameroons the better, and we would not like any step to be taken to delay that. Now there is an argument about elections taking place there, new elections, that is before independence.<sup>106</sup> The reply to that is that something of the kind not quite that, took place only recently, a short while ago, and every Party in the Cameroons, except one, participated in it; and the kind of an Assembly that they have got is broadly representative of the people, not 100%; therefore there is no need to have elections now and perhaps delay independence. But everyone promises elections afterwards; immediately after, everyone promises elections on a free basis, amnesty, etc. so that everyone can participate. That is the position. The issues are not really very deep. There is no very deep division; there is some difference of opinion. And, in such matters there is this risk that if present offers, let us say of the French Government agreeing to independence of French Cameroons, if that is not accepted and acted upon, well, it is not dead certain what the next offer might be and fresh difficulties might arise; these things are tricky things. Therefore, broadly speaking, we do not wish to impose our opinion on anybody; but since you have asked me, I am telling you—broadly speaking, we think that the sooner those territories become independent the better and they should hold their elections on a free basis afterwards to decide whatever problems they have to decide.

Question: Do we accept the view that the existing Assembly there is broadly representative of the Cameroons people?

Prime Minister: That is the report made to us that it is broadly, I cannot say how much; I said at least 75% representative of the people there—may be more or

105 Cameroon was divided between France and Britain after the First World War into League of Nations Mandates. Since 20 February 1959, the UN General Assembly had been discussing full independence for the Cameroons. On 13 March 1959 it resolved on independence for the French Cameroons from 1 January 1960 and a plebiscite for the British Cameroons. The Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC) party advocated independence but was outlawed by France on 13 July 1955. It called for boycott of the constitutional referendum of 21 February 1959.

106. The Cameroonian Government, after gaining sixty-five per cent majority in the constitutional referendum on 21 February 1959, announced on 26 February its decision to hold general elections on 10 April for a new National Assembly. The French-administered part of the Cameroon became independent on 1 January 1960.

less—I cannot judge; but that is the report we have received that except for one party, it represents all the other groups there.

Question: Would you tell us something about your talks with the Mayor of Berlin?

Prime Minister: Well, nothing very much to tell except that I was glad to meet him and to listen to his analysis of the situation.<sup>107</sup> There is little that I had to say to him. I had to listen to him chiefly, as we listen to these matters. In these problems, most important problems from the world point of view, because the Berlin problem is the German problem, the German problem is the European problem, the European problem is the world problem—one thing leads to another. So, naturally, we are interested; at the same time we refrain from jumping into the fray. Sometimes we have to express our broad opinions which we do, whether in the United Nations or elsewhere or diplomatically. They are difficult problems not difficult so much from the purely logical or theoretical point of view—although there are difficulties—but difficult because of all kinds of fears, apprehensions and passions that wrap themselves around them. So our attitude in all these matters has been broadly—listening, expressing our opinions moderately, expressing our hopes for a settlement, of friendly talks and settlements and not action taken by any one power which might upset the apple-cart. That is our general approach to these problems, we apply to it and we watch carefully.

Question: He said, besides lunch, you gave moral support also, according to him. Could you tell us on what particular aspect you gave this moral support?

Prime Minister: I hope I give moral support to everybody. (Laughter)

Question: The Congress Parliamentary Party is going to discuss the Nagpur resolution. What is the significance of this?

Prime Minister: I will tell you. Ever since I have come back, ever since this session started in Parliament,<sup>108</sup> I have been anxious that we should discuss these questions which have been decided at Nagpur. We do not sit in judgment

107. Nehru met Willy Brandt, the Mayor of Berlin, on 4 March 1959.

108. The Budget session of the Parliament began on 9 February 1959.



of course on Congress decisions but to discuss their various aspects and understand them, understand why some people are opposing them, the reasoning behind it. It is not an individual reaction; what steps we ought to take in all those matters because these resolutions in our opinion are an important development in the political and economic scene in India and there may be, and there are, among the 500 or so Members, Congress Members of Parliament, there are some doubts in some people's mind. We want to discuss them fully. I had that in view all the time. And also I thought that would be a good preliminary to our discussing the budget although it is not directly connected, but I want them to discuss these matters, that is Nagpur Resolutions not only in themselves, but in the wider context of our planning outlook. That is becoming more and more important. In fact, most questions that you asked me about our domestic policies will be progressively governed by our approach to future planning. Someone asked me about what the Estimate Committee had said about private sector running some refinery. I cannot say. But you see we have to think more and more on coordinated lines, that is, on planned lines and not independently, an odd job being done oddly. That is not planning. I do not mean to say a regimented approach to everything, not that, but our thought at least should be regimented, otherwise chaotic thought leads nowhere. In the last few years the country has become very much plan-conscious but their idea of plan is still a little chaotic. A plan is not, as I have repeated, a collection of big schemes and small schemes put in a list and priorities given. That is not a plan. A plan is something much deeper than that, but a plan which allows things to grow. You have to prepare a soil for that, you have to apply fertilizers to it. Then things grow out of that. A farmer may plan for his next harvest, you plan for the harvest of the nation, agriculturally, industrially, socially, economically. It does not automatically happen. Someone planting a good tree here, bad tree there; that is what is called private enterprise, planting odd things here and there, very fine trees they may be. But where you have got abundance of trees, it does not really matter but where you have to face all kinds of difficulties, where your resources are limited, then you dare not have any economy of waste—an unplanned economy. Of course, my thinking is different but whatever my thinking may be, I have come more and more to the conclusion that no general rigid principles should be laid down which apply to every country. I think every country's case should be judged from its own conditions. I am not prepared to say what policy should be pursued by a country which is very different from mine. Conditions are different. Who am I to say? May I, of course, discuss the matter in a friendly way. And therefore, I am not prepared to accept anybody else's imposition on me as to what my policy should be unless they are related to conditions in my country.

Question: I think it would be better if you explain the statement that our thought should be regimented.

Prime Minister: I know. Perhaps you meant that, what is called 'brain-washing'. I did not mean that. You have to think logically, clearly, reasonably. Thinking means a certain discipline in thinking. In the old days, even in my boyhood, one of the books I had to read in my entrance examination at Cambridge University and that took place a long time ago, over 52 years ago, was some book on logic, Paley's *Evidences in Logic*, a very poor book, a very bad book, a silly book.<sup>109</sup> It is immaterial. In the old training, in the classical tradition whether in European or India, logic was a basic subject but whether that was Latin, Greek, Sanskrit or Arabic, all the old classical training was based on logic. Now, we jump into all kinds of subjects without our minds being trained as they have to be trained minds logically. They may be differing minds. That is a different matter. They should differ, but they should go from step to step in thinking and the whole act of planning is to go step by step preparing the ground, the soil and not thinking of as in private enterprise, a person may think "Well, if I put up a factory here, it will supply the need of the country and it will bring me profits." Both very good things. There is no harm in that but that is not planning. He may supply some need of the country which is not of great importance and at a cost if something is to be given up, which is of greater importance. That approach becomes an individual approach—unconnected, unregulated and unthoughtout approach.

I must go now. Thank you.

109. Nehru is probably referring to *Natural theology : or evidences of the existence and attributes of the Deity collected from the appearances of nature* (A. Faulder, 1802), the most widely known work by the British theologian, William Paley (1743-1805).



## II. POLITICS

### (a) Indian National Congress

#### 11. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Congress Must Pay its Dues<sup>1</sup>

March 2, 1959

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

The Comptroller & Auditor General has sent me a draft paragraph which he intends including in his Audit Report on Andhra Pradesh. I enclose a copy of this draft.<sup>2</sup>

He has further drawn my attention to a circular letter sent by the Home Minister to all Chief Ministers on the 2nd April 1956 which was specially written in connection with Congress Sessions held in a State.<sup>3</sup>

1. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.
2. A. K. Chanda, the CAG, observed in a draft headed "Loss on account of services rendered to a political party": "The Government wrote off in January 1957 and April 1957, a loss of Rs. 12,703, being the value of services rendered in the shape of (a) loan of Government machines, furniture and (b) catering to a Political Party in connection with its annual session in January 1953—Vide para 7 of the annexure to para 13 of the Appropriation Accounts, 1956-57 (First Seven Months) and Audit report of the Hyderabad Government. It has since been noticed that in addition to the above services, Government incurred an expenditure of Rs. 46, 281 on electrical installations and supply of electricity to the party without a written agreement for reimbursement of the expenditure. It did not also obtain from it a suitable deposit, as is usual, to cover the cost of the supply. The Party deposited a sum of Rs. 8, 570 only. By the time Government claimed reimbursement of the expenditure, the Reception Committee of the Party had been dissolved and the successor Committee refused to accept the liability for the arrears. Thereafter the Government wrote off this amount also as irrecoverable in November 1957 and October 1958.

The question of recovery of a further sum of Rs. 9, 219 towards hire charged for machinery supplied to the Party is still under consideration of the Government.

It is incorrect for a State Government to undertake works or financial liability for the benefit of a Political Party. The writes-off do not also constitute a proper charge on the revenues of the State."

3. See Appendix 1.

You will appreciate that this kind of criticism in an Audit Report will bring some discredit on the Congress organisation and, more especially, on Andhra Pradesh. Is it not possible to do something about it? The only thing that can be done is to make good this loss.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 12. To A.K. Chanda: Congress Must Pay its Dues<sup>4</sup>

March 5, 1959

My dear Asok,

You wrote to me on March 2 about the Andhra Pradesh Government having written off some dues from the Reception Committee of the Hyderabad Congress.<sup>5</sup> I had not heard of this before. From the facts you state, it seems to me very improper for this expenditure incurred on behalf of the Congress not being paid back to Government. I think it should certainly be paid. I am enquiring into this matter.

I do not remember the date, etc., but I imagine that this liability was incurred before the reorganisation of States. After the reorganisation, not only the Reception Committee, but the old Pradesh Congress Committees also ceased to function and new ones were formed. This must have added to the confusion, and probably the new Committees consider themselves free of the liabilities of the old Committees. That, of course, is not right.<sup>6</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Letter.

5. This was the fifty-eighth session of the INC in Hyderabad on 17 and 18 January 1953, see SWJN/SS/21/pp. 391-410.

6. Chanda wrote again to Nehru on the same subject on 7 April 1959.



### 13. To CPP: Speech<sup>7</sup>

This Congress was called first for the consideration of the Budget proposals. There has been some confusion about it. Then you get another notice that we might discuss the Nagpur resolutions. Well, the reason is partly because I have been wanting to discuss the Nagpur proposals ever since the Congress, I thought the Party should consider them, not only resolutions by themselves, but the consequences, etc., we should know, because in a sense that is the base that should form the base of our thinking. Another reason why I thought that the budget proposals may be considered today partly but really later, was that the Finance Minister is not in Delhi today, he will be returning in a day or two, so this meeting will be held again day after tomorrow and on subsequent days so that you can fully consider those matters.

Now before we start our business I should like to inform you that Professor Ranga who has been our Secretary, one of the Secretaries of our Party, wrote to me some time ago, two-three, several weeks ago, offering his resignation from the Secretaryship of the Party, because he felt that his remaining in office might prove embarrassing to him and to the Party as he wanted to speak in the House in criticism of the Nagpur Congress resolutions.<sup>8</sup> This matter came up before the Executive Committee and while the Executive Committee felt that in view of his opinions which he had expressed his resignation from the Party Secretaryship had become inevitable. Nevertheless I was asked to discuss this matter with him as it might involve also his not continuing in the Party as a member. Unfortunately, I could not meet him, either I was away or he was away from Delhi. Then another meeting of the Executive Committee came up and we decided that in any event his resignation from the Secretaryship should be accepted because that was not fair to keep that pending. So that was done and that is before you for your confirmation. As for anything else, the Executive Committee decided to write to the AICC on this subject to ask their advice which we have done. That is the position. Then another member of our Party in the Rajya Sabha, Shri Ramanna also sent his resignation from the Party membership on the same ground. As a matter of fact you may know that in Andhra Pradesh some people who belong to the Congress legislature or party

7. New Delhi, 7 March 1959. Tape No. 41/c (i), NMML. Extracts.

8. On 16 February 1959, Ranga had asked Nehru permission to resign from the Congress as he disagreed with the Nagpur Resolutions. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 266 and 288. He finally left the Congress in June 1959 and assumed leadership of the newly formed Swatantra Party.

there have also resigned, some having resigned and come back so it is all really partly that matter too. So to begin with I place before you the resignation of Professor Ranga from the Secretaryship of the Party. (Do we have to confirm it, or what? This is really for information). You want to say anything? [...] What the Executive Committee felt was his Secretaryship had anyhow to be accepted. The rest we have taken no action. As a matter of fact, I might tell you that I met him this morning, but it was rather a hurried meeting for about ten, fifteen minutes and quite apart from his remaining in any office or not, that is settled, he is an old colleague, and we do not treat old colleagues, we do not hustle old colleagues or treat them with discourtesy whether we agree with them or disagree with them. So I told him that apart from these matters we shall meet again and have talks, so I shall do so. For the moment, therefore, I put to you, I inform you about the acceptance of his resignation from the Secretaryship. As for Mr. Ramanna, he has resigned from the Party. [...] Oh! Yes, not only from the Party, but from the Congress also, membership of the Congress and Executive Committee has naturally accepted it and reminded him that his resignation from the Congress Party involved also his resignation from the Rajya Sabha. So that is how the matter stands.<sup>9</sup>

#### 14. In Bombay: Speech to Congress Workers<sup>10</sup>

##### FREE EDUCATION AT ALL STAGES INTRODUCTION BY END OF THIRD PLAN: NEHRU ON GOVT'S AIM

Bombay  
March 11.

Prime Minister Nehru is understood to have told a meeting of Congress workers here today that the Government of India aimed at the introduction of free education at all stages throughout the country by the end of the Third Five Year Plan.

He is also reported to have urged greater efforts by Congressmen for implementation of the Nagpur resolution of the Congress on cooperative

9. The meeting continued for a while.

10. Report of address, Bombay, 11 March 1959. From *The Hindu*, 12 March 1959.

Nehru had gone to Bombay to lay the foundation stone of the Indian Institute of Technology at Powai, Bombay. See item 176. He also addressed a public meeting in Prabhadevi, see item 8.



farming, Mr. Nehru said that only through its implementation could the Congress become dynamic and survive.

Mr. Nehru was addressing party workers at the Congress House. Mr. K. K. Shah, President of the Bombay Regional Congress Committee, presided.

Mr. Y.B. Chavan, Bombay's Chief Minister, his Cabinet colleagues, Mr. Thakurbhai Desai, President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, Members of Parliament, MLAs and a number of prominent Congress workers attended the meeting.

In his 70-minute speech, the Prime Minister is understood to have touched on a number of subjects inducing food situation, housing and lack of technical personnel in the country.

According to a BPCC spokesman, Mr. Nehru said, that originally the Government of India had intended to introduce it within 10 years. Eight of those years had already passed and the country had not been able to reach the desired goal. So, it was now aimed to extend this period by five more years so that by the end of the Third Plan period, education could be made free in the country at all levels.

In the meanwhile, he was of the opinion that all brilliant boys and girls in the country should be given all educational facilities including free boarding and lodging.

Mr. Nehru said that he was very much pained to see that a number of promising boys and girls were handicapped by lack of funds and opportunities. In this connection, he referred to the late Ramanujam and said that he was the "most brilliant mathematician of the 20th century" and yet on account of poverty and, other handicaps he had to die of T. B. at Cambridge.

Mr. Nehru told the gathering that that Congress wanted to end class struggle in this country, but, it did not believe in repressive methods. Repression solved one problem but created ten others. All parties wanted a welfare State, but there was difference in their methods of approach.

Some other countries had accepted other methods because of their own peculiar circumstances. He was of the opinion that such circumstances did not exist in India and, therefore, there was no question of adopting similar methods.

Referring to planning, the Prime Minister said that people had generally come to realise what planning was and the important role of power, capital machinery and steel in the nation building activities. The question of food, he said, had assumed great importance, because unless this problem was effectively solved, the necessary wherewithal for the Second or Third Plan would not be available.

Mr. Nehru also referred to the Congress resolution on cooperative farming and said that he was surprised that some people complained about ceiling on

land. These critics, he said, thought that the Congress would only talk and never take a revolutionary step. When the Congress did take such a step, those people found themselves in a difficult position.

Even a country like Japan accepted ceiling on land, he said, at the instance of the United States of America. It was wrong to argue that ceiling was not acceptable conducive to democracy.

Mr. Nehru said that these categories of trained workers would be needed for implementation of the Congress resolution on cooperative farming—the first receiving training for about 12 months, the second three to four months and the last for a period of seven 15 days. The Congress workers must equip themselves with this training, he added.

Mr. Nehru said that in some of the foreign countries the ruling parties had trained cadres of workers to help their respective Governments in the implementation of policies. The Congress too, he said, should have a similar cadre of workers to help their party Governments.

The Prime Minister said that the problem of housing was serious and added that every effort was being made by the authorities to solve it.

The meeting passed a resolution mourning the death of Dr. M.R. Jayakar,<sup>11</sup> Mr. K.K. Shah moved the resolution. The Prime Minister paid glowing tributes to Mr. Jayakar for his services to the country.

### 15. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: N.G. Ranga's Resignation<sup>12</sup>

March 11, 1959

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th March, which I have read with interest.<sup>13</sup>

As for old members of the Socialist Party joining the Congress, that is a question which should naturally be decided by the Congress Parliamentary Board or the Working Committee. Broadly speaking, I think it will be desirable to take them in unless there are any particular reasons against this.

As for N. G. Ranga, we have accepted his resignation from the Congress Party in Parliament.<sup>14</sup> The question of his continuing in the Congress as a

11. Educationist and lawyer who died on 10 March 1959 in Bombay.

12. Letter.

13. Nehru sent Sanjiva Reddy's letter and a copy of this reply to the Congress President, Indira Gandhi.

14. See item 13.



member, still remains undecided, although I doubt if he can continue to be so because of his activities. However, I do not want to hustle this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 16. To CPP: Speech <sup>15</sup>

[Unidentified speaker:] कौन? किनको बोलना था। लाभ आपने लिया क्या?

[Unidentified speaker:] ...मि. विश्वनाथ जी<sup>16</sup> बोल रहे थे।

[Unidentified speaker:] विश्वनाथदास जी हैं?

[Translation begins:

[Unidentified speaker:] Who? Who was to speak? Did you take the benefit?

[Unidentified speaker:] ...Mr Biswanath ji was speaking.

[Unidentified speaker:] Is Biswanathji there?

Translation ends]

[Proceedings continue in English]

You continue Mr. Biswanath Das, Surely it ...

No, no, he has spoken for ten or fifteen minutes that day.

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... has given us, made some remarks, which naturally merit our attention. He has spoken at some length, last time, this time, and we should pay attention to what he has said but I have not been able quite to understand,

15. New Delhi, 14 March 1959. Tape No. M-41/c (ii) and M 41 (ii), NMML.

16. Biswanath Das (1889-1984); Congressman from Orissa; organised kisan sabha in Madras Presidency; Member, Madras Legislative Council, 1921-30; imprisoned during freedom struggle; Chief Minister, Orissa, 1937-39; Member, Constituent Assembly; Member, AICC for several years; President, Utkal PCC for three terms; Governor, UP, 1962-67; Chief Minister, Orissa, 1971-72.

if you will permit me to say so, what he is driving at.<sup>17</sup> Apart from the faults that may have occurred in the past, apart from our mistakes which may have been made in the past, we are discussing today, the Nagpur resolutions passed by the Nagpur Congress. We are not discussing our past errors and, in so far as the land question is concerned, we are discussing the second resolution which says, by and large, certain ceilings on land which have not been defined, have been left to the states, having regard to circumstances. The question of ceilings of land has been under discussion for a large number of years, not a new thing, we have discussed it again and again and anyhow not only discussed it but come to decisions on it. Congress is merely repeating it. The other is about service cooperatives plus aiming at ultimately joint cultivation. Now I can understand Mr. Das not liking the idea for various reasons of ceiling on land (...) you did, [...] I was listening with the greatest care and arrived at, understood you to meaning the reverse of what you said (...) I know, but I know that, therefore what the Congress has said on this occasion in that matter you agree with.

Biswanath Das: Certainly.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There the matter ends. That is one thing. Now the second point is about service cooperatives which we have to put in. Do you agree with that?



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 18 MARCH 1959)

17. According to the reports in the *National Herald* and *The Hindu* on 15 March, Biswanath Das agreed with the principle of the Nagpur resolutions, but doubted whether they could be implemented.



Biswanath Das: Certainly.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ah, (...) that is a different matter. But you agree with the resolution passed by the Congress (...) So that, but have you as for the later objective of joint cultivation, do you agree to our having that objective and objective mean (...) no, no, I merely want for clarity (...) no, no, but that is my difficulty that I want clarity. I want clarity, and I have myself failed to understand apart from individual bits that you have told us that I understand, we should examine, what is happening to Gramdan, we should do this. We should examine the officials or the people, that of course is a different matter. But we are discussing at the present moment precise things what the Congress has said and how to give effect to them. The Congress has said that we must have service cooperatives, all over India, village service cooperatives within three years. That is one thing. Further that our objective should be joint cultivation societies. Naturally here or elsewhere it does not require my going about saying that they are voluntary, because in the nature of things our work is voluntary, everything is voluntary, we cannot normally do anything by compulsion unless the compulsion is the compulsion of the law passed, every tax is compulsory, that is a different matter. What I want to know is this: that in effect your grievances that we have not been acting rightly in the past but the decisions we have taken today in the Congress are the right decisions and should be acted upon. I entirely agree with you, but now at last we are on the right path.

Thank you.

[Proceedings continue in Hindi ]

[Unidentified speaker:] आदरणीय नेता जी तथा साथियो, नागपुर कांग्रेस में जो भूमि सुधार सम्बन्धी किसानों के सम्बन्ध में जो प्रस्ताव पास हुआ है.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: विनोबा जी<sup>18</sup> ने कहा था। माफ़ कीजिएगा, ये बहुत दिलचस्प बातें हैं, लेकिन हम मनु के पास जायें, पच्चीस मिनट से आप बोल रहे हैं तो फिर किसी और को मौका ही नहीं मिलेगा।...पच्चीस मिनट, देखिए, आप हिसाब लगा लें कि दो ही तीन बोल सकते हैं, अगर आधे-आधे घण्टे बोलें। आप बोले थे चालीस मिनट, कल और आज मिला के। उस रोज़ और आज मिला के। अब आप पच्चीस मिनट बोल चुके, तो दो ही तीन बोल सकते हैं। तीन घण्टे की मीटिंग है।...लेकिन मैं आपसे अर्ज़ करूँ आप कहिए, मैं आपको रोक नहीं रहा हूँ,

18. Social reform leader and a prominent disciple of Mahatma Gandhi; launched the Bhoodan movement.

लेकिन आप जब मनु के समय पर जाते हैं तो फिर कठिन है। यहाँ तक नागपुर तक आते-आते...

कोई : सुनिए। आज एक कमेटी, ये सामुदायिक योजना बनी है।<sup>19</sup> सामुदायिक योजना से हमारी उन्नति होगी। हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री को बहुत ज़्यादा विश्वास है और बात भी बहुत ठीक है, लेकिन ये मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे सामने एक समस्या है कि हमारी इस ज़मीन पे पैदावार बढ़े, लेकिन...

[Translation begins:

Unidentified speaker: Respected leader and comrades, the resolutions passed by the Nagpur Congress regarding land reforms etc....

Jawaharlal Nehru: Vinoba ji<sup>20</sup> had said. Excuse me, what you're saying is very interesting, but if we go back to Manu's times...you have been speaking for twenty-five minutes and no one else will get a chance to speak. You can calculate, if each speaker takes up half an hour, only two or three will be able to speak. You spoke for forty minutes, yesterday and today, and now you have already spoken for twenty-five minutes. So, you can see, only two or three members can speak, then. After all, the meeting is only for three hours... Yes, I am only requesting, I am not stopping you. But if you go back to the times of Manu, then it will be difficult. By the time you come to the Nagpur Resolution...

Unidentified speaker: We have formed a Committee for cooperatives<sup>21</sup> today. Cooperatives will bring us progress. Our Prime Minister believes in it implicitly and he may be right. But what I want to know is, we have a problem of increasing our food production, but....

Translation ends]

[Proceedings continue in English]

Unidentified speaker: No Sir, it does not, it depends how you work it out. You have interpreted social justice as a matter of arithmetics, addition and

19. See item 136.

20. See fn 18 in this section.

21. See fn 19 in this section.



divisions. So much population, so much land, therefore 300 square yards of earth for everybody. No, No, what's new in it? (...) giving land to landless people. Certainly where possible that will be given.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You see, we in discussing, if we discuss the whole philosophy of the world, well, naturally we must concentrate on one or two points and discuss them.

Unidentified speaker: I was saying Sir, that this cooperative framework can only make available the means of utilising this abundant labour the source and since my friend asked me to illustrate it, I shall do that in a few minute.

[Proceedings continue in Hindi]

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : [...] से घण्टा हिला-हिला के कहा गया है, बार-बार कहने से क्या फायदा कि कोऑपरेटिव का क़ानून बदलना होगा, बदलना होगा, हरेक ने तस्तीम कर लिया है, हर गवर्नमेंट ने, केन्द्र ने, स्टेट ने, तो उसको मरी हुई एक लाश को...

कोई : पण्डित जी, कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी का नारा लगा करके तो उसके किसान को. ये सब बदल गया क़ानून, ये होना चाहिए न...बदल रहे हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : ये तो मैं समझा। लेकिन वो एक मरी हुई लाश है, उस पर समय बहुत सर्फ़ करना, जान नहीं कि उसमें कोई।...तो आप नाम चन्द्रदत्त जी का लिख लीजिए, वो आपकी क्लास में आयेंगे।

[Interjection:] अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : अब मैं आपकी राय चाहता हूँ, राय मतलब कि किस ढंग से हम काम करें। क्योंकि यों तो हम अभी और बैठ सकते हैं, आधे घण्टे, पौन घण्टे [...] जी...

[Interjection:] पाँच मिनट का टाइम।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जी, अब देखिए न, अब तक तो आधे-आधे घण्टे से ऊपर लिया गया है।...नहीं, मैं तो...

[Interjection:] सवाल पूछना चाहते हैं...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : हाँ, हाँ...राय में किस बात की ले रहा हूँ। अरे, मैं राय इस बात की ले रहा था कि हम इस बहस को आज इस वक़्त ख़त्म करके कल और चीज़ जारी रखें या परसों ये। ये राय नहीं ले रहा था। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि इस पर हम बहुत इत्मीनान से बहस करते आयें, सुनते जाये दिक्कतें, जो कुछ हमारे दिमाग में शिकायतें, दिक्कतें, सवाल हैं, वो पेश किये जायें। मैं उसमें कोई रुकावट नहीं डालूँगा, चाहे ऐसी मीटिंग दूसरी है...पाँच, छै, सात, आठ, नौ, दस दिन तक हो, मुझे मंज़ूर है। कोई उसमें जल्दी नहीं होगी, जब तक एक शख्स जो कुछ कहना चाहता है, ये मीटिंग जारी रहेगी, ये आप याद रखिए। कम-से-कम जब तक ये सेशन है, उस वक़्त तक जारी रह सकती है। तो उसमें मैं रुकावट नहीं डालूँगा, नहीं, लेकिन मैं इस वक़्त आपसे पूछ रहा था, एक तो ये कि पहले तो मेरा इरादा था कि ये सब...फिर मैंने सोचा कि बीच-बीच में कुछ इसको एक इत्ते ज़ाबिते की ज़रूरत नहीं है। लोग कहें, तो उससे ज़्यादा सफ़ाई होती है एकाध सवाल ले के नहीं तो फिर। और ज़रा एक दिक्कत है, सवाल एक ऐसा है कि उसको ही आप बढ़ाते जायें, सारे हिन्दुस्तान का सवाल हो जाता है। या आप उस सवाल को लें जो हमारे सामने हैं मुखासर, कहाँ पे लाइन खेंचें, ये बड़ा मुश्किल है। खेंचनी पड़ती है, नहीं तो गोल बातें हो जाती हैं, पकड़ नहीं आती किसी के, तो कुछ मैं चाहता था कुछ थोड़ा-सा मैं खुद कहूँ, लेकिन दिमाग में ये था कि शुरू में मैंने सुना कि फ़िरोज़ ग़ाँधी<sup>22</sup> ने कहा था कि वो कुछ बजट के बारे में इस मीटिंग में कहा चाहते हैं, मैंने कहा था, ठीक है, तो मैं उनको कुछ मौक़ा दिया चाहता हूँ। तो अगर आप इस वक़्त मंज़ूर करें तो हम परसों इस मीटिंग को जारी रखेंगे।<sup>23</sup> मैं कभी कुछ कहने वाला हूँ इस सिलसिले में, परसों यानी सोमवार को मण्डे आफ़्टर पार्लियामेंट, वो छै बजे होगा क्या, मैं नहीं जानता। शायद छै बजे हो?...अच्छा छै बजे...अच्छा, अब मैं दो-चार बातें कहा चाहता हूँ, ज़रा-सा। मैं चाहता हूँ, आप सब लोग जहाँ तक हो सके, मुझे समझें, तो मैं अंग्रेज़ी में बोलूँ कि हिन्दी में बोलूँ, जैसा आप...

कोई : दो-दो, तीन-तीन मिनट में या तो हम आपको लिख करके दें

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : अरे भाई साहब, लिख के नहीं आप खुद देंगे, ज़वान से बोलेंगे, अच्छी तरह से, वो ठीक है। लिख कर देना काफ़ी नहीं है। अब मैं कोई सवाल...मैं कोई पंच थोड़े हूँ कि सवाल के जवाब दूँ बैठ के। लोग सुनें, अपनी राय क़ायम करें, आपकी दिक्कतें सुन के। मैं तो महज़ आपकी इस बहस में मदद किया चाहता हूँ, सोचने को। क्यों साहब, मैं अंग्रेज़ी में बोलूँ, हिन्दी क्या...ऐं...

22. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Rae Bareilly, UP.

23. See item 18.



कोई : आपकी मर्जी...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : ऐं, क्या, समझ में नहीं आता, खैर [...]।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: What is the use of repeatedly saying that we have to change our cooperative laws? Everybody has accepted it at the Central and the State governments. It is like beating a corpse.

Unidentified speaker: Panditji, the slogan of cooperative society has been dinned into the farmer...all these laws have been changed, should'nt it be so...they are changing.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I understand that. But it is a dead thing. Why waste so much time on it? There is no life in it...Alright, include Chandra Dutt's name, he will come to your class...

[Interjection:] Alright.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, I want your opinion as to how we should work. We can sit for another half an hour or forty-five minutes...What...

[Interjection:] Five minutes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, so far half an hour each has been taken up... otherwise, I...

[Interjection:] We want to ask a question...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, yes, what do I want your opinion about? I am not asking for your opinion on whether we should keep this debate open tomorrow and the day after. I would like to go into this matter fully, discuss it at leisure, listen to all possible difficulties, complaints, etc., to clear our minds. I will not stand in the way of another meeting or more for five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten days. I am agreeable; there is no need to hurry. The meeting will be open for as long as any individual has something to say, at least so long as this session continues. So, I was not talking about that. Now, I want to decide on the scope of the discussion. We can extend it to take in the whole country. Or you can take a

narrower viewpoint. It becomes difficult to know where to stop. But some limit has to be imposed. Otherwise the matter becomes obtuse. Therefore, I wished to say a few words. But I have kept in mind that Feroze Gandhi<sup>24</sup> wanted to say something about the budget in this meeting. I would like to give him a chance. So, if you agree, we can continue this meeting day after tomorrow.<sup>25</sup> I will say something now. And on Monday, after Parliament, about 6 o'clock? Alright. I will say a few words now. I want all of you to understand this matter. So shall I speak in Hindi or English?

Someone: Instead of speaking for two or three minutes we could write out....

Jawaharlal Nehru: My dear Sir, there is no point in writing anything. It would be better for you to speak so that all may listen and discuss and form their own opinions. I want you to help me clarify my thoughts on this issue. So, shall I speak in Hindi or English?

Unidentified speaker: It is your wish.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What? I can't make out... anyhow.

Translation ends]

[Proceedings continue in English]

First of all, in these matters relating to land I have always been somewhat reluctant to come to any clear and final decisions in regard to details, broad things, I had no difficulty at one time for instance in thinking that the zamindari system should go, there was no doubt about it in my mind. But when you come down to more details I have always felt that not having a practical knowledge of the land problem I should bow to those who had it, and not proceed on theoretical consideration. So I hesitated till after much thought or discussion, we have come to a decision broadly of course. Everyone will agree what Mr. B.D. Das said that there should be an integrated approach, not only in land but in everything, in life itself, that is a patent thing. In so far as it is not done, it is a fault and error, or due to circumstances beyond control.

24. See fn 22 in this section.

25. See fn 23 in this section



Now take this business of ceiling on land, it is fairly easy to advance arguments for or against, it is not such an obvious issue which says yes, where they have no argument, why do I say it is fairly easy because another matter has to be considered all the time, that is the question of production, that production not suffering, otherwise I have no difficulty. How does [one ensure] whether a step that we take may not affect production. That is why inspite of our having decided broadly in favour of a ceiling, the fact is that few states have taken steps on it, one or two have. My own inclination was in the balance, that a ceiling is desirable, what that ceiling is, is another matter. I did not think that that ceiling would lead very greatly to giving land to the landless, I do not think so. To a little extent it will, but for a variety of reasons, and I am not going into them now, I was inclined, but I did not think myself competent enough to start shouting about it all over, when there are so many difficulties in the way, others knew better. So we have discussed for some years, last two, three, four years, ever since the Second Plan and before, and we found that this question of ceiling—the fact that this was not decided this way or that way—was itself becoming a great drawback. Nobody could, not knowing, settle down and ultimately not I so much but others concerned came to this conclusion that the time had come when this matter might, must be finalised, that is, although there are arguments which can be advanced this way or that way—in the balance it is better to do so and certainly, in the balance. Anyhow it is bad to keep this matter pending [...] After very considerable thought, committees and others, as you know, came to this conclusion and the Congress passed it as a result of years of thinking, it is nothing new, and in fact, it is not thinking but coming to that conclusion.

So far as the other matter is concerned, that is, the idea of service cooperatives leading ultimately to joint farming, people seem to imagine or to think, some of even our members and some people outside or some newspapers that I have, sort of, thrust this down the throats of unwilling people in the Congress or outside. Now, that is a great honour done to me that I can do such things. But the fact is that this came out of a committee, high-powered committee, of which I was not even a member; having considered I was sometimes invited, true, but only a few times, it came out. It is true that I think that from a variety of points of view this is desirable and I will go a step further, it is inevitable and that whether now or tomorrow or the day after, it must come. Let the heavens fall, nothing can stop it. Because circumstances demand it, not you or I or anybody, because the facts of life in India demand it and you can ignore an argument, you can ignore everything, you cannot ultimately ignore the facts of life. These are the facts of life in India. But so, it is quite absurd to say that I have thrust it down somebody, I have not. I have always hesitated to say anything

purely on the land problem unless I saw that as my colleagues whose opinion I value and others were also convinced of that then I ventured out.

These matters are, rather can need hardly be said because a thing having been finally being passed after much discussion by committees and others, by the Congress, normally is not discussed in this way. One can discuss the details, one can discuss the application of it. But a curious thing has happened and I mentioned this to you on the last occasion also, that is, the ferocity of the attack of various people, some in Parliament, some outside, some newspapers, etc. The fierceness of the attack on the Nagpur resolutions, and the more I think of it, the more I have welcomed this, as a very healthy sign in our public life, as a very healthy sign in Congress life, although it may irritate, it may annoy, it may create a certain confusion in Congress ranks, it really is, it is a natural development in order to remove the fog that has covered the Congress mind all this time. It is a good thing. Even though it is a painful thing that this fog, this confusion, this looking in five ways at the same time should be removed, otherwise one cannot function as a group, as a party, as an ideology, as anything. We cannot go on just saying everything to please everybody and remaining where we are. We have to move forward. Mind you, remember this that the Planning Commission in a five year plan they have been saying this always, there is nothing new in it, it has been said repeatedly. In fact, it never struck me for an instant, in the Congress that we were saying something new. I thought this is our own policy, only we are laying greater stress on it, only we insist that it should be done instead of piously proclaiming it.

So I have wondered what is all this, why is this because suddenly a realisation has come to, all I can say is, certain vested interests that the Congress has ceased to be what they thought a static sleeping body with no ideas left, with no strength to go ahead but just run elections and repeat this formula and that formula, because they have realised that the Congress is dynamic still, that has a life and kick in it, it can go ahead and so they have got frightened. It is a good thing and it is a pleasing thing therefore and to be welcomed that there is this attack on the Congress. It is only that which will waken up the Congress which tended to become static, it tends to go to sleep occasionally provided you respond to that attack. If you succumb to it, then it is as, well, then the Congress succumbs also. What is this, I cannot, I cannot for the life of me understand this, I read the news because I said somewhere in Bombay that this principle of cooperation is a wide principle of life.<sup>26</sup> [...] I said in Bombay that it should be extended to the industrial field, a very obvious thing. I mean to say

26. See item 8, p. 84 and p. 97.



I have always said it, and there is a fierce attack on me, oh! you see, this poison is spreading, we had enough in agriculture, now you say it is in industry also. It really astonishes me to see the gap in our thinking, the gap in our social thinking or to see how vested interests when they feel that they may lose something, how ferocious they get. They all even lose the common decencies of life and they just lose not only reason and logic but just they bare their teeth. At everything they think might affect, it is really quite extraordinary. It has been a process of education for me even though I have had experience of this a good deal.

Now, as I just said look at the resolution, it is a very simple resolution saying—I am talking about cooperatives—that the future agrarian pattern should be that of cooperative farming, in which shares will remain separate, in which the land will be for joint cultivation the farmers continuing to retain their property rights and getting a share from the nett produce in proportion to their land. Further, as a first step prior to the institution of joint farming service cooperatives should be organised. This stage should be completed within a period of three years. Now, if everybody is agreed that service cooperatives cannot be objected to, then what is all this shouting about. Why, the fact of the matter is, they do not like service cooperatives, they do not like any cooperation. The fact of the matter is that you are up against something much more radical. See the line of reasoning. There was nothing happening. Now service cooperatives, [...] we want service cooperatives today; well in three years' time we would have learnt by experience, what to do, what not to do, how to do it. Nothing is happening tomorrow. I mean to say if it did happen it happened in some place by the consent of people because even now they are several hundred joint farming societies in India. Nobody shouts about them, they are, there they are, and in fact in every country in the world there are joint [cooperatives], even in the capitalist countries these are such, but they are in small numbers. So, you see it is not that, it is not against that, it is a deliberate distortion, attempt to frighten people by all kinds of ghosts and bogies—oh! joint, you see service cooperatives, yes, all right, we all agree but do not you see this terrible thing behind it, joint cultivation and we all know, what joint cultivation means, it means cooperatives, we all know what cooperatives mean, it means China, it means a regimentation and people all going to bed at the same time, getting up at the same time, eating together, dancing together, standing on the head together, working together, doing everything together. You see, that is where we have been driven to. Now, people who say this are either wholly and totally lacking in a modicum of intelligence or they are deliberate falsifiers. [...] I cannot understand it. Either it is lack of intelligence if they cannot understand simple things of life or they are deliberately trying to divert people's attention from the obvious questions on which there can be two opinions. I do not say that, there can be two opinions,

but you see their argument has nothing to do with the Nagpur resolution or anything.

Now, it is a very extraordinary thing and you will see that it is not in this matter only, in various other matters, unconnected matters that this kind of assault is being made on the Congress. So long as the Congress was supposed to be a docile body which could be allowed to say things occasionally, to deliver brave speeches but behave, it was all right. But when there is some fear that Congress still can do something apart from talking about it, then it is objected to and this method of dealing with it, of attacking it on all fronts, by fair means and foul means, it comes into being. I want you to realise this aspect of it, because it is an important aspect of it and what becomes terribly important is that when such an attack by vested interests of all kinds is made what is our reaction to it, as a party, as an organisation, that is the important thing. If we have confused minds—not about details of working out, the question does not arise, that is a thing we should discuss—if we have confused minds about this and basically do not accept these principles as the Nagpur Congress laid down, then obviously the Congress cannot meet this attack and will succumb because there is no going back from the Nagpur Congress. The only going back is, in a sense you might say so, gradual winding up the Congress. Remember that, there are something from which there can be no going back. Going back means life going to death, that growth which leads the end of life to death. That is the position for the Congress, for any organisation, if what I say is true if what we have said is a matter of meeting the facts of life in the world and here.

So, I want you to realise that [...] it is no good my speaking so frequently about it here or in Parliament or outside, of course I shall speak, that is not the way to take a message to the people, it is for every Congressman to take the message, to talk, to argue, to understand himself and not to sit down as a philosopher balancing what was done in the past done, then, that is wrong, this was wrong, and we should have done this, that is the policy adopted by individuals or organisations which have outlived their utility. They sit down and think of the past and dream of the past, of the good things in the past and the bad things and the mistakes but we have the present to deal with. We are a present party, not a past party and the present party with the present difficulties, present mistakes, present errors but never waste the present vitality and dynamism to march ahead. And when a step is taken, there is some dynamism shown, then we shrink back, some of us and go and join the enemies' ranks, that is a most amazing position for a party to take or an individual in a party. We have to be quite clear about this. Therefore I have said we shall argue this matter, one day, two days, five days, nine days, ten days, twenty days, if you like. But we shall come to a firm decision and those who do not agree with that



decision, I think, should leave the Congress fairly and squarely. Let us be a small number and do something in this, instead of large numbers and waving banners and moving about, let us be clear about it .... yes I do not want, I mean to say, I do not want, I do not want to force or compel the issue in this way, but since the Congress has taken this decision it must be understood that that decision with all its consequences, is going to be a test for every single Congressman. Let us discuss it as long as you like, it is going to be a test and I think it will be for the health of the country and I feel quite frankly that the Congress splits up into two. It is a healthy sign. Each person will know what to do, and not always take cover under somebody else and appear to be doing something which he does not believe in. We have had enough of that.

Well, there is much I should like to say about this matter but that is enough for the moment.

Unidentified speaker: Now, Mr. Feroze Gandhi !

Feroze Gandhi: Sir, after this exhilarating debate, discussion on cooperative farming and the Nagpur resolution, it is my unfortunate duty to turn to a rather dull subject and that is the magnitude of the financial operations of the Government of India.<sup>27</sup>

## 17. For CWC: Draft Resolution on Nyasaland and Central African Federation<sup>28</sup>

The Working Committee have learnt with deep regret of the recent developments in Nyasaland and the Central African Federation where the legitimate aspirations of the African people for freedom have been suppressed.<sup>29</sup> Political parties have

27. *The Hindu* of 15 March 1959 reported Feroze Gandhi claiming that expenditure could be reduced by Rs 50 crores, and pointed to the rising cost of tax collection, from 3 crore in 1957-58 to Rs 5 crore in 1959-60. Additional revenue was being absorbed by the administration itself.

28. Drafted by Nehru, 15 March 1959.

The CWC met in New Delhi on 15 and 16 March 1959 and adopted this resolution on 16 March. For final resolution, see *Congress Bulletin* 1959, pp.134-135.

29. The Central African Federation, composed of the British colonies of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (now Malawi), existed between 1953 and 1963. Following serious political conflict, Nyasaland was placed in a state of emergency on 3 March 1959, and many members of the Nyasaland African National Congress, including its leader and founder, Hastings Banda, were arrested. It became independent in 1964.

been banned, their leaders interned and many African citizens have died because of firing by armed forces. The Congress has always supported the movement for freedom in the African States and has welcomed the emergence of some of these States as independent countries. It has appreciated the policy of the United Kingdom Government in this respect and has looked forward to its rapid implementation in other States. The recent deplorable events appear to be a reversal of this policy and an attempt to consolidate the racial domination of a minority over the great majority of the African people and to deny them even elementary political rights.

The Congress has always been entirely opposed to racial discrimination and suppression and considers that a continuation of this policy in the Union of South Africa or in other parts of Africa is not only opposed to the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, but is also bound to lead to terrible conflicts. The continuation of these racial policies in any part of the Commonwealth brings discredit to the Commonwealth and weakens the bonds that hold it together.

The Working Committee regrets that Indian shops have been looted causing a great deal of damage to the Indians owning them. The Congress has always advised Indians settled in Africa to develop friendly and cooperative relations with the people of that country<sup>30</sup> and to give their sympathy and support to their legitimate demands for freedom. The Committee trusts that Indians will always remember this advice and<sup>31</sup> act up to it.<sup>32</sup>

### 18. To CPP: Speech<sup>33</sup>

Though I understand that whatever your reason may be, whether, you are tired after a hard day, you don't want to continue speaking and listening now. The, when shall we meet? Day after tomorrow?

While, day after tomorrow...

30. In the final resolution, "with the African peoples" replaced "with the people of that country".

31. In the final resolution, "act up to it" was replaced with "act in accordance with it".

32. See also item 228.

33. New Delhi, 16 March 1959. Tape No. M-42/c, NMML.



[Proceedings continue in Hindi ]

आप मिल सकते हैं, सिर्फ एक बात है कि परसों युनाइटेड नेशन्स के सेक्रेटरी जनरल<sup>34</sup> तशरीफ़ ला रहे हैं और एक शाम को 6.30 बजे उनके लिए एक पार्टी है। हमारी नहीं, वो स्वीडिश एम्बेसी में है। कल शाम को हमारी कैबिनेट की मीटिंग है करीब उसके उठने के बाद, जब कभी उठे। रोज़ तो कुछ-न-कुछ होता है, हाँ, बड़ी मुश्किल है। छै बजे तक ये होता है आजकल और 6 बजे के बाद या तो कैबिनेट मीटिंग हो या ये हैमरशोल्ड आ रहे हैं, दो दिन उन्होंने वक़्त ले लिया, क्या बताइए। आई नो, अगर आप चाहते हैं तो एक-दो साहब बोल लें पन्द्रह-बीस मिनट। कुछ आप बोलना चाहते हैं। आओ, मालवीय<sup>35</sup> कहाँ हैं?

[Translation begins:

... you can meet the day after tomorrow. The only thing is that the Secretary General of the United Nations<sup>36</sup> is coming here the day after tomorrow and a party is being given in his honour at 6.30 in the evening by the Swedish Embassy. We have a Cabinet meeting tomorrow evening and I don't know how long it will go on. Something or the other is on every day. Yes, it is very difficult. The Parliament sits till six o'clock every day and after that we have a Cabinet meeting or Hammarskjöld's visit. He is going to take up two days. What is to be done? I know, if you like, one or two of you can speak, just now for fifteen-twenty minutes.

Do you wish to speak? ....

Please come, where is Malviya?<sup>37</sup>

Translation ends]

[Proceedings continue in English]

34. The UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld was in India from 18 to 22 March 1959, he also visited Kashmir for two days. See also items 36 and 187.
35. Keshava Deva Malaviya, Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil, and a leader of the Socialist Forum in the Congress.
36. See fn 34 in this section.
37. See fn 35 in this section.

What do you bring your "basta"<sup>38</sup> here for? I have asked you, speak! Well, no-written speeches.

Someone: [...]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Cooperatives have been transferred to Community Development [...] Keshava Deva Malviya.....

Keshava Deva Malviya: ..... Sir.....

जवाहरलाल नेहरू.: कहिए, क्या राय है आपकी। केशवदेव जी ने भारी-भरकम बातें कहीं, उस पे गौर करना होगा। लेकिन आप इजाज़त दें तो कुछ मैं भी अर्ज़ कर दूँ।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: What are your views? Keshava Deva ji has said a number of weighty things and we will have to consider them. But if with your permission, I would like to say something too.

Translation ends]

[ Proceedings continue in English ]

Much has been said, and will be said about the Nagpur Congress resolutions. You may discuss them in their rather narrow context as to what they are. It is important that we do so. But really the amount of discussion, dissent or approbation that they have given rise to itself indicates that there is something deeper in it, in them, than what might be called land reform. That is so. It indicates, it gives a certain direction to what might be called a higher stage of social organisation. Undoubtedly, it does that. Now higher stage of social organisation anyone of us who is intelligent enough, who knows about these matters, can think of various stages of social organisation one better than the other and aim at them. Nevertheless, a social organisation does not come out of the head of a person, it has to grow and be built up. You cannot impose a social organisation on a very backward community. You may have phases, of course,

38. In official use, a bunch of papers in a file cover.



you may train it up and all that but you meet with something which is much more difficult than opposition. It is utter ignorance and inertia. Every higher stage of social organisation requires a higher degree of understanding, a higher degree if you like of education, education not in merely in the narrow sense but in a wider sense and that is the real difficulty of an organisation or a country which has a backward social or economic organisation. You can try to speed up the process of change but you can never skip it, it cannot be done. People may talk about imposition and coercion and all that, and there can be coercion as we have seen in Russia or elsewhere but all the coercion in the world in Russia did not bring about the change overnight or even in a few years, took decades to bring it about. We have, therefore, fundamentally to meet a problem of the existing social background, social meaning, not marriage and divorce and that kind of thing but the other things and the necessity for changing it. One thing is clear that at present this social background is out of date and it will not carry us far however hard we work. Therefore, it becomes essential to change it. In changing it we cannot do so by mere decree, we have to phase it, in people's minds and people's efforts and people's training.

Now, I think in whatever way you call it, service cooperatives or joint cultivation or whatever you like to call it, unless you have competent men to run that it will fail. It is essential that the competent men—another thing is essential, a certain social thinking in social background that there is a general trend towards that in people's minds. It does not mean that everybody thinks so but anyhow people are alive to this fact many approve it, many are doubtful but there is a trend that way. Now Keshava Devaji said one thing which I did not understand at all. He said do not talk about it, bring it about and I do not understand it all, because the basic thing in it are two. One, the trained people because cooperative working is trained work. It is a trained job, it is a technical job almost, you just cannot do it effectively unless you have a background of trained people. I do not mean to say in every village and all that but there must be trained people, right thinking people at the top, highly trained people. The next grade will be trained people, not that highly trained but fairly trained, and the next lower-down grade will be people who accept the ideal broadly and are willing to do it. The three stages are necessary. Therefore, I think the very first step is for governments or non-governmental organisations to train people. Highly trained people, it may take I do not know how long it takes, but at the very minimum, if he is a competent man, six months' intensive training, may be a year, I do not know, but let us say six months' intensive training. Another type of training, lesser type would take at least one clear month, may be two months or three months, I do not know. That is the training part. I think that at least I hope with Government, State Governments and plus the Central

Government but certainly State Governments should start these training courses immediately. We have got agricultural colleges, other things, either there or elsewhere. The Congress on its own part should also do so and in fact the Working Committee has passed some such resolution about training courses etc. The Congressmen should go into it because all other talk is vague, emotional talk, not emotional; we feel something should be done or we feel it should not be done, both emotional and not based on that trained mental outlook which becomes necessary to undertake a big job. I should like to lay stress on that. Then again Keshava Devaji has laid stress that service cooperatives have no meaning at all to him unless they are tied up with joint cultivation.<sup>39</sup> I can only agree with him in a small measure in that, I do agree with him to some extent but not to the extent he has said, that is to say I do think that we must aim at joint cultivation and that is the Congress resolution, because unless you have something in view you cannot work up to it. But I do think also that the first step is not joint cultivation, that is, it may take place here and there—but as a whole body our trying to bring it about because there is no trained personnel or that social background for it which we have to create rapidly and I think it can be created fairly rapidly.

Yes, I know that I am merely stressing on one aspect. It is, that is to say, not to have the ideal, the objective of joint cultivation would mean that the type of service cooperatives which you build up may go in different directions. Then it may be a little difficult to bring them together, but nevertheless the first step is service cooperatives, except where people are ready because we cannot lay down in a country like India, it is very very difficult and I do not think it is right to be rigid about patterns. You can be rigid about broad ideals but you cannot be rigid about patterns, they differ. I am not expert enough to discuss this matter, I hesitate but for instance I would imagine, take mechanisation. We are not talking about mechanisation, but the mechanisation of a wheat growing area is one thing, of a rice paddy growing area is quite another, it may not suit at all paddy, it may suit wheat. So the conditions differ, technical conditions differ, human conditions differ and all kinds of other things happen, climate differs and other things. We have to be fairly flexible in our approach, always trying to reason with people and the only way you can really, really convince a farmer is by actual example. You can argue with him and reason with him, it does not go down very far but if he sees something he is convinced, I am quite sure, and he

39. The *National Herald* reported on 18 March 1959 that K.D. Malaviya had suggested that service cooperatives and joint farming be introduced simultaneously and immediately.



is convinced very rapidly when he sees it. Therefore, we shall have to have—what you might call if you like, call them model or call them what you like—exemplary farms, build up collective farms wherever you can so that both we can learn from them how to work them by trial and error, and others who see them may also see that being done. You may have them by the hundred, by the thousand if you like, because India ultimately will require millions of them, it is a big thing. Therefore, do not fall into this trap, because I consider it a trap of what many of our opponents are saying and doing. They know that no one in his right mind can oppose service cooperatives, it is [just] to oppose, nobody in the wide world can oppose them, whatever he may be capitalist country, socialist, communist, he cannot. But they do not like service cooperatives. They cannot say that. Therefore, they are constantly harping on joint cultivation and that too is wrong, joint cultivation means collective cultivation, collective cultivation means something like China, everybody being forced at the point of the bayonet to go and work in the field for twelve hours a day, giving that picture which might frighten people. Oh! they are going to take your land and all that business. It is deliberately misleading the people. Now I do not see why we should fall into that trap.

At the same time, there is no reason why we should be, as Keshava Devaji said [as] some people are, apologetic about it. We should be quite clear minded and state what our business is. Our ideal is this, we are going to work towards it and we are going to convince our people, by practical example, by this, by that, etc. And the first step is service cooperatives. I think that service cooperatives, obviously, if proper people work them, can make a vast difference to our country and will make a difference. Whether you have service or other you go on training people, it is no good to train people if you do so now, simply call a group of people, join together, service or joint cultivation without any proper direction, proper help not proper help not so much of money and other things but in trained minds helping them, you will do nothing at all, the same thing will remain. You have got even today nearly 2000 so called joint cultivation societies, they really are not that. I do not know some may be but there are various types of mixtures. That is not good enough, simply because there is no mind thinking about it. Even without thinking the mere fact that they have started with them shows that their mind was working in that direction, that is, they realise that it was for their benefit, otherwise they would not have done it. Nobody forced them to do it. They did it because they thought it would be beneficial therefore they did it, and having done it some at least have profited by it, their production has grown. Now, the real test of success is obviously going to be higher production. If production fails, then it is a failure. But apart from that when we envisage this we are thinking in terms of a higher form of

social organisation, the form that is a separate [land], each farmer having a little patch of land, etc., is a lower form, is mentally a lower form. That is why it is well known that, normally speaking, the peasantry are much more conservative than others, fatalist, conservative, everything, it is not their fault, I mean to say they are so isolated from life, from the changing conditions of life etc.

## You Said It

By LAXMAN



*What's the resolutions?*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 21 MARCH 1959)

Now therefore the thing that has come about by the Nagpur resolution, which has to be welcomed is a shake-up in our thinking. Let us be quite frank about it in the Congress; in the Congress, individuals apart. Of course, you may pick up a few hundred persons, you may pick up if you like a couple of thousands persons, whatever number may be, in the country, in the Congress, a few thousands who think about this but the great majority of people in the



Congress have not taken the trouble to indulge in what is called social thinking. Naturally, some people have but most have not; they should, not in a high classy way, not in a professorial way I mean. But the broad steps should be important, and a step which induces people to think in those lines, agitates their minds, even creates doubt. It does not matter but agitating their minds is a good step, a step you have taken up. Something which was in the ruts, it comes out. It may create difficulties, there is no course which you can adopt which is free from difficulty....

[No recording for about half a minute]

But my dear friend, .... no, no, I want to understand what you mean by socialisation of land .... You see, these words are confusing, are you thinking in terms of collectivisation, what are you thinking of? No, no, who said? Suppose you say nationalisation of land, who takes the land and where does it go to? [...]. Now listen [to] what we are saying, in joint cultivation is that their ownership really will remain, it will be shared. I mean to say, after all, in all these things you may have shares, let us say in a sugar factory, you are an owner of a part of the sugar factory. You cannot separate it, you cannot say this bit of machine is mine but you are a part owner of the sugar factory and will get the profits thereof. The whole conception of ownership and property has changed, that is why we are stuck up in this. Originally, the ownership, in more or less primitive time, was human beings, slaves, the owners' cows; you measured the wealth of a man who has got a hundred cows. That is all. That was something. Well, the human ownership went, land and livestock has remained. In advanced countries the ownership of land, nobody attaches importance to it because they may want it for prestige's sake that is a different matter, for sentimental reasons, but the real ownership, what has it become today? It has become a bundle of scrips of paper, that is the ownership. A multi-millionaire's wealth is a bundle of scrips of paper and he may put it in a handbag and what not, he has taken all his property.... You see the whole conception of ownership is changing apart from social changes that are taking place and one can understand the idea of just like a person wanting to live in a room for himself and I do not always [like] to live in a crowd, to be forced to live in a crowd, I want a room for myself. I can understand a person wanting a patch of land where he can play about himself grow anything he likes, vegetables or whatever it is. That is, that is another thing. I want my own clothes, I want my own books that type of, but the other type of ownership becomes more and more progressively social ownership of which you are a sharer, these are future things.... The whole conception is changing. [...] but my dear friend, your answer

is quite clear, your answer on the basis of this resolution is, your ownership remains, your ownership remains and in a much better, in a much more secure form. What was past ownership, gradually it passed to the Bania or to somebody else. That is the ownership or past-ownership, no security, starving condition, some satisfaction that you have got plenty of square yards of land, there you are owner of the land and jointly to have. You can explain that easily enough, I cannot, I can talk to you, I am not going to talk to you about future forms which may come twenty, thirty, forty years later. But I do think the whole conception of ownership ceases to have much meaning where there is abundance. Ownership is important where there is scarcity, somebody who does own, if you own it, you are afraid that man will take it. Now where there is abundance of the essentials if ownership has no particular meaning, it is abundance; everyone can have everything he wants to almost, fine things he may not artistic goods—the whole conception of the future society is abundance. Our thinking is governed by an age of scarcity, all the past history of the world is one of scarcity, a few people rich, others not having enough.

Now by the advancement of science and technology, it can be proved on paper that everybody can have enough, that is, the world can produce enough—food, clothing anything you want, enough. We cannot do it immediately but we can theoretically do it and in fact in countries like America or Russia, whether they are capitalists or socialists does not matter, they are becoming countries of abundance. In fact the modern conception of society is so changing, there is a very interesting book written by the American Professor, a very able man Galbraith, called the “*Affluent Society*”.<sup>40</sup> He has pointed out how society has changed from what you would call society of scarcity, it has become the affluent society, overflowing with the goods of life. Yet our thinking is governed by the age of scarcity. Even in America, he says, inspite of that, he says all your policy and thinking is wrong in America because you are an affluent society and you are still thinking on in the old way. Much more so of course we who are not affluent have to in our own way. Then you see all these things are changing so rapidly and will change, that the whole conception of ownership and all that, you see take everything, in the old age a road was a private road, a bridge was a private bridge, with toll being charged for the bridge or the road, the private man charged a fee for a man going, all these things become gradually communal, the community owns them, the municipality owns them, and provides good services to the others, that is bound to increase, it is increasing. In a country like America in a sense there is far more communism than in many socialist or

40. John Kenneth Galbraith, *Affluent Society* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958).



communist countries, in the sense that, not in the basic sense of organisation of society, but in the sense that communal services are given by the community for the community, enormous and they go on increasing, increasing, increasing till you get everything. In Sweden, the moment a woman conceives a child, the State comes in, conception not even birth, the State comes in to look after that woman, who has conceived a child and when the child is born, the State is there to look after it and it does not matter whether the child is legitimate or illegitimate or anything, a child is a child and the State looks after that child. Throughout his career it will pursue him and when he is about, whatever the age I do not know the old age pensioner's age, 65 years or something, because they live long there, the State comes in again and offers fine mansions and houses for all the old people to live in doing nothing, getting every kind of comfort on behalf of the State. You see, that is an affluent society providing everything.

Now, other problems have arisen of affluent societies today which are deeper and very difficult, they are not before us but still they are there. In Sweden, which is one of the most highly civilised and most prosperous countries, the juvenile crime has become terrible, drunkenness, juvenile crime. Why? Nobody knows because nobody has left any incentive they say, there is no excitement in life, everything is provided [for] and therefore to get excitement they go and kill people. In America [...], it is an extraordinary development ... you see it really is. New problems arise just as you conquer disease by medical means as you do. In Europe, all the old diseases have been conquered, practically speaking, but new things are coming in, diseases not of the body but diseases of the mind and in America all the mental hospitals are full.

What is to be done? But that is evolution of life, you cannot put an end to this, but the point is we here must get out of our rut—new thinking and in a small measure—and an organisation specially has to get out of the rut, because an organisation like the Congress must always be ahead of popular thinking, it cannot be driven, if it is not, it ceases to lead, if it is going about like this. Therefore, these resolutions which are really in line of what you have said but only a little more directed and a little more precise and their goodness comes out simply because of the argument going on, but the shaking people up.<sup>41</sup>

Now we must go.

41. *The Hindu* reported on 17 March 1959 that Joachim Alva (Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kanara, Mysore State), the other member supporting the Nagpur resolutions, said that after every split the Congress organisation had gained in strength, leaving behind the waverers; he also stressed the need for adequate training to carry out the Nagpur decisions.

## 19. To Indira Gandhi: Congress Must Pay its Dues<sup>42</sup>

I enclose copies of letters I have addressed to the Comptroller & Auditor-General and the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>43</sup> I have written these letters in furtherance of the decision of the Working Committee in regard to the sums due from the old Reception Committee of the Hyderabad Congress.

2. You will remember that it was decided that the sums due, which amounted in all to Rs. 59, 613-00, should be paid. Half of it, it was agreed, should be paid by the Congress organisation in Andhra Pradesh and half by the A.I.C.C. office. I trust that you will be good enough to arrange for the payment of the half by the A.I.C.C. office. This amounts to Rs. 29, 806-50 np. Perhaps, it might be better to send a round sum of Rs. 30, 000-00.

## 20. To A.K. Chanda: Congress Must Pay its Dues<sup>44</sup>

March 17, 1959

My dear Asok,

You wrote to me some time ago about certain sums of money which had been written off by the Andhra Pradesh Government as irrecoverable from the Reception Committee of the Hyderabad Congress which was held about four or five years ago. I sent you a brief reply and said that I would enquire into this matter.<sup>45</sup> *Prima facie*, it seemed to me improper for these monies not to be paid.

I have now enquired. As I expected, the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister wrote to me that the old Reception Committee had long ceased to function and, in fact, there have been repeated changes since then both in the Congress organisation and in the Government. The reorganisation of the State had changed the picture both of the Congress organisation there and of the State Government completely. Because of all this, he wrote to me, the Andhra Government could not fasten responsibility of anybody or recover the money.

All this is very true, but I do not think it is an adequate reason for a political party not to pay its dues from one of its constituent branches to the Government. I think that these sums of money should be paid to the Andhra Government. I

42. Note, 17 March 1959. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

43. See items 11 and 12.

44. Letter. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

45. On 5 March 1959.



have spoken on these lines to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh as well as to others, and it has been agreed that all these sums of money that are due to the Andhra Pradesh Government from the old Reception Committee of the Hyderabad Congress, should be paid. Arrangements to this end will be made. It may take a little time to do so, perhaps a month or six weeks. I hope this will settle the matter satisfactorily.

I am sorry to learn that you have been in hospital having an operation. I hope you are recovering and will be well soon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 21. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Congress Must Pay its Dues<sup>46</sup>

March 17, 1959

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I enclose a letter I have written to the Comptroller and Auditor-General about the matter I spoke to you about when you were here for the Working Committee meeting.<sup>47</sup> I hope that the assurance I have given to the Auditor-General, will be kept within the period mentioned. Meantime, you can take steps in your Government by writing the necessary notes on this subject. You can say that the amounts which have been written off or which are pending, will be written off or which are pending, will be restored and paid, and arrangements will be made for this purpose. Therefore, they should be treated as pending accounts which have to be paid soon.

From the letter of the Auditor-General I find that the total sum of Rs. 59,613-00 is due to the Andhra Pradesh Government.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. Letter. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

47. See the previous item.

## 22. To PCC Officials: Speech—I<sup>48</sup>

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru next addressed the Conference. He remarked that the Nagpur session had an importance of its own and it was satisfactory to note that the resolution 'Agrarian Organisational Pattern' had drawn considerable attention all over the country. Congressmen must realise the full implications of the resolutions adopted by the Congress. They must have a clear picture before them of the objectives that were sought to be realised through these resolutions. The Planning indicated an integrated programme of work that led the country to a progressive growth towards the establishment of a Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth. It was then that the concept of Planning would bring real meaning to the workers and they would realise whether the country was progressing through Planning. The success of all these efforts depended a lot on the trained persons who had to man it. Both men and materials were necessary. The essential factor was the training up of men in technology and the knowledge of handling scientific apparatus that was used as the means of production. It was this spirit of adventure and scientific outlook that made the defeated nations such as Japan and Germany competent to revive the economy shattered by the war and restore themselves to the pre-war level; so also did U.S.S.R. set right its own machinery of production. These people were really hard working and trained in technology and science. As a result, the national assets of human power and intelligence, enriched by proper training and practice, did not get lost though the war destroyed properties, plant and machinery. Despite the fact that science and technology demanded the service of experts, the people in general also should have an elementary training in the arts and crafts they dealt in.

It was essential that primary education should be made compulsory and free in the country. Though the Government proposed to introduce it at an earlier stage, because of inadequate resources the period had to be extended. But it had to be implemented even though it meant considerable outlay.

Continuing further his remarks, Shri Nehru stated that the progress of a country was measured by the amount of power—electricity and water—that was made available through utilisation of its own resources or through imports. India was fortunate in having abundant stocks of iron and coal and steps had been taken to set up big steel plants in the country which were essential for its

48. Speech to the Conference of PCC Presidents and Secretaries, New Delhi, 17 March 1959. *Congress Bulletin*, March 1959, pp. 152-156.

The Conference was held from 17 to 19 March with Indira Gandhi presiding.



industrialisation. The success of the Plan undoubtedly depended on the enthusiasm it created amongst the people and their positive contribution. Through systematic propaganda people should be made Plan-minded.

Planning had to be made in a very cautious manner, since a little mistake in calculation could affect the entire economy and unbalance the normal working of the economic system. The interaction of prices and their impact on the purchasing power of the people had to be seriously taken into account. Especially in India, where the majority of the people had no margin left beyond the bare subsistence level, a little disturbance of price structure hit them very hard. The increase in the population counter-balanced the increase in the national income and it was only when the volume of savings and investment increased the national income overstepping the proportionate rise in population, there would be higher potentialities for creating wealth and a consequent rise in the standard of living.

The Nagpur resolution on Planning clearly indicated that there could be no standing still or slowing down in the process and that the Third Five-Year Plan should be so conceived as to lead to more rapid growth. The first step was to increase production by all possible means so as to utilise the vast manpower and natural resources in the country. The second resolution passed at Nagpur, which referred to agrarian organisational pattern, appealed to the people to combine themselves in village co-operatives, which should be able to promote the welfare of its members by introducing progressive farming methods and improved techniques of cultivation. It was pointed out that the service co-operatives should be organised throughout the country which would provide credit and other service facilities with a view to encouraging intensive farming and raising per acre yield of agricultural produce. Further it would pool and market the agricultural produce of the farmer. It was pointed out in the resolution that in the first stage, service co-operatives should be organised prior to the institution of joint farming, which was accepted to be the future agrarian pattern. Of course, wherever possible and generally agreed to by the farmers, joint cultivation might be started at this stage too. But for a period of three years, the main task of Congressmen should be the formation of service co-operatives. Shri Nehru further remarked that the resolution caused protest from some quarters and it was interesting to note that even persons who had no direct relation to land were amongst the severe critics and there was an attempt to divert the attention from the immediate objectives that had been emphasised in the resolution. It was incumbent on Congressmen to understand the real significance of the Nagpur resolution and carry its message to the remotest corners of the country.

Shri Nehru further pointed out that sometimes queries were made if it was proposed to impose any ceiling on urban incomes. The taxation measures that

had been adopted by the Government of India indicated clearly how restrictions were being introduced to take off a large slice of income through different forms of tax. Of course, in the process of doing so, utmost care should be taken to see that the machinery of production was not put out of gear thereby affecting the volume of production. A false step in one direction, however well-intentioned it might be, would create a psychological reaction and paralyse the productive system.

Further continuing his remarks, Shri Nehru said that the social organisation took shape according to the climate and character of the soil and a stereotyped pattern could not be devised to fit in with all forms of social growth. India had its own ideas and ideals and the means through which India sought to attain its goal would not necessarily be on the same lines as had been attempted in other countries. The agricultural classes in India numbered millions and one could not expect to influence them by mere legislation. It was only an intimate contact with them through the Mandal Congress Committees that the Congress could mobilise public opinion in favour of service co-operatives which would inculcate amongst them the attitude and habit of co-operation. Joint co-operative farming would then be but an extension of co-operation to further processes of production.

The co-operatives, once they were introduced in the rural economy, would have their direct impact not only on increased agricultural produce but would also considerably reshape the society and the social institutions. There might be mistakes at the initial stage but people would learn through practical work. It was a redeeming feature of Indian social life that the people as such abhorred violence and untruth. The core of Indian heart was sound and healthy. Once they were persuaded to take to a new form of life which indicated growth and dynamism and assured social benefit, they would take to it in real earnest. As a result, the creative forces that would be let loose would revolutionise the entire social system. This would ensure the achievement of progress and prosperity brought about by the operation of the spirit of co-operation and initiative.

### 23. To PCC Officials: Speech—II<sup>49</sup>

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru then addressed the Conference. He suggested that the members should put questions to him on matters of topical interest and especially

49. Speech to the Conference of PCC Presidents and Secretaries, New Delhi, 19 March 1959. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in *Congress Bulletin*, March 1959, pp. 187-193.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

relating to organisational work. It was suggested that it would be really helpful if the Working Committee's decisions were made known to the Congress delegates sufficiently early so that they might come fully prepared to make their own observations. He was informed that the resolutions that were discussed in the Nagpur Session had been published as well as forwarded to the PCCs at least one month earlier.

There was a suggestion that the use of jeeps in the development blocks should be minimised so as to reduce the incidental costs and that efforts in introducing economy in the costs of rural development would have a psychological effect on the people at large. Shri Nehru pointed out that the use of jeeps, though it entailed expenditure, facilitated work and the officials concerned had to move a lot visiting different centres of work. Of course, utmost care should be taken to avoid unnecessary wastage of money and whenever found convenient cycles might be used.

In reply to a question if there would be cent per cent voluntariness in giving effect to the Nagpur resolution, namely, the setting up of service cooperatives and joint farming Shri Nehru replied that voluntariness was not an isolated factor and should not be construed to mean that any individual person could arbitrarily disturb the arrangement that was arrived at as a result of a majority of members agreeing to work out an accepted programme. It was open to the land-holders to say that if a considerable number, may be two-third[s] or so, decided on a line of action, that could be binding on the rest. While giving an idea of the stages through which the concept of socialism should come into operation, Shri Nehru pointed out that the entire question had to be taken up in different sections. The opposition that was being roused against the Nagpur resolution came from persons mostly not connected with the lands. There was an apprehension among the people, who had other interests in industries, commerce and urban properties, that the step advocated by the Congress was but a prelude to something more radical and revolutionary. As such, this apparently non-offensive resolution spread consternation among them. Those who did not dare to oppose the Congress approach to socialism, found an occasion to question the sincerity of Congressmen in making attempts for advancement towards socialism and raised a hue and cry on the plea that ultimately the Congress was following the Russian or Chinese way.

Continuing his remarks, Shri Nehru urged on the Congressmen to look deep into the matter and find out the real incentive which would facilitate the growth of the co-operative movement in the country. It was nothing but a positive move towards progress and increased productivity. It had been made abundantly clear that the future agrarian pattern should be that of cooperative joint farming in which the land would be pooled for joint cultivation but the farmers would

continue their property rights. This aspect of the question had been simply bypassed and attempts had been made to mislead the agriculturists by raising the slogan that the Congress intended to take away the land from the owners and that the concept of cooperative joint farming had been accepted with a view to forcing the farmers to divest themselves of their legitimate rights. Shri Nehru remarked that there had been no justification for opposing the institution of joint farming, though the owners of large holdings might object to the fixation of ceilings. It was undoubtedly a useful measure which sought to lift the less privileged people who owned only one or one and a half acres, out of their misery by consolidating their small holdings through cooperation and also through the introduction of cottage and small-scale industries. It was expected that the cooperatives should be spearheads of all development activities in the villages to promote the welfare of its members.

In reply to a question as to how the conflicting interests of landlords, tenants, peasants, the industrialists, the traders and other classes of people who formed the varying elements in the Congress could be reconciled, Shri Nehru said that revolutionary ideas raised conflicts and the social changes affected differently different sections of people. Protests were raised wherever the class-interests clashed. The Congress had its own ideology and technique which differed from the Communists who tried to accentuate the conflict between the classes, till the classless society was formed. The Congress also stood for a classless society, but it did not want to bring about the same by accentuating differences but by bringing about rapprochement through understanding and persuasion. The owner of a factory and its employees were divided into groups whose interests clashed, so also were the large landholders vis-a-vis the small peasants. The American productive efficiency edged off the sharpness of class-conflicts which would not accentuate themselves through the increasing rise of national income. Shri Nehru also instanced the cases of the Indian princes who did not surrender their rights gladly. They were sandwiched between two forces, namely, the Government of India and the rising consciousness of the people and as such they became ready to accept the Government of India's offer and reconcile themselves to the new pattern of life.

In reply to a question as to why proper enthusiasm for constructive work was not created among the people at large and Congressmen in particular, despite the superb leadership of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who happened to be one of the foremost persons in the world, Shri Nehru replied that it was not the personality of any individual that counted. The Congress mind should be clear and bold. There was a feeling that the Congress people should avoid displeasing different interests who formed the corporate whole. As a result, these elements pulled in different directions and the Congressman was in a quandary. The Communist



Party, which claimed to enlist workers who worked with zeal and ardour for the mission entrusted to them, stood in an advantageous position in as much as they were wont to criticise the Government in power. It was for the first time that the Communist Government in Kerala had experienced opposition to their efforts in carrying out in practice the programme they advocated so far. The Congress Governments in office took upon themselves the task of leading the country through the different phases of constructive work undertaken in line with the professed objectives laid down by the Congress. The Socialists and the Communists had no such problem to face and they were free to indulge in vague shibboleths. It was through a clear enunciation of a policy and programme devised on a practical basis that the Congress could appeal to the people to participate in the constructive activities, and the record of the work done through combined efforts of the people would testify to the earnestness of the organisation. The organisation could not divest itself of the responsibility of practising what it professed and no class distinction between the privileged and the common people would be tolerated.

In reply to a question, if it would be advisable to vest proprietary rights in the co-operatives instead of conferring rights of property on the tenants through the Tenancy Acts that were being brought into operation, Shri Nehru pointed out that the two questions should not be blended together. The tenants, as a matter of right, had to be given certain titles to land which were denied to them so long and whenever occasions arose to exercise their option in the matter of pooling the lands together for joint cultivation, they would be able to do so equally with the other holders of land. Continuing his remarks, Shri Nehru said whenever lands were reclaimed, these could be retained in the form of State Farms instead of parcelling them out in small tracts of land amongst the farmers. It had been found that by intensive cultivation and careful management, some State Farms produced fine crops. These could serve as model farms for the joint farming as also for carrying on experiments, the results of which might be made available to other agricultural farms.

A suggestion was made that the Ministries in the State could profitably adopt the procedure that had been introduced in Bombay. They were asked to examine the grievances of the people relating to administrative functioning and the disputes settled on the spot by them instead of leaving the matter to follow the routine process of enquiry and action, Shri Nehru said in reply that there was no reason why this process, if found practical and helpful in Bombay, should not be given a trial in other States as well. In any case, public contact must be maintained and Congressmen could take up the public complaints with the authorities concerned.

A reference was made to the experiment that had been made in China in

manufacturing steel through village furnaces.<sup>50</sup> Shri Nehru pointed out that the primitive method of producing iron implements was still being practised in tribal areas in India but one had to examine if the scheme proved economic. It had been reported that heavy amount of coal had to be used for the village furnaces in China and as such the experiment turned out to be uneconomic. Of course, China claimed that this process of manufacturing steel made the Chinese mechanic-minded, which was undoubtedly an essential pre-requisite in transforming an underdeveloped country into an industrialised one. The people should have the technical bias and the application of their mind and energy in that direction created an atmosphere conducive to the growth of industry as had been evidenced in the effective utilisation of industrial resources in Punjab, specially by the refugees from West Pakistan.

In reply to a question as to why mills were started in preference to rural industries, which if duly encouraged would give scope for more employment, Shri Nehru pointed out that it was a definite policy of the State Governments to give full encouragement to the growth of such industries, thereby creating avenues of employment.

A suggestion was made that the State Farms which ran at a loss should be converted into joint cooperative farms. Shri Nehru remarked that the experts were of the view that State Farms, if mechanised, should turn out to be more productive and efficient. He cited the example of a research that had been made in Almora<sup>51</sup> where crops had been raised to the extent of more than six times the average yield and he hoped that such experiments, if carried on State Farms under expert supervision, should be made available to the agriculturists on a wide scale.

Shri Nehru urged on the Congressmen to realise the proper implications of a planned programme and that the people should be made plan conscious. One should not feel that one's work was done merely by denouncing capitalism. Students of history should know that even in U.S.A., where capitalism thrived most, although the word 'socialism' was not used as such, the people accepted programmes of development which included items of social welfare work that savoured of socialism in earlier days. Capitalism had put the shattered economy of West Germany and Japan on its feet and there was a high level of production and rise in the standard of living which compared favourably to those of other countries who were among the victors. India wanted to achieve democratic socialism and carefully chalked its path. It was up to the Congressmen to accelerate the progress of the country towards the desired goal through unstinted

50. Referring to the Great Leap Forward.

51. At Boshi Sen's laboratory in Almora.



efforts. It was only when there was no programme of work to undertake that the workers divided themselves into rival groups, but if a positive approach was made to the fulfilment of the objectives outlined in clear terms, it would not be hard to find the determined will of the people seeking fulfillment through the faithful discharge of obligations that devolved on them.

## **24. At Alwar: Speech to Rajasthan PCC Officials<sup>52</sup>**

### **JOINT FARMING SOCIETY “FIRM DECISION” TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT PROPOSAL NEHRU’S DECLARATION: VALUE OF SERVICE CO-OPS.**

Alwar, March 20.

....<sup>53</sup> In the afternoon, Mr. Nehru inaugurated a conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Congress Mandal Committees in Rajasthan.<sup>54</sup>

The conference has been called to discuss ways and means of implementing the Nagpur Congress resolution on agrarian reforms.

Mr. Nehru told the conference that India was a predominantly agricultural country with 80 per cent of her people living on the land. It had, therefore, become of paramount importance that the people of the villages should be uplifted. But this could not be done by any magic or official proclamations. It had to be done by the people themselves.

The Prime Minister said that the cooperative method gave them an opportunity to change the face of India’s villages. It was for the Mandal functionaries to explain to the villagers the advantages of cooperatives in every sphere.

### **YIELD PER ACRE**

Mr. Nehru said that a farmer in Britain and America produced much more from an acre than the farmer in India. “We have to double and treble the present average yield per acre. Our land is good, our people are hard working. We can

52. Report of speech while inaugurating a conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Congress Mandal Committees in Rajasthan, Alwar, 20 March 1959. From *The Hindu*, 21 March 1959.

53. The rest of the report is about a public meeting in Alwar; see item 9.

54. Nehru reached Alwar at around noon and returned to Delhi the same evening.

certainly produce more with a little effort. An individual kisan may not be in a position, to do all by himself. But if a number of kisans got together, they could pool their resources and double their production. This would mean doubling the nation's wealth."

The Prime Minister, however, cautioned the Mandal Presidents and Secretaries about the kisan's old habits of changing very slowly. "You have to explain to the kisan the advantages of co-operation and convince him about it. Once the kisan is convinced, he will readily take to the co-operatives and co-operative farming."

Mr. Nehru said that education was very necessary to create a new spirit in the villages. "We want that in the next five to seven years, every boy and girl in the villages should get free school education. They should be made to attend schools so that when they grow up they may help in improving the village economy and change the face of their villages. We do not want an education that would drive these village boys to the cities in search of jobs to become 'babus'. They should stay in their villages. They should be imparted something of the beauty of the city and provided amenities that were now the monopoly of only towns and cities."

Mr. Nehru said that while agriculture had to be improved, there had to be greater industrial development also. Too much burden on the land in a country with a growing population would not bring about economic prosperity. More employment opportunities could be provided only through big, small and cottage industries.

The Prime Minister said that service co-operatives were meant to replace the traditional Bania, the middleman, of the village. This would later help in developing co-operative farming. A strong base in the form of village panchayats was also very necessary. It was known that villagers quarreled amongst themselves but that was true of all people, even in the Congress "some people quarreled" amongst themselves and formed groups. This was an old weakness which had to be got over. The villagers had, therefore, to be given every opportunity to work through the panchayats and learn to work together through their mistakes.

Mr. Nehru explained the Nagpur resolution on agrarian reform and said that a "firm decision" had been taken to introduce service co-operatives and co-operative farming and it had now to be "implemented in a firm way".

Mr. Nehru said that some people were opposed to planning. This was not a correct approach because it was only through planning that India could reach her goal of bringing about the economic emancipation of the people.

"We want to change the structure of our society. We want a society based on socialism where people will have equal opportunities. We want socialism so



that the people in the villages may benefit the most.”

The Prime Minister said that co-operative farming had to be explained to the villagers. “We propose to train village workers in service cooperatives. Arrangements are being made to impart this training to them so that a trained village worker could work in his own village and explain the purpose and meaning of service co-operatives to the villagers. It is very essential that service co-operatives should exist, because they will teach the villagers a new way of doing things.”

Mr. Nehru said: “The time has come for all of us now to pull our weight together and made the concerted effort to get out of the morass of poverty. It is a new pilgrimage that we have undertaken. It is a new pledge to achieve economic freedom for the vast masses of the people. It is like our freedom pledge which we took long ago and fulfilled it through sacrifice, hard work and unity. In the same way, we have to fulfill this pledge of achieving economic freedom and bringing about socialism.”

The Prime Minister warned people to remember that the world was passing through a great crisis. “Your neighbour, Pakistan, is passing through a strange period. In Europe, there is a danger of war. At this time, people in India had to be very careful to remain united and strong and work hard to build up their economy. We must remember that a weak country offers a standing invitation to others to come from outside and dominate it.”

## 25. In Delhi: Speech at Civic Reception<sup>55</sup>

CO-OP. FARMING  
NEHRU'S APPEAL

New Delhi  
March 22

Prime Minister Nehru today urged the people to adopt in practice, as immediately as possible service Cooperative and Cooperative Farming to fulfil the growing needs of the country. He said that no sensible person would oppose the Nagpur resolutions.

The Prime Minister was speaking at a reception given in honour of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the new Congress President, by the citizens of Delhi.

55. Report of speech at a civic reception in honour of Indira Gandhi, the new Congress President, by the citizens of Delhi, 22 March 1959. New Delhi. From *The Hindu*, 23 March 1959.

Mrs. Gandhi replying to the welcome address presented to her on behalf of the citizens of Delhi said that the main objective of the Congress Party was to raise output and ensure proper sharing of the output and to provide the best possible opportunities to each man according to his ability.

Pandit Pant, the Union Home Minister, who also spoke, said: "The hard work and labour of every one of you can bring prosperity and fulfil what we have committed to you at Nagpur."

The reception was held at the Gandhi Ground where Mrs. Indira Gandhi was received by Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, the Mayor of Delhi. Others present at the occasion included Mr. Krishna Menon,<sup>56</sup> Mr. A. P. Jain<sup>57</sup> and Mr. K.D. Malaviya.

Two elephants stood on either side of the entrance gate constructed on earthen ware pitchers. As Mrs. Gandhi mounted the rostrum clarion blew a fan fare.

Earlier the Pradesh Congress Party took out a procession in support of the Nagpur resolution. The procession, which passed through the streets of the old city terminated at the Gandhi Grounds.

Mr. Nehru asked the people to keep pace with the rapidly changing world situations as otherwise there was danger of your being left behind. For this purpose he said India would have to learn from other more advanced countries. Rejecting new ideas, by dubbing them Socialist, or Communist or Capitalist and closing one's mind to them would not serve the purpose.<sup>58</sup>

But, he said "we do not want to copy any country in particular. We should try to learn from the highly agriculturally advanced countries whose production was three times our per acre.

India was at present faced with the problem of feeding over forty crores of people. With the next 20 to 23 years the population was expected to rise to about 70 crores. This meant feeding thirty crores more people.

56. Union Minister of Defence.

57. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

58. On 23 March 1959, *The Times of India* reported: "No doubt, Mr. Nehru said, it was not easy to make this mental adjustment but the people had to make a stupendous effort to meet this challenge, otherwise they would lag behind other countries. He explained that the foremost problem before the country was how to raise the standard of living of its population of 40 crores. Obviously, this could not be done by pursuing old methods or by slogans and catch-words. The Prime Minister said he failed to understand what possible objection could there be to the Nagpur resolutions. Whatever be the industries set up in this country, the future prosperity was ultimately going to rest on the conditions existing in villages he stressed. This foundation, he said, had to be strengthened if the whole superstructure were not to crumble."



For India, the Prime Minister, said, the best way to overcome this situation was by immediately adopting the cooperative method of agriculture. He said: "It can only be solved or met through service cooperative and cooperative farming." The people in the villages should plough their lands together and later share the output and profits according to their legitimate shares.

The older cooperatives might not have been sufficient, they were run more or less on official lines.

It would be "an injustice" Mr. Nehru said if this method of cooperatives which has an urgent necessity in the present situation was not swiftly implemented.

## 26. To Ramnarayan Chaudhary<sup>59</sup>

मार्च 27, 1959

प्रिय रामनारायण जी,

आपका 26 तारीख का पत्र मिला। इसमें आपने राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ के बारे में मुझसे पूछा है। हमारी नीति यह रही है कि हम इस संस्था से दूर रहें, क्योंकि हमारी राय में इस संस्था का उद्देश्य और काम करने का तरीका बहुत गलत है और उससे देश को हानि पहुँची है।

अगर इस संस्था के कोई सदस्य भारत सेवक समाज का काम किया चाहते हैं और उसका उद्देश्य स्वीकार करते हैं, तब वह उस काम को ज़रूर कर सकते हैं। लेकिन उसकी एक सभा में भाग लेना तो दूसरी बात है।

आपका

जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

March 27, 1959

Dear Ramnarayanji,

I have received your letter of the 26th instant. You have asked me about the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in it. Our policy has been to distance ourselves from this organisation, because in our opinion the objectives and manner of working of this organisation is very wrong and it has harmed the nation.

59. Letter to the Information Secretary, Bharat Sewak Samaj. File No. 2(188)/57-56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

If any of its members wish to work for the Bharat Sewak Samaj and accept its objectives then they can definitely do this. But participating in a meeting of the Samaj is another matter.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

## 27. To Asok K. Chanda<sup>60</sup>

March 29, 1959

My dear Asok,

Your letter of March 28 in which you refer to some criticism of the Audit Department in the Congress Parliamentary party. I do not remember when these criticisms were made and who made them. Anyhow, I am glad you wrote on this subject.

I am sending your letter to the Congress Party Secretary<sup>61</sup> who can show it to the members interested. I do not think it would be worthwhile to do so in a public manner.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

60. Letter.

61. Nehru sent this letter to Ram Subhag Singh on the same day.



(b) States  
(i) Andhra Pradesh

## 28. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Dissidence<sup>62</sup>

March 18, 1959

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I have read in '*The Hindu*' of the 27th February 1959, the report of a speech by your Minister for Agriculture, P. Thimma Reddy.<sup>63</sup> This is a very extraordinary speech for a Congress Minister to deliver, and I should like you to ask him to send me an explanation about it. A Congress Ministry is supposed to carry out the basic policies laid down by the Congress. Your Agriculture Minister apparently is attacking these very basic policies. Evidently, he has not even taken the trouble to understand what is happening and lives in a narrow world of his own creation. Please draw his attention to the recent resolution of the Working Committee. We cannot allow this kind of thing to continue.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

62. Letter.

63. *The Hindu* of this date does not contain a report of such a speech by this Minister. However, *The Hindu* of 22 February 1959 carried an item "Minister Clarifies Report", about an interview given on 21 February concerning a previous report: "Mr. P. Thimma Reddy, Minister for Agriculture, in an interview today clarified certain portions of his speech made at Gangadharanallur in Chittoor District while inaugurating the NES Block. [...] Mr. Thimma Reddy said that he did not make the statement that 'land reforms were hasty and ill-conceived' as mentioned in the report, nor did he ask anybody to 'resist the Governmental measures.' Mr. Thimma Reddy said that the speech was made in Telugu and some omissions had obviously taken place while translating and summarising [...]. Referring to the statement in the report that 'they were powerless to stem the surging tide of forces generated by combined efforts of bureaucratic officialdom on the one side and the agricultural vested interests on the other,' Mr. Thimma Reddy said that what he told the audience was that officers could not be expected to know the difficulties of ryots unless they brought them to their notice, even as the other sectors of the society were doing."

(ii) Bihar

**29. To General Secretary, AICC: Selecting Congress Office-Bearers<sup>64</sup>**

From the attached paper which you have sent me, it would appear that Shri Mahesh Prasad Sinha's<sup>65</sup> name not could be considered as he had expressed his unwillingness to stand. Further, that there is a resolution of the Parliamentary Board stating that he should not stand for a period of four years since the last General Election. Hence his name cannot be considered.

2. The name recommended now is Shri Ramanandan Rai.<sup>66</sup> I do not know him and, therefore, can express no opinion.

3. Shri Abdul Qayum Ansari<sup>67</sup> is a member of the Working Committee. I do not think he should stand casually, if I may say so. If he is to stand, he would naturally be approved by us, but it does not seem to me quite right for us to send his name merely because two individual members of the Mandal Congress Committee have recommended it. There is no evidence of what his chances might be and how far he would be supported.

4. In these circumstances, there appears to be no more except that of Shri Ramanandan Rai.

64. Note, 16 March 1959.

65. Former Minister in the Bihar Government.

66. Ramanandan Rai was elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly in October 1959 from Sonbarsa, Muzaffarpur District.

67. Ansari was President of Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee.



### 30. To Sri Krishna Sinha: D. N. Tiwary's Grievance<sup>68</sup>

March 30, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,

I enclose copy of a letter from D.N. Tiwary, M.P.<sup>69</sup> He had previously also written to me or seen me about various matters and complained that he was being discriminated against.<sup>70</sup> Whether there is any justification for this or not, I do not know. But such a feeling should be removed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Delhi

### 31. To K. Ram: Land for Buddhist Dharamshala<sup>71</sup>

Please write to Shri K.G. Bakula<sup>72</sup> and say that I have enquired into this matter. It is not easy for us to find Government land in Delhi, but we might be able to find a small piece of land for a Buddhist Dharamshala and a small Vihara. We should like to know: (1) What is the minimum land area required? Would about half to three quarters of an acre be adequate? (2) Have arrangements been made for the expenditure involved in putting up the structure and how much will this be?

When we have these full particulars, we shall be able to send a more definite answer.

68. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

69. (1901-1993); Congressman from Bihar; Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly, 1937-39; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-80; joined Janata Party in 1977.

70. Tiwary wrote on 30 March 1959 that when he was president the governing body of the Janta college at Parsa it was denied affiliation; but a fortnight later another committee and president were appointed, and the College was granted affiliation. He referred to his earlier letter citing such discrimination because of the belief that "the Chief Minister of Bihar is against me".

71. Note to PPS, 7 March 1959.

72. Kushak G. Bakula, Head Lama of Ladakh; Minister of State for Ladakh Affairs and Trade Agencies, Jammu and Kashmir Government.

## 32. To Brij Krishna Chandiwalla: Goshala at Rajghat<sup>73</sup>

21 मार्च, 1959

प्रिय ब्रजकृष्ण,

तुम्हारा 21 मार्च का पत्र मिला। इसमें तुमने राजघाट के बारे में मुझे लिखा है और मेरी सलाह माँगी है।<sup>74</sup> मेरे लिए मुश्किल है इस बारे में कुछ कहना।

मैं नहीं समझता कि शुक्रवार की प्रार्थना में कुछ जान पड़ सकती है। कम-से-कम मुझे कोई इसके करने का रास्ता नहीं दिखता।

और जो तुमने लिखा है यानी एक गाँधी विचार केन्द्र वहाँ खोला जाये जिसमें ग्राम उद्योग वगैरह दिखाये जायें, वह भी कुछ बहुत ज्यादा मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। ऐसे केन्द्र तो देश में बहुत होने चाहिएँ, और कुछ हैं भी। लेकिन खास राजघाट में इनका करना और गोशाला बनाना कुछ समझ में नहीं आता।

राजघाट की सारी शक्ति बदलने वाली है, और अब यह भी निश्चय हुआ है कि एक तरह का केन्द्र वहाँ बनाया जाय, यानी गाँधी पीस फ़ाउण्डेशन का।<sup>75</sup>

तुम्हारा

जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

March 21, 1959

Dear Brij Krishna,

I have received your letter of 21st March. In it you have written to me about Rajghat and asked me for my opinion.<sup>76</sup> It is difficult for me to say anything about it.

I do not feel that any extra zeal can be infused into the Friday prayers. At least, I see no way of doing this.

And what you have written about a Gandhi Thought Centre being opened there in which cottage industries, etc., should be exhibited, that, too, I am not

73. Letter to the Convenor of Delhi branch of Bharat Sewak Samaj.

74. Chandiwalla had written that Rajghat should be used as a medium to propagate Gandhiji's thoughts; weekly Friday prayers should be better organised: a centre and an ashram should be opened to teach people rural crafts, spinning, agricultural techniques etc., and publication of Gandhian literature.

75. On 29 December 1958 the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi allocated Rs. 100,00,000 to set up a Gandhi Peace Foundation to disseminate Gandhian thought abroad. The Board also approved Rs. 5,00,000 for setting up Gandhi Bhavans at various universities.

76. See fn 74 in this section.



able to comprehend to some extent. Such centres should be there in the country at various places, and some are already there. But, carrying out this display especially at Rajghat and establishing a goshala there is something I cannot understand.

The whole visage of Rajghat is going to undergo a change and now, it has also been decided that a sort of centre should be established there, that is, of the Gandhi Peace Foundation.<sup>77</sup>

Yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

### **33. To K. Ram: Jama Masjid Not Maintained<sup>78</sup>**

Lady Mountbatten visited the Jama Masjid the other day and said that she was shocked to find the filth roundabout it and especially on the steps. In fact it was difficult to mount the steps because of this filth. There were goats all over, making a mess. You might draw the attention of the Chief Commissioner<sup>79</sup> to this.

77. See fn 75 in this section.

78. Note to PPS, 29 March 1959. File No.40(14)/56-60, PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

79. A.D. Pandit.

(iv) Jammu and Kashmir

**34. To K.P.S. Menon: Soviet Delegation to Kashmir<sup>80</sup>**

March 4, 1959

My dear K.P.S.,

I have received your letter of March 3rd. I would be glad if the Soviet Delegation goes to Kashmir.<sup>81</sup> In fact, after receiving your letter, I had a message sent to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Prime Minister of the Jammu & Kashmir State. He replied that he would be happy to receive the Delegation. He is at present at Jammu where the State Assembly is holding its session. I understand that this session will end on the 13th and he can go to Srinagar on the 14th. Therefore, he would not like the Delegation to go to Srinagar before the 14th.

That date I presume would suit the Delegation also as they will be in Delhi up to the 13th evening. They could go on the 14th morning to Srinagar direct and spend two, three or four days there. They will be welcome to spend as long a time there as they like. Srinagar, of course, will be cold, but that will not affect them. The real time to go to the Kashmir Valley is early in April when there are beginnings of the Spring visible. However, that cannot be helped.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad is sending me a letter of invitation for the Soviet Delegation. You may, however tell them about this invitation from the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir State, adding that I hope that they will be able to accept it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

80. Letter to India's Ambassador to the USSR.

81. The Soviet delegation visited Kashmir from 14 to 18 March 1959.



### 35. To Shankar Prasad: Avoid Corruption<sup>82</sup>

March 5, 1959

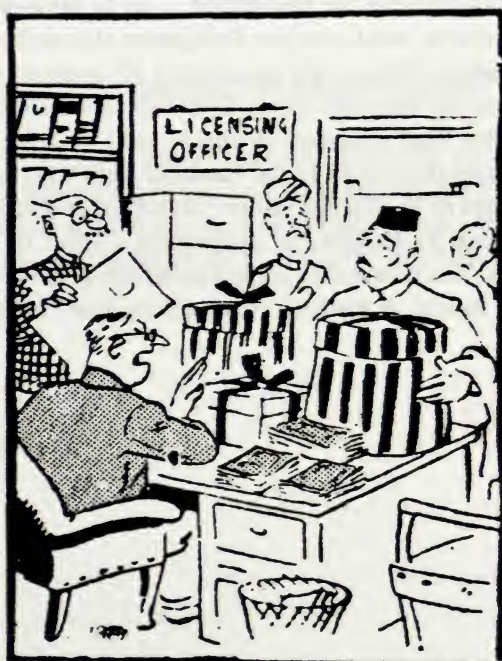
My dear Shankar Prasad,

I enclose a letter<sup>83</sup> from G.M. Sadiq.<sup>84</sup> I am not sending any answer to him. But, as I told you, he is seeing me tomorrow evening for a short while.

You might show this letter to the Home Minister and, later, to the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir.

## You Said It

By LAXMAN



*No! I won't accept anything unless you assure me all this is not a bribe!*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 MARCH 1959)

82. Letter to the Secretary for Kashmir Affairs. File No. KS-25/59, p. 22, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

83. See Appendix 5.

84. Leader of the Democratic National Conference.

I do not wish to say anything about it except that it is our policy always to avoid any transaction connected with a Minister or his relatives, which might lead to public criticism. Apart from this, we also avoid any kind of monopolies. Of course, a Minister's son or other near relatives need not be prevented from doing their normal business, but some particular care has to be taken from the public point of view.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 36. To Bakhshi: Soviet Delegation and Hammarskjöld to Kashmir<sup>85</sup>

March 6, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

I have received your invitation to the Russian Delegation visiting India. I have had this conveyed to them. I have not had an answer from them yet, but I feel sure that they will be happy to visit Kashmir. The Leader of the Delegation is H.E. Mr. A.A. Andreyev.<sup>86</sup> He is an oldish man, who was connected with Lenin. He is greatly respected in the Soviet Union and is a Member of the Presidium.

The Deputy Leader is H.E. Mr. N.A. Mukhitdinov. He is young, but already has an important place, as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, USSR.<sup>87</sup> He comes from Uzbekistan. I met him at Tashkent and he accompanied me to Samarkent [sic].<sup>88</sup> He is able, wide awake and full of energy. He appears to be one of the coming men of the Soviet Union. His name is an adaptation, I think, of Mohi-ud-din. Our Ambassador, K.P.S. Menon, is travelling about with them, and he wrote to me that Mukhitdinov asked him some questions about Kashmir. It was really this that led K.P.S. Menon to think of their visit to Kashmir. I think it will be a good thing if they go there, and I hope that you will give them every courtesy. Probably, they will not stay more than two days. They are likely to go on the morning of the 14th March. But I am not sure yet.

85. Letter to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

86. Member, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of USSR.

87. Also Member, Central Committee CPSU, 1952-66.

88. In June 1955.



Hammar-skjoeld, the Secretary-General of the U.N. also intends paying a visit to Kashmir, probably for two days only.<sup>89</sup> He has made it perfectly clear that this is a private and personal visit and he does not wish to give interviews. This is a clear hint that he does not wish to see people other than those in the Government, that is, especially you. You will, of course, meet him, and you can introduce him to some members of your Government.

I might mention to you that during Hammar-skjoeld's visit to Pakistan a few days ago, he had a very cool reception there, and he is rather annoyed at this, and the U.N. officials are extremely dissatisfied with this cavalier treatment of the Secretary-General.<sup>90</sup> He avoided answering questions on Kashmir. He stated subsequently to our High Commissioner<sup>91</sup> that on the whole, he found less heat about Kashmir in Pakistan than he had experienced previously. Hammar-skjoeld, as a matter of fact, is full of the Berlin crisis and the European situation. He is not thinking much of Kashmir.

I hope you will give him a friendly reception and every courtesy.

I am going away for a few days to Rajasthan and Bombay. I shall be returning on the 11th evening.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 37. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad: Dissidence<sup>92</sup>

March 6, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

Thank you for your long letter of March 5 which I have received today.<sup>93</sup> I wish you had not taken the trouble to write to me in such detail and to send me large numbers of other papers. As a matter of fact, I can find time with difficulty to read through all the enclosures of your letter and, if I read them, I would probably not understand much. I feel rather guilty at taking up so much of your time in

89. Hammar-skjöld visited Kashmir from 20 to 22 March 1959.

90. On arrival in Delhi from Nepal on 18 March, Dag Hammar-skjöld explained that he had come to make contacts in South East Asia which was a "very important sector of UN." He also said that he had to see things for himself since he was responsible for the UN mission in Kashmir. See also item 187.

91. Rajeshwar Dayal.

92. Letter. File No. KS-25/59, pp. 30-32, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

93. See Appendix 6.

this matter. That was not my intention. It is my usual practice to send any letters of criticism or complaint that I receive to the heads of the States concerned. I want them to know what I have received and to decide for themselves if any matter requires consideration. My sending those letters does not mean my endorsing anything that is said there or of my demanding explanations about everything mentioned. It was in pursuance of this routine practice of mine that I sent you the letters from Sadiq and P.N. Dogra.<sup>94</sup>

You need not have said much to me about the activities of the Democratic National Conference or the Praja Parishad. I know them well enough. Here in Parliament we have to face a daily barrage of criticism and complaint and motions for adjournment, etc. There is a special attack on me, sometimes direct, sometimes indirect, from all the Opposition Parties. We see here, as in Kashmir, quite opposite parties in Opposition combining against us. In spite of their unfair tactics, we try to explain everything and to make full statements whenever necessary. As you perhaps know, there has been a persistent attack on Mathai.<sup>95</sup> This is really aimed at me. I think that a great deal that has been said in this connection is not only untrue, but most unfair. I have nevertheless instituted a full though informal enquiry.<sup>96</sup> I would do that in almost any case, but more particularly in regard to any person connected with me.

I think that the agitation led by the Democratic National Conference against your food policy is wholly unjustified. Also many of their other activities are improper. Their two principal demands appear to be about the Election Commission and the Supreme Court. Personally I think that it would be desirable to extend the scope of the Election Commission to the J & K State. That would be a wise political move. About the Supreme Court, I am not concerned at the present stage.

About transfers of State officers outside the State, I can hardly conceive that a large-scale transfer will be good. But we have been encouraging the various States in India to exchange officers from time to time with the Central Government. This widens the vision of those officers and gives them better training for efficient work. So also, Central Government officers are able to get in touch with the lower ranks of the administration. To some extent, this might be followed in Kashmir, but on a small scale. The level of administration in J &

94. President, Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad.

95. M.O. Mathai, Nehru's Special Assistant, who resigned in the wake of allegations of corruption in January 1959. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 374-391.

96. This refers to the enquiry conducted by the Cabinet Secretary Vishnu Sahay into these allegations.



K State is not, I think, high, and this exchange will, I feel sure, be of benefit to all concerned.

The one thing here that troubles me is the constant charge and the widespread impression about corruption. I think that these charges and this impression are exaggerated. Anyhow, we are taking every feasible step to eradicate corruption, and we are meeting with a good deal of success. Certainly I think that the higher ranks of our Services contain men and women of integrity and capacity. But this cannot be said of the lower ranks and especially petty Railway officials and Post Office men. Every month I get a report of scores of cases where action has been taken by us. We have special Departments of Intelligence and Police to deal with this matter.

I think that probably the most important thing about an administration is the belief in its fair-play and integrity. Hence my anxiety to deal with this as thoroughly as possible. It is in this matter also that I would like you to pay your special attention.

Yesterday I received another letter from G.M. Sadiq.<sup>97</sup> I passed it on to Shankar Prasad. In this letter he complained of agencies being given to particular persons and often monopolies being created. I do not know what the facts are, and you will no doubt keep them in view and take necessary measures. We take particular care about such matters. Indeed, I hope that we shall do away with contractors and intermediaries and agents who are seldom satisfactory. We cannot do this immediately, but we are going along those lines. Nothing affects the credit of an administration so much as a general belief in its integrity, specially among the people at the top.

I have written to you separately about the visit of the Soviet mission to Kashmir. Also of Hammarskjöld.<sup>98</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

97. See Appendix 5.

98. See the preceding item.

### 38. To K. Ram: Magray on Kashmir<sup>99</sup>

No reply should be sent to this letter. Shri Magray<sup>100</sup> has written to me previously several times and I have replied to him.<sup>101</sup> Subsequently I found that he is some kind of an employee in India House, London, and is slightly unbalanced. Sometimes he has praised conditions in Kashmir greatly; at other times, he has criticised them.

2. However, you can send this letter to Shri Shankar Prasad together with my note.<sup>102</sup>

### 39. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad: Sheikh Abdullah's Defence<sup>103</sup>

March 18, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

I received a letter from Sheikh Abdullah a day or two ago.<sup>104</sup> I am enclosing a copy of it and asking Shankar Prasad to have it delivered to you.

I do not know what the facts are about facilities for defence. But in such a case, or indeed in any case, facilities should be given for defence. In the present case which attracts so much public attention in India and outside, it is particularly important that no complaint of this kind should arise.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

99. Note, 7 March 1959. File No. KS-7/59, p. 2, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

100. Mohammad Magray was a member of the Kashmiri Association of Europe.

101. For Nehru's letters to Magray, see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 567-568 and 586-588.

102. K. Ram forwarded Magray's letter, along with Nehru's note, to Shankar Prasad on 9 March 1959.

103. Letter.

104. See Appendix 6.



#### 40. To Shankar Prasad: Sheikh Abdullah's Defence<sup>105</sup>

I am sending you a copy of Sheikh Abdullah's letter to me and its enclosures. I have already sent a copy to the Home Minister.

2. I enclose an extra copy of this letter for Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. Please have this delivered to him.

3. I think we should make every effort to give all normal facilities for defence. I do not know how far Sheikh Abdullah's complaints are justified. But in a matter of this kind, we should not give the slightest cause for complaints.

#### 41. To M.J. Desai: Begum Abdullah on Sheikh Abdullah<sup>106</sup>

Please see the attached cutting about Begum Abdullah's denial about the allowance being given to Sheikh Abdullah's family.<sup>107</sup> A month or two ago Sheikh Abdullah's son mentioned this to me and I drew the attention of, I think Bakhshi Saheb as well as Shri Shankar Prasad to it.<sup>108</sup> I had told them that although technically under-trial prisoners are not entitled to any allowance, as a detenu was, nevertheless the Kashmir Government will continue this allowance. You might draw the attention of Shri Shankar Prasad to this.

105. Note, 18 March 1959.

106. Note, 23 March 1959. File no. 2-1/58-KU, Vol. II, p. 62-c/notes, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

107. On 21 March 1959, the *Dawn* carried a report by J. N. Sathu, their Delhi correspondent, as follows: "New Delhi, 20 March. Describing the Government claim [of Rs 1000 as family allowance] as false and baseless, she [Begum Abdullah] said in a statement in Srinagar that since Sheikh Abdullah's inclusion as an accused in the conspiracy case he was not getting any family allowance. A similar disclaimer was recently issued by P.L. Lakhnapal, Chairman of the End Kashmir Dispute Committee, characterising Bakhshi Government's claim as a 'tissue of lies'."

108. In fact, Nehru wrote to Vishnu Sahay, the Cabinet Secretary, on 29 January 1959. See SJWN/SS/46/pp. 327-328.

**42. To Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah<sup>109</sup>**

March 25, 1959

My dear Sheikh Abdullah,

Thank you for your letter dated the 5th March 1959 which I received a few days ago.<sup>110</sup> As you had referred in this letter to various difficulties in the way of your defence, I enquired into these matters. Hence the delay in my sending you an answer.

A Most unfortunate chain of circumstances has resulted in a number of happenings in Jammu & Kashmir State which, as you no doubt realise, I regret greatly. It is a matter of sorrow to me that judicial proceedings should be instituted against an old and valuable colleague of ours. Also it has been and continues to be my earnest desire that the people of the State should prosper and the troubles which have pursued them for so many years should end. Unfortunately, events are often more powerful than one's wishes.

As a result of my enquiry, the person who is in charge of the case has sent a long report about it. He says that every effort is being made to treat you and the other accused with special consideration even where this involves some relaxation of jail rules. He states that since your arrival in that jail, you have had 34 interviews, 19 with legal advisers and 15 with relatives. The legal advisers are not subjected to any personal search but, according to the rules, interviews have to be within sight but out of hearing of the jail authorities. Mr. Mohd. Latif, the lawyer for the defence to whom you have referred, has, I understand, been afforded facilities to stay in the Dak Bungalow at Jammu. As for Mr. Abdul Ahab,<sup>111</sup> I am informed that his arrest was wholly unconnected with the case and took place for entirely different activities.

None of us knew at any time of your intention to engage Nageswar Prasad<sup>112</sup> as your Counsel. If Nageswar Prasad had been offered a brief for the defence, there would have been no question of engaging him for the prosecution.

109. Letter.

110. See Appendix 6.

111. A young law graduate of Sopore, mentioned as Ahad in Sheikh Abdullah's letter.

112. Government counsel in Kashmir Conspiracy Case.



I am anxious, as you are, that this unfortunate case should bring out the truth, whatever that may be. Also that it should be expedited and should not be allowed to drag on. I have often laid stress on this. My information is that the responsibility for most of the delays lies on the accused in the case.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(v) Kerala

### 43. To O. Pulla Reddi: Subsidizing Factory at Kozhikode<sup>113</sup>

I agree with what the Defence Minister<sup>114</sup> and you have said in this matter. We cannot subsidise this Factory nor can we give a guarantee for a number of years. But we should be prepared to buy from them at the normal rate, and we may buy from them as well as from others.

2. You may reply to Shri A.K. Gopalan.<sup>115</sup> You can say that I forwarded the letter to the Defence Ministry which has examined this matter again. They are perfectly prepared to buy from this Factory at the normal price. If they subsidise it to any extent, this would mean adding to their Defence estimates. A number of such factories in Madras and Andhra Pradesh had been advanced loans and they are still in arrears of debt. If this State Factory at Kozhikode can submit tenders on a competitive basis, it will be easier to deal with its produce.

3. You may add that Shri Gopalan's letter has been forwarded to the Ministry of Food & Agriculture.

113. Note to O. Pulla Reddi, Defence Secretary, 13 March 1959.

114. V.K. Krishna Menon.

115. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Palghat, Kerala.

#### 44. In the Lok Sabha: Central Aid to Kerala<sup>116</sup>

Shri Vajpayee:<sup>117</sup> Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether Government's attention has been drawn to press report stating that MPs from Kerala have alleged that Central aid to the Kerala State was being misused;
- (b) If so, whether Government has enquired into all allegations; and
- (c) If so, the facts in this regard?...<sup>118</sup>

The Prime Minister and Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I would like to clear up the position. The Planning Commission is an expert body. The Ministry of Planning is a Ministry of the Government of India dealing with the subject in all its aspects. It is a liaison body; with all the Ministries of the Government of India plus the Planning Commission, of course. It is not easy to define the boundaries in a hard and fast way, because the main function of planning, the detailed work is done by the Planning Commission in consultation with all the Ministries. But the Ministry of Planning is a kind of link between all these and, of course, in so far as Parliament is concerned....

Mr. Speaker: The Minister is responsible.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: .....the Minister is responsible.

Mr. Speaker: The question is, "whether Government's attention has been drawn to press reports stating that MPs from Kerala have alleged that Central aid to the Kerala State was being misused?" Whether it concerns the Ministry

116. Reply to questions, 16 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVII, cols 6309-6311.

117. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jan Sangh, MP from Balrampur, UP.

118. The Deputy Minister of Planning, S. N. Mishra, replied that no specific complaints had been made to the Planning Commission in this regard; however, N. Keshava (Congress, MP from Bangalore City, Mysore) asked whether some cooperatives started by the Communists had received Central funds without tenders being called for; and K. P. Kutti Krishnan Nair (Congress, MP from Kozhikode, Kerala) whether labour cooperatives, which had nothing to do with labour or cooperation, had been started and contracts given to individual Communists, who further handed out sub-contracts. S. N. Mishra explained that "the Ministry of Planning functions in Parliament on behalf of the Planning Commission....is a kind of liaison between it, that is the Planning Commission and Parliament." At this point, Nehru intervened.



of Planning or any other Ministry is not clear. Of course, the Centre is there. The Finance Minister must answer, I think. It is Central aid, and the allegation is that it was being misused. That is the allegation of Members of Parliament from Kerala. The hon. Minister need not say that the Planning Commission has no information. He may say that "I have no information." He has no information.

The Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning (Shri Nanda): The Planning Commission is charged with certain functions and the details of the administration of every branch in the State do not come to the Planning Commission. There are other Ministries concerned with those activities who may deal with those things.

Mr. Speaker: If the hon. Ministers find that the question is not appropriately put to them they would kindly transfer it to the concerned Minister who ought to answer that question.

(vi) Madhya Pradesh

#### 45. To K.N. Katju: Dissidence<sup>119</sup>

March 27, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

I was concerned to know that you had been unwell. I hope you have fully recovered now. I am looking forward to seeing you here at the time of the meeting of the National Development Council.<sup>120</sup>

When you come here, I should like to have a talk with you about the general conditions in Madhya Pradesh and, more especially, in the Government and the Party. I have a feeling that there is a certain looseness and lack of compactness. There appear to be various forces at work which produce this tendency, and there are some ambitious persons deliberately working them.

119. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

120. It met on 3 and 4 April 1959.

This applies to the general Congress organisation also. I think that all these should be pulled up, and rather a strong hand is necessary.<sup>121</sup>

In this context it becomes rather important as to whom you appoint as Minister in place of Takhtmal Jain.<sup>122</sup> Will such a person help in adding to this tendency or in strengthening your hands and thereby strengthening the functioning of the Government? I hope that you might discuss this matter with me when you come here.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vii) Madras

#### 46. To K. Kamaraj: Annoying Security Arrangements<sup>123</sup>

March 21, 1959

My dear Kamaraj,

Your letter of March 19th with two alternative programmes for my visit to your State. I have looked carefully into both these programmes. I think that your programme No. I, which includes a visit to Ramanathapuram, is too heavy a one and will be far too much of a rush. I rather doubt if we can follow your timings and I hate being delayed everywhere. Also you must remember that I am a little older than I was.

Therefore I suggest that you give up the visit to Ramanathapuram and adopt programme No. II.

121. On 19 March 1959, the *Statesman* reported recent events in Madhya Pradesh: (i) a "grievance conference" of MPs blaming Katju for everything and an MP shouting "Doctor, heal thyself first!"; (ii) a PCC meeting's "catalogue of complaints" and the PCC President Mahant Laxminarayandas's severe indictment of the Katju government; (iii) the "Maulana Tarzi affair" in which Maulana Tarzi Mashriqi was appointed Planning Adviser by Katju after consulting three Cabinet colleagues, but Tarzi had to resign on 27 February 1959 after a protest memorandum from 116 out of 231 MLAs; (iv) the Vidhan Sabha's budget session when opposition and Congress speeches could not be distinguished. Katju did not respond to charges of favouritism and nepotism.

122. Minister of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture in the Madhya Pradesh Government till August 1958; General Secretary, Indian National Congress.

123. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madras State.



There is one matter which I should like to clear up. Whenever I go on tour, police and security arrangements are terrific and very costly. So far as I am concerned, they embarrass me greatly and they inconvenience the public even more. Even from the security point of view, they are totally unnecessary.

I am not objecting to security arrangements. But I do feel that what is normally done is wholly unnecessary from the security point of view. So far as I know, this kind of thing is not done in any other country, except perhaps in some small countries where there is a civil war on. The other day I was in Bombay and I was quite shocked to see how the whole city's life was upset by my visit. Traffic was held up for long periods and many police were deployed for this purpose. Far too many police and other cars accompanied me. I was so annoyed with all this that I said I would abandon all my programme the next day if this occurred again. Consequently, orders were issued for traffic not to be stopped, for the police not to line the roads and for far fewer cars to accompany me. It was found the next day that this arrangement was not only much successful, but much better than previous ones and everything passed off well and to time.

Whenever I object to these security arrangements I am told by the State authorities that such are the instructions from the Centre. When I come back to Delhi and protest to the Home Ministry, I am told that it was not the fault of the Central instructions, but the way they are carried out by the State authorities.

Anyhow, this kind of thing must stop and I am having these instructions issued from the Centre care-fully revised. You will, no doubt, get them in good time. Meanwhile, I would request you to have instructions issued for my tour to the following effect:

1. On no account must traffic be stopped. This applies, of, course, chiefly to Madras City. I have never heard of traffic being stopped in the big cities of Europe or America because some VIP is passing by, including Presidents and Prime Ministers. Only near a place where a function is to take place there might be some arrangement of traffic because of the crowds that collect there.
2. Large numbers of police forces are not to be mobilised and collected for my tour. The preparations that are sometimes made make it appear that there is going to be a big battle. Surely, the kind of security that I might require is not of this nature. Only at public meetings and other crowded places should some extra police be employed. Roads should not be lined by the police, whether in the city or in the countryside. I remember an answer to a question in your State Legislature about the expenses involved on a previous tour of mine. I was shocked to read this and find how much money was spent, chiefly on police transport

and allowances, when I go to a place.

3. The cars that accompany me should be as few as possible. I do not like long processions. As for police cars and motor cycles, there might be in the city 2 motor cycles, one pilot car and a car immediately following. I would really prefer even less, but as I have insisted on the streets not being lined and the traffic not being stopped, I am agreeing to what I have suggested above.

In the rural areas there can be thus two cars—a pilot car and one behind—and no motor cycles. No big wagon containing policemen should follow me about.

These are some odd suggestions. The main thing is that the arrangements should be simple and unobtrusive and should not inconvenience the public or involve much expense.<sup>124</sup>

I have received a letter from Shri Karumuttu Thiagarajan<sup>125</sup> inviting me to lay the foundation stone of the Administrative Block of Thiagarajar College of Engineering at Madurai when I go there. Now that I am spending more time at Madurai, perhaps this might be possible. If you are agreeable to this engagement, you can put this in. The invitation has come on behalf of Shri S. Varadachariar,<sup>126</sup> former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

I am agreeable to leaving Madras on the morning of the 16th. But I should like to take off from the airport at 8 a.m. if possible, or at 8.15 at the latest.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

124. Nehru wrote a similar note to G. B. Pant on 25 March. See item 96.

125. Karumuttu Thiagaraja Chettiar (1893-1974); freedom fighter and industrialist from Madurai; close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, Annie Besant and Srinivasa Iyengar; established many educational institutions including the Thiagarajar College of Engineering; set up several textile mills including Meenakshi Mills; founded Bank of Madura and Madura Insurance Co.

126. Srinivasa Vardachariar, Judge, Federal Court of India, 1939-46, also Acting Chief Justice, April-June 1943.



(viii) The North East

**47. To Saiyid Fazl Ali: British Press, Tea Planters, and Naga Militants<sup>127</sup>**

March 3, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

Your letter of February 27th.

I have seen Donald Wise's<sup>128</sup> articles<sup>129</sup> and, in fact, questions in Parliament on the subject. At first I thought that the story of going into the Naga Hills was probably made up. Subsequently, we had further information and we learnt that he was staying with some European tea planters who arranged a meeting with Naga hostiles. The Nagas took Donald Wise into the interior of their territory and gave him their highly coloured and largely false story which Donald Wise lapped up.

So far as we know, Donald Wise has left India and we cannot get hold of him. But we are taking up this matter with the UK High Commission. Also we think that some action should be taken with regard to the European tea planters who apparently were parties to this game.

As for the measure of autonomy to be given to the Nagas, you know that I have been in favour of a good deal of local autonomy, and I hope that some proposals will be worked out. The only aspect that we should be careful about is not to give power to the hostile Nagas for greater mischief.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. Letter to the Governor of Assam.

128. (1918- 1998); worked as a junior reporter for the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Sketch*; joined the Territorial Army and called up in 1939; taken prisoner by the Japanese in Singapore; after the War worked as a reporter in South Africa and Kenya for the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*; worked as a war correspondent from Asia, Africa and the Middle East; rejoined the *Daily Mirror* in 1960; wrote for the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in the late 1970s.

129. Donald Wise's article appeared with an eight-column headline, "Headhunters' War", and a five-column sub-heading "I saw the hills of the naked and dead," on the first page of the *Daily Express* of 9 February 1959 from London. Nehru's referred to it in the Lok Sabha on 5 May 1959. See SWJN/SS/49/p. 295.

**48. To S. Dutt: British Press, Tea Planters, and Naga Militants<sup>130</sup>**

I am sending you a letter from the Governor of Assam and copy of my reply.

2. What is happening about Donald Wise and the tea planters? Have we taken any steps?

3. The Governor suggests that our Intelligence should make a list of Naga atrocities, etc. Perhaps it would be advisable to have some such list in case we need it sometime or other.

**49. To Saiyid Fazl Ali: British Press, Tea Planters, and Naga Militants<sup>131</sup>**

March 4, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

Your letter of March 2.

If Donald Wise is still in Assam, I have no doubt whatever that we should take action against him. Exactly what form this action should take might be considered. If he has broken any law, he should be punished for it. The least action that we can take is to turn him out of Assam.

In this connection we must also take action against Tea Estate Managers<sup>132</sup> who put him in touch with the Nagas.

As for the daughter and son of Phizo, my first reaction is that no passports should be given to them to go abroad, but that some monetary help might be provided for them for their studies, etc. I do not know what their age is. But we shall consider this matter further.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

130. Note to Subimal Dutt, FS, 3 March 1959.

131. Letter.

132. Rigby and Johnson, initials not known; named in Nehru's message to Subimal Dutt, 3 June 1959. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 300-301.



**50. To Saiyid Fazl Ali: British Press, Tea Planters, and Naga Militants<sup>133</sup>**

March 6, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

I am writing to you about Donald Wise who you suggested had become a Manager of a Tea Estate. I think there is some mistake about this. What was said was that he had impersonated himself as such a Manager. We have tried hard to find out where Donald Wise is and have not yet succeeded. It is believed that he has left India. We are pursuing our enquiries about him as well as the Managers of two Tea Estates who, it is said, helped him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**51. To Saiyid Fazl Ali: British Press, Tea Planters, and Naga Militants<sup>134</sup>**

March 11, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of March 5th, giving further information about Donald Wise. I quite agree with you that we must pursue this matter to the end and take any action that may be possible against the people concerned, including the Managers of the Tea Estates.

I would not advise you to write to A.D. Shroff,<sup>135</sup> at any rate for the time being. Shroff is very bitter against our Government and he is the kind of person who allows this bitterness to affect him in other matters also.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

133. Letter.

134. Letter.

135. Director, Tata Sons, and one of the founders of Forum for Free Enterprise.

## 52. To K. Ram: Cultural Institutions in Imphal<sup>136</sup>

I shall speak to the Chief Commissioner<sup>137</sup> tomorrow. Meanwhile, my reactions are as follows:

- i) It is never right to try to start any institution of this kind on a big scale. If it grows, well and good. To begin with, it should be on a small scale.
- ii) It should not be managed from Delhi. Broad directions may be given. But, for all practical purposes, the Managing Committee should function at Imphal. I have no objection to the scheme proposed by the Chief Commissioner, but I do not see any difficulty in the Sangeet Natak Akademi continuing some kind of a distant control of the local dance college or Akademi, provided this control is distant and gives full freedom locally. The present arrangements by the Sangeet Natak Akademi appear to me too ambitious and complicated.
- iii) For the first time, we have got a Chief Commissioner and his wife who are deeply interested in dance, music, etc., and who have the competence to deal with this matter. They should be given full opportunity to function and not be tied down by having to refer everything to Delhi.
- iv) So far as I remember, the monies I have given, have not come from the PM's National Relief Fund, but from the special fund for folk dances. I am prepared to give them some more money out of that fund.
- v) I am broadly in agreement with what Shrimati Raina has written, and I have no objection to the money I have sent being used for the purposes mentioned by her.
- vi) I agree. You might have a meeting arranged between Shri Raina and representatives of the Sangeet Natak Akademi.

136. Note, 18 March 1959.

137. J.M. Raina.



(ix) Punjab

**53. To Tara Singh: Gurdwara Politics<sup>138</sup>**

March 7, 1959

Dear Master Tara Singh,

Thank you for your letter of the 5th March which I have read with care.<sup>139</sup> I do not think I have anything to add to what I wrote to you previously.<sup>140</sup> So far as I can understand, the arrangements made are to the advantage of the Sikhs of the old PEPSU and are more or less temporary arrangements till fresh elections are held.<sup>141</sup>

Government must necessarily take interest in any legislation which has to pass the legislature. In questions affecting religious matters, the opinions of people of that religion should count. The fact that a Minister happens to belong to that religion, does not deprive him of his right as a follower of that religion.

It seems to me obvious that the previous arrangement to have representatives from the old State of PEPSU was a very limited one, and the present arrangement is much wider and gives greater opportunities to the Sikhs there. It is certainly not a full election which, I take it, will follow later.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**54. To Partap Singh Kairon: Gurdwara Politics<sup>142</sup>**

16th March, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

This morning I received a letter from Master Tara Singh dated 14th March from Dharamsala Sub-jail.<sup>143</sup> This had been sent on by the Superintendent of the Sub-jail to the DIG Police, Chandigarh, who sent the original to me by

138. Letter to Tara Singh, Akali leader.

139. See Appendix 8.

140. For Nehru's letter of 7 January 1959, see SWJN/SS/46/p. 338.

141. This refers to the Gurdwara (Amendment) Act, 1959, which provided for the management of gurdwaras in the former PEPSU by the SGPC.

142. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

143. See Appendix 12.

special messenger.<sup>144</sup> I enclose a copy of this letter. I have given a copy to Pantji also.

I had hoped to see you this morning but I have just found that you have gone to Chandigarh. I shall speak to you on the phone.<sup>145</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 55. To Tara Singh: Gurdwara Politics<sup>146</sup>

March 19, 1959

My dear Master Tara Singh,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th March which reached me on the 16th.<sup>147</sup>

You refer in your letter to your visit to me some time ago when you told me that the Punjab Government was interfering in the management of the Sikh Gurdwaras by the legislation it was then promoting in the State Assembly. I assured you then that Government had no desire to interfere in religious matters. When, however, any kind of legislation is to be considered, this has to go through the normal constitutional processes. As you had brought this matter to my notice, I enquired into it and wrote to the Governor and the Chief Minister to acquaint me with the facts. Subsequently, I went to Chandigarh and discussed this matter with them also.

I discovered that a major change had been made in the proposed legislation and in fact I was told by some Sikh members of the Assembly, who had opposed the previous draft legislation that this change had met their wishes and they had no further grievance left. I was happy to learn this. Also it appeared that this legislation was meant to cover a relatively brief period till the next general election for the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee which was to

144. Tara Singh had been arrested on 12 March and sent to Dharamsala Sub-jail. He had been opposing the Sikh Gurdwara (Amendment) Act, 1959, and had proposed to lead a silent mass protest march in Delhi on 15 March. Although he was arrested on 12 March in Amritsar under the Preventive Detention Act, a large march took place.

145. On 18 March, Kairon met Nehru and Indira Gandhi in Delhi to discuss the State Government's response to agitations by the Kisan Sabha against the betterment levy and by the Akalis against the Gurdwaras Act.

146. Letter. Pandit Sunder Lal Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

147. See Appendix 12.



take place in about a year's time. As far as I could understand, the proposal made in this interim legislation was to widen the base of the choice of PEPSU representatives. It was felt that some change should be made in the then prevailing rather narrow method.

I am not an expert in this matter but it seemed to me that the proposal made could not be considered as an interference with the religious rights of beliefs of the Sikhs. There were evidently two sets of opinions among the Sikhs themselves and, in any event, an important change had been made to remove certain features from the proposed legislation which were considered objectionable. All this again was to make provision for a temporary period. I saw no high principle involved in this. I think I wrote to you then that I had no authority to interfere in this matter as that would be against the law as well as our conventions.

You have now written to me on the same subject and have raised more or less the same arguments. It appears from your letter that the matter has gone to court also. You have said that your personal honour is at stake. I would greatly regret doing anything which involved your honour. But I confess that I do not see why this becomes a question of honour or conscience even though views may differ.

Your have suggested a reference of this to arbitration and have mentioned the names of three eminent persons who might be asked to serve as arbitrators either together or any one of them.

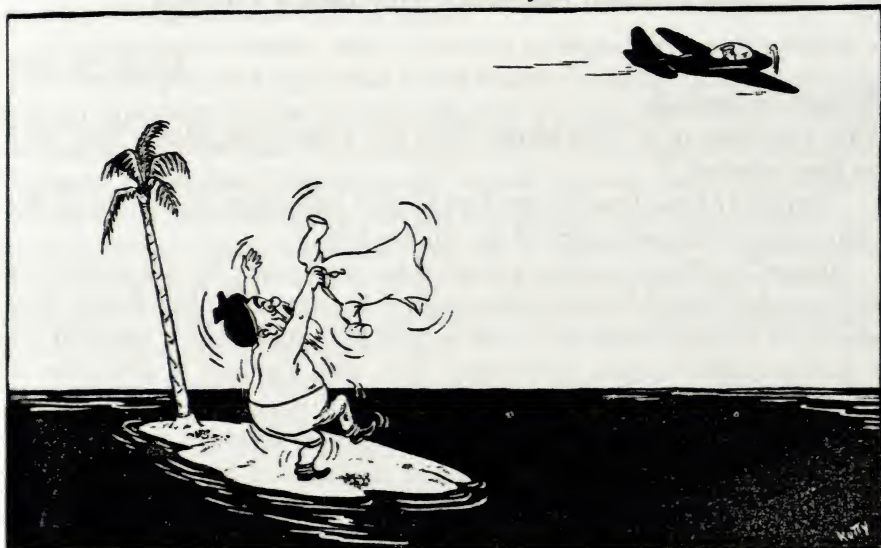
It would be an odd thing, without any precedent, to refer a law passed by a Legislature to arbitration. But, apart from this, it is not clear to me what is to be referred. Any reference to an arbitrator must be clear and precise. Here I cannot get a grip of what could be referred except a vague enquiry into the motives of some individuals. That kind of thing is hardly capable of being arbitrated upon.

You have referred to Gandhiji's fast at Rajkot. I have no clear recollection of the exact details of that fast. But, so far as I remember, a different type of issue arose there and, if I may say so with all respect, I did not agree even then with Gandhiji fasting on this issue.<sup>148</sup>

I hope you will appreciate my difficulty in regard to your proposal for arbitration. But I can assure you that there is no question of your honour being involved or of interference in the religious affairs of the minorities.

148. This refers to Gandhiji's fast in March 1939 against the ruler of Rajkot. For Nehru's reactions on the issue, see SWJN/FS/9/pp. 417 and 548.

*The S. O. S. and After*



*Pandit Nehru is reported to have rejected Master Tara Singh's suggestion for arbitration on the Gurudwaras Amendment Act.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 29 MARCH 1959)

Probably you know that Acharya Vinoba Bhave is likely to pass through the Punjab on his walking tour in the near future.<sup>149</sup> I cannot, for the reason stated above, trouble him with the burden of arbitration over a matter which is vague and imprecise. But his presence may well be utilised to remove any doubts or difficulties in the future. We are anxious that all communities in the Punjab, as elsewhere, should cooperate and should not have any grievance in regard to religious issues. You have yourself laid stress on this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

149. Acharya Vinoba Bhave had begun his walking tour from Pochampalli, Telangana on 18 April 1951. He reached Punjab on 1 April 1959.



## 56. To Jayaprakash Narayan: Gurdwara Politics<sup>150</sup>

March 23, 1959

My dear Jayaprakash,

I have your letter of the 20th March. Since you wrote to me, Master Tara Singh has been released.<sup>151</sup>

I received a letter from Master Tara Singh a little before his release. To this I sent a reply. I enclose a copy of my reply to him.<sup>152</sup>

Master Tara Singh has been a problem for many years. He is a problem not only to us but also to his own community. I have tried my best during these years to be friendly to him and to reason with him. Sometimes it appeared that he was agreeable to these approaches. Soon after any kind of agreement or decision, he went back on it. His idea of agreeing to something is that he should have freedom to do what he likes while other people should be bound down. I confess that I have felt very frustrated in dealing with him. He has certain virtues, but he is exceedingly narrow-minded and egocentric.

In past years, he did not hesitate to try to come to terms with the Muslim League. He tried also to by-pass national organisations in India and deal with the British Government directly. Stafford Cripps, when he came here, was utterly disappointed in him because of these activities.<sup>153</sup>

I am merely mentioning all this to indicate how difficult it has been to deal with him.

Anyhow, a suggestion to refer a particular matter to arbitration was, in the circumstances, odd. It would be an extraordinary state of affairs if a legislation that has been passed should be referred to arbitration. It may be true, as you say, that there is a tussle for power. This is chiefly within the Sikh community, although others may take interest in it. The question that Master Tara Singh has raised appears to me to be a rather minor one and a temporary one. I do not think it involves any so-called religious interference. As a matter of fact, Master Tara Singh himself goes on repeating that for him there is no difference between politics and religion, and he insists on dragging in religion in every phase of

150. Letter to Jayaprakash Narayan, Sarvodaya leader and a member of the PSP.

151. On 21 March.

152. This refers to their correspondence between 3 and 19 March. See items 53, 55 and Appendices 8 and 12.

153. The Sikh leaders Tara Singh, Baldev Singh, Ujjal Singh and Joginder Singh met Stafford Cripps in March 1942.

politics. Our past experience shows that he is wholly undependable. Most of his own colleagues come and tell us that.

In this particular matter, some of his own colleagues who had protested to me about the proposed legislation in the Punjab Assembly wrote to me later, after an amendment had been made, that they were satisfied with this change. In about ten months time, there are going to be full elections to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, and nobody has objected or can object to the manner of those elections. The impression that I get is that Master Tara Singh is always looking out to find some reason, good or bad, to create trouble. Anyhow, I entirely agree with you that we should not do anything which pains any religious community. I really do not see where there has been interference in religious matters in the present case.

Then again, what exactly is to be referred to arbitration? There is nothing precise or capable of being arbitrated upon.

You will notice from my letter to Tara Singh that I have suggested to him that when Vinobaji goes to the Punjab, we shall welcome his advice for the future.<sup>154</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 57. To Partap Singh Kairon: Betterment Levy Agitation<sup>155</sup>

March 26, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

Thank you for your letter of March 22nd which I have read with much interest. I must congratulate you on the success of your policy in regard to the agitation against the betterment levy.<sup>156</sup>

I agree with you that all the Congressmen should take up a more positive attitude and approach the people and explain to them our policies. This is particularly necessary now as the Congress has adopted a new line which requires hard work.

154. See preceding item.

155. Letter.

156. See item 1, p. 6, fn 6.



I was happy to learn of the success in the Sirsa election.<sup>157</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 58. With Yadavendra Singh<sup>158</sup>

The Maharaja of Patiala came to see me this evening (March 27th, 1959). He spoke to me about various subjects.

1. He first referred to the situation in the Punjab and said that he was greatly concerned at the progressive deterioration of communal relations, that is, relations between Hindus and Sikhs. An element of acute bitterness and even anger was coming into them, and something should be done as soon as possible to tone this down. He had no particular proposal to make in regard to this matter, except that people at the top should help in this matter.

2. He further said that the Communist agitation against the betterment levy, though withdrawn, had left a bitter taste and had strengthened the position of the Communist Party in the Punjab. When I said that my own impression was that the Communist Party having failed in this agitation had suffered somewhat, he said from one point of view, this may be so, but many farmers and others felt that the Communists had stood up for them. Also, that the Chief Minister had promised to talk to them if their agitation was withdrawn. It would have been better if he had talked directly to the farmers.

In this connection, he said that the betterment levy was justified, but some steps taken in regard to it had created resentment. If the Punjab Government could do something to soothe the people concerned and to give them some slight relief indirectly, this would go some way to bring them round. As an instance of something that could be done, he said that there were two new bridges on some road leading up to Panja Sahib Gurdwara.<sup>159</sup> The income from tolls over these bridges was to the extent of rupees eight or ten lakhs. Instead of sending this income to the general revenues, why should this not be used towards payment of the Bhakra debt.

157. Chaudhary Devi Lal of the Congress was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly in the by-election from the general seat of the double-member constituency of Sirsa in a five-cornered contest.

158. Record of conversation with the Maharaja Yadavendra Singh of Patiala, 27 March 1959. Copied to Partap Singh Kairon, N.V. Gadgil (Governor of Punjab), G. B. Pant (Home Minister), K.L. Shrimali (Education Minister).

159. Located in Hasan Abdal, Pakistan, 48 kilometers from Rawalpindi.

He further mentioned that in such multipurpose schemes in Australia etc., charges on electricity etc. were made to pay for the greater part of the burden of the capital debt.

3. He referred to his recent visit to South India and he found so called National Parks and large areas being denuded of trees and not being properly looked after. This was a tragedy. Could not National Parks all over India be put under the care of the Centre, so that they might be looked after? He referred to some such areas in the Punjab, which have suffered great neglect and are not looked after properly at all.

4. Then he expressed his alarm at the state of affairs among the youth of the country, where there was no discipline and a tendency to goondaism. Efforts should be made to counter this. One of the methods of doing so should be to encourage sports in a big way. A person good at sports usually was more disciplined. He offered to help in this matter as he was greatly interested in sports and athletics.

This is a brief summary of what he told me.

### 59. To G.B. Pant: Gurdwara Politics<sup>160</sup>

March 28, 1959

My dear Pantji,

This morning Mouli Chandra Sharma<sup>161</sup> saw me and said that Tara Singh had been meeting him and having long talks with him. He gave me a note which apparently Tara Singh had passed on to him in which certain instances of so-called interference in the religious affairs of the Sikhs were given.<sup>162</sup>

I told Mouli Chandra that I do not wish to encourage Master Tara Singh in any way in these arguments. But, of course, I shall continue to treat him with courtesy.

I have not received any official letter from Tara Singh and there is no question of my replying to him. But I suppose some such letter may come later. Meanwhile, I have sent a copy of this enclosed note to Partap Singh Kairon and asked for his comments.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

160. Letter.

161. Member, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, joined the Congress in 1954.

162. See Appendix 24.



**60. To Partap Singh Kairon: Gurdwara Politics<sup>163</sup>**

March 28, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have received a note in which Master Tara Singh is giving some "instances of interference in the religious affairs of the Sikhs by the Government".<sup>164</sup> This has come to me quite informally and rather casually through third parties. I am, however, sending you a copy of this note. Possibly a more formal reference will be made to me later and I shall have to reply to it. You might, therefore, let me have your comments.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(x) Rajasthan

**61. To K. Ram: Accident at Bhilwara<sup>165</sup>**

Please draw up a cheque for rupees one thousand in favour of the Chief Minister of Rajasthan<sup>166</sup> from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. This is for assisting the dependants and others who have suffered from a very bad motor-lorry accident near Bhilwara when I was there recently.<sup>167</sup> The lorry got upset and the petrol caught fire, completely burning seven or eight persons and injuring a number of others. There are many dependants, and I promised to send some money for their help. The accident occurred, I think, on the 8th March.

163. Letter.

164. See Appendix 24.

165. Note, 11 March 1959.

166. Mohan Lal Sukhadia.

167. Nehru is perhaps referring to an accident about three miles from Bhilwara on 8 March. According to the *Pioneer* of 9 March, a bus with 25 passengers lost its front axle, skidded into a ditch and caught fire; seven were killed and eleven were injured.

**62. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Communalism in Congress<sup>168</sup>**

March 25, 1959

My dear Sukhadia,

My P.P.S. has shown me the letter you wrote to him on the 20th March. In regard to the case of Mohammed Naim. This is a matter entirely in your discretion and I would not have pursued it further. But reading the note of Chandra Shekhar, Registrar of the Board of Revenue, dated 14th August 1958, copy of which you have sent, I did not feel quite happy. In such cases I seldom like taking action purely on police reports.

Why I had this matter referred to you was because one of my colleagues in Parliament, Shrimati Anis Kidwai<sup>169</sup> wrote to me, I enclose her letter in original. I have a great regard for her and she is one of our best workers, greatly respected in Delhi and elsewhere.

The charge brought against Mohammed Naim is that he is a communal minded person. That of course is a very vague charge and can be brought certainly against every member of the Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha. The other charge that he has been taking part in the activities of the Jamiat-e-Islamia has more substance, because this Jamiat is certainly an undesirable body. But he may have been connected with it purely for religious reasons and not political. He ought to have been told that the membership of this organisation was undesirable. The point is what activities he indulged in, apart from what is said.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

168. Letter.

169. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.



(xi) Uttar Pradesh

**63. To Sampurnanand: Helping Students Pay Examination Fees<sup>170</sup>**

March 3, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I am sending you a draft for rupees ten thousand to help the large number of students who have been held up from appearing in their examinations because of lack of money to pay the examination fees. You will please use this sum at your discretion in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**64. To Algurai Shastri: Dissidence<sup>171</sup>**

March 3, 1959

My dear Algurai,

I received your letter of today's date this morning or forenoon.<sup>172</sup> Later, you came to see me, and we had a talk. I told you that your letter appeared to me as some kind of an ultimatum. You denied this and said that this was far from your intention, and all that you wanted to say in the letter was to express your feelings. There was no idea of bringing pressure of the kind as I had thought. I told you that the situation that had arisen in Uttar Pradesh was a difficult and distressing one for all of us. We could not deal with it in this fashion, although I realised that it should not be allowed to continue in its present state.

170. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

171. Letter to Algurai Shastri, Congressman from UP; Rajya Sabha MP till April 1958. File No. A/129, Sampurnanad Collection, NAI. Also available in JN Collection.

172. Algurai Shastri informed Nehru that his faction did not want Sampurnanand as Chief Minister. So he wanted Nehru to instruct him to seek a vote of confidence from the Party before 10 March, and promised peace if Sampurnanand won the vote. Algurai Shastri's support group consisted of Kamalapati Tripathi, Charan Singh, and Mohanlal Gautam, which had wanted him elected Chairman of the UP Legislative Council in 1958, but lost to the C. B. Gupta group which ensured the election of R.V. Dhulekar, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 367-368. On Algurai Shastri's grievances against Sampurnanand, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 364-366; on Nehru's views on factionalism, see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 183-184, 187.

## POSITION OF STRENGTH!



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 6 MARCH 1959)

The more I think of it, the more distressed and worried I am. My visit to Lucknow gave me some insight into this.<sup>173</sup> Broadly I knew it, but personal contacts with various people made me realise how far things had gone. I am, of course, interested in individuals, because most of them are old colleagues and comrades. But my chief interest is that the cause we are supposed to represent, should not suffer. That cause is the good of the country, and I think that that good is served or should be served by the Congress and the present Governments. If the Congress and the Governments suffer, then the cause suffers.

What distressed me during my talks with various people in Lucknow, was the realisation that no principles were involved and that hardly anyone was thinking of the major objectives before us. It was all essentially a dispute on personal lines. That is the worst type of dispute that can happen in public affairs. It brings discredit to all the individuals concerned and, even more so, to the organisation. Whatever position we have, each one of us, is due to our having the privilege to serve in a great organisation. If that organisation goes down, so

173. Nehru visited Lucknow on 1 and 2 March. See items 2-6.



do we, all of us. That is clear enough. But I found little realisation of this and most persons being governed by personal animosities and complaints. I am not going into these personal matters, whatever their merits or demerits might be. But, from long experience, I have found that in all such disputes, everything tends to get exaggerated, and every rumour or report is given credence without any effort to verify it. However that may be, the major fact still remains as to what, in our opinion, is good for the organisation and the cause we represent. Everything else is secondary.

*The Ayes Have It*



*Mr. Sampurnanand asked for and secured a note of confidence at the U.P. Congress legislature party meeting.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 15 MARCH 1959)

In your letter, you have suggested that I should ask Dr. Sampurnanand to seek a vote of confidence of the Party before the 10th of March when his demands come before the House.<sup>174</sup> I do not know what these demands are. But it does seem to me very odd that in the middle of a Budget debate, the Party

174. Sampurnanand won a vote of confidence on 9 March 1959 by a show of hands with 234 of the 354 members present voting for him. The dissidents' demand for a secret ballot was refused; they, including Charan Singh, abstained, and announced plans for a formal vote of no-confidence.

should be asked to take a vote on a matter concerning the budget. That is not only a very unusual procedure, but, so far as I can remember, with hardly a precedent. Such a procedure would be irresponsible in the extreme and would indicate that we do not care very much for the wider issues. Also, that we are prepared for any upset at a critical moment and thus cause considerable injury to our Government and organisation, and become subjects of ridicule to the public. Even a responsible opposition seldom thinks of doing this. For a party in power to want to do it, would lead to the conclusion that we have uprooted ourselves from all the fundamental principles and conventions that govern public actions. But, apart from these principles, there is a certain decorum and decencies in public affairs. It will be a bad day if we forget them and reduce standard of our public life. We of the Congress have a certain reputation to keep up and an example to set to others.

It is not for me to send directions to anybody. But, as I realise that the U.P. situation is a serious one, I gave a brief report to an informal meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board meeting held this evening. I shall also inform the Working Committee of the Congress when it meets in the course of this month, probably on the 15th and the 16th of March. It is for the Working Committee to consider what steps, if any, they should take in this matter. Obviously, they are deeply concerned at a situation arising which splits up our Party and causes grievous injury to Government and Party alike. It is quite extraordinary for me to find how Ministers and office-bearers of the Party function against each other. That is not my idea of public life or of constitutional conventions. Anyhow, this matter has a wider significance than Uttar Pradesh and will have to be considered fully by the Working Committee.

My approach can only be one, and I believe that is also the approach of my colleagues here. This is to try to bring about as large a measure of effective and united working as possible among Congressmen and to put an end to our internal squabbles and tensions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## 65. To Sampurnananad: Dissidence<sup>175</sup>

March 3rd, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

This morning I received a letter from Algurai Shastri, copy enclosed. Subsequently, I saw him, and this evening, I am sending him a reply, of which also I enclose a copy. This reply gives the gist of my talk with him.<sup>176</sup>

I need not write more to you now. I know that you have a heavy burden to carry and a difficult situation to face. We must find some way out of this tangle. What that way is, is not clear to me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 66. To Sampurnanand: Congress Factionalism<sup>177</sup>

March 19, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I was rather shocked to learn the other day about the kidnapping of a number of persons in Jhansi or thereabouts. These people had come to attend a meeting addressed by Indira.<sup>178</sup> On their return they were kidnapped. This does indicate an extraordinary state of affairs and some kind of a breakdown of the normal law and order situation in certain areas. It does no credit to the police. I should like to know what steps have been taken in this matter.

175. Letter. File No. A/129, Sampurnanand Collection, NAI.

176. See the preceding item.

177. Letter.

178. Indira Gandhi addressed a public meeting at Bhandar in Gwalior district on 8 March, and she inaugurated the Bundelkhand Political Conference in Madwara, about one hundred miles from Jhansi, on 10 March, according to the *National Herald* of 9 and 14 March respectively.

I have also been worried about the various cases going on in Aligarh against MLAs. It is obvious that the Congress cannot function if Congressmen are accused of murdering each other and have to fight this out in the law courts.<sup>179</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 67. To Charan Singh: On Resignation<sup>180</sup>

March 21, 1959

My dear Charan Singh,

Your letter dated March 13th reached me a few days ago. It is a very long letter, but I have read it carefully. As a matter of fact, your letter is more or less a repetition of what you had said to me when I met you in Lucknow.

I have some knowledge, though necessarily incomplete, of conditions in Uttar Pradesh as in other States and, of course, the Centre. There are innumerable matters with which I am not satisfied and some distress me greatly.

We function in a country which, with all its many virtues, is socially and economically backward, and we suffer the consequences of this backwardness

179. Factional rivalries between Malkhan Singh and Mohan Lal Gautam for control of local institutions intensified in Aligarh district after the re-entry of Malkhan Singh into the legislature in 1955. Two Congressmen had been murdered, first Girija Kishore, then on 20 March 1958, Mool Chand, the former Chairman of the Jalali Town Area Committee, as reported in the *National Herald* of 21 March 1958. Mohanlal Gautam, then UP Minister for Cooperation, Agriculture, and Animal Husbandry, was accused by his opponents of having organised the murder. On 2 May 1958, the DCC passed a resolution deploring the spate of murders and the failure of the Home Minister, Kamlapati Tripathi and district officials of failing to ensure security. This resolution, in Nehru's outraged words, "practically charged Mohanlal Gautam for having brought about the murder" of Mool Chand. (See SWJN/SS/42/p. 464). According to *The Times of India* of 10 May 1958, "the resolution was so strongly worded" that Congress circles in Lucknow "did not know how to explain it." Following this, a mob murderously attacked Gautam at Ahen, 30 miles from Aligarh, on 8 May 1958. Gautam's opponents were led by Malkhan Singh who belonged to the C. B. Gupta faction of the UP Congress. The two groups clashed several times thereafter, leading to much litigation. In June 1958 Gautam announced plans to file a defamation suit against officials of the Aligarh DCC but the Congress President persuaded the DCC to withdraw the resolution of 2 May and Gautam dropped his plans for a lawsuit. Other litigation continued however.

180. Letter to the Minister of Revenue, Power and Irrigation in the UP Government.



in whatever we might do. Individuals count, of course, but the real way to understand a situation is not so much through individuals, but through more basic causes. I find that the main burden of your argument is a complaint about Sampurnanandji. I confess I do not like an argument being based almost entirely on personal complaints even though some of those complaints might be justified. I suppose it is not difficult to draw up some kind of an indictment of the best of our colleagues. I have known Sampurnanandji for a very long time, and though I have not worked with him in a Government, he has been my colleague in many activities. So, to some extent, I have got to know him. I do not agree with some of his views and attitudes; at the same time, I have a good deal of respect for him. He is a man of high intelligence, even though he might sometimes direct his intelligence into channels which are not very fruitful. He has the

*The Talisman*



*The Congress High Command has upheld Mr. Sampurnanand's stand against the U.P. diffidends.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 22 MARCH 1959)

failings of an intellectual, which come in his way sometimes. His very virtue in trying to keep apart from personal groups, has come in his way. I could easily go on writing about his or any other person's good points and failings. That does not help much. We have to take persons as they are and judge situations as they are.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*O.K. I quit! I'll form a party and give the nation not only a socialistic democracy,  
but a free democratic socialistic voluntary  
co-operative united neutral secular republic State!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 23 MARCH 1959)

I am afraid you have been acting recently in a manner which I consider quite wrong. This has put you in a very difficult position, and I can well understand your desire to resign from the Ministership. Indeed, a situation was created when you made it clear that either Sampurnanandji had to go or you had to go. It was peculiarly unfortunate that you should have acted in this manner while you were a colleague of Sampurnanandji in his Cabinet. That set a bad example and reacted against you in the minds of many people.

You have been in the U.P. Cabinet for many years.<sup>181</sup> It seems odd that all this accumulation of complaints should come to a head just at this stage. Further, it is equally odd that you should have openly allied yourself with people who, in your opinion, were completely in the wrong. When you saw me you laid

181. Since 1951.



great stress on your utter disagreement with and disapproval of some people. Yet you did not find it too difficult to join up with them. To say that they had come round to your views, is hardly an adequate explanation.

I do not think it will serve any particular purpose for you and me to have an argument about these matters. Something has happened or has been done which cannot be called back, and we have to face the consequences. Whatever my difference may be with your views, I have a high opinion of your capacity for good work if only this does not get entangled with rivalries and personal animosities. I hope that opportunities of such good work will come to you. I would welcome that. The problems we have to face are too big for us to lose ourselves in smaller matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 68. To Syed Ali Zaheer: On Maulana Azad's Book<sup>182</sup>

March 22, 1959

My dear Ali Zaheer,

Thank you for your letter of March 19. So far as the situation in the U.P. is concerned, we have naturally taken a great deal of interest in it, and we shall continue to do so. I agree that it should not be allowed to drift.

As for Maulana's book, I have not said anything in public and I do not propose to enter into controversies. But Maulana's saying that I was responsible for the Muslim League Ministers not coming into the UP Cabinet in 1936 is hardly correct. Maulana himself was in charge of the UP and Bihar in the Working Committee and the principal persons involved in these discussions were Pantji and Rafi Ahmed.<sup>183</sup> What would have happened if the Muslim League Ministers had been taken in is a matter for conjecture. It is quite possible, as you say, that this might have led to unfortunate results.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

182. Letter to the Finance Minister in the Uttar Pradesh Government.

183. The reference is to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative* (Bombay: Orient Longman, 1959), pp. 160-162.

## 69. To Sampurnanand: Misreporting About Charan Singh's Resignation<sup>184</sup>

March 28, 1959.

My dear Sampurnanand,

I see in the *Times of India* today a message from Lucknow to the effect that I had advised Charan Singh not to resign from your Ministry.<sup>185</sup> This is the exact opposite of what I had written to him.<sup>186</sup> What I had said was that after all that has happened, it was no longer possible for him to continue in the Ministry.

I am writing to Charan Singh also briefly pointing this out.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 70. To Charan Singh: Misreporting on Resignation<sup>187</sup>

March 28, 1959

My dear Charan Singh,

In this morning's *Times of India*, there appears a message from Lucknow to the effect that –

“Mr. Nehru is understood to have advised Mr. Charan Singh, U.P.'s Minister of Revenue, Power and Irrigation, not to resign from the Sampurnanand Ministry”.

184. Letter. File No. A/132, Sampurnanand Collection, NAI.

185. *The Times of India* reported on 28 March 1959 the following under the heading “U.P. Minister's Resignation Decision Disfavoured”:

“Mr. Nehru is understood to have advised Mr. Charan Singh, U.P.'s Minister for Revenue, Power and Irrigation, not to resign from the Sampurnanand Ministry.

Mr. Chaturbhuj Sharma, U.P.C.C. President, recently conveyed Mr. Nehru's advice to Mr. Charan Singh, ‘it is learnt. This advice more than anything else is stated to have induced the Revenue Minister not to think in terms of resignation although it is still regarded as improbable for Mr. Charan Singh to continue in the Cabinet if and when it is reconstituted.”

186. See item 67.

187. Letter.



You will remember that I wrote to you a few days ago, and my advice to you was the exact opposite of this. I do not see how you can possibly continue in that Ministry after all that has happened.<sup>188</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(xii) West Bengal

## 71. To B.C. Roy: Supreme Court Reference to Berubari<sup>189</sup>

March 11, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of March 7th about the Bill for the Enclaves and Berubari. As suggested by you, we are thinking of asking the Supreme Court for their opinion on the legal and constitutional aspects raised in this matter.<sup>190</sup> But I do not see how we can ask the Supreme Court for an opinion on other than the constitutional aspects.

The proposed reference to the Supreme Court might please be kept secret at this stage as we are considering this matter.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 72. To B.C. Roy: Protecting the Border<sup>191</sup>

March 19, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of the 16th March.

For the present the arrangements you have suggested about border protection may continue. But this whole matter should really be discussed fully keeping

188. Charan Singh sent his resignation on 2 April and it was accepted on 22 April 1959.

189. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

190. On 5 March 1959, the Executive Committee of the West Bengal PCC opposed the proposed transfer of the Berubari Union, a part of Jalpaigudi Thana, to Pakistan, as violating the Constitution, and resolved to appeal to the Central Government to reconsider.

191. Letter.

all aspects in view. I think that our Commonwealth Secretary wrote, on the 16th March to the Chief Secretary, West Bengal Government, on this subject.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## You Said It

By LAXMAN



*This morning, you watch the green light, you orange;  
I'll keep an eye on the red, and I'll get another to keep an over-all check.*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 25 MARCH 1959)

(c) Administration

### 73. To Vishnu Sahay: Too Many Conferences Disrupt Work<sup>192</sup>

I am sending you a letter from the Chief Minister of Orissa. In this he has pointed out that a very large number of conferences are organised by the various Ministries of the Government of India and attendance at them interferes seriously

192. Note, 2 March 1959.



## You Said It

By LAXMAN



*I've simplified the engagements, Your Honour. After addressing the National Livestock Welfare Association, please address this mike—this is the Book Binders' Recreation Club—and, later, the Rural Cultural Group—that mike!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 12 MARCH 1959)

with work in the States. In particular, the Ministry of Food & Agriculture has been having a vast number of conferences.

2. I think that you might write to all Ministries on the subject of conferences and point out to them this difficulty. Conference should, of course, be held, but it might be carefully considered on every occasion whether the conference is absolutely necessary or not. Further, when a conference is held, a kind of circular letter goes to all the States, including some States which may have nothing to do with the subjects discussed. People from Manipur and Tripura, etc. are invited. Some discretion might be exercised in inviting people from the States. Also it need not always be necessary for the Head of the Department to come.<sup>193</sup>

193. On the same day, Nehru replied along these lines to Harekrushna Mahtab, Chief Minister of Orissa, who had written on 17 February.

3. You might specially write to the Ministry of Food & Agriculture and point out that the number of conferences they have held is unusually large.

#### 74. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Damodar Valley Corporation<sup>194</sup>

March 2, 1959

My dear Hafizji,

Your letter of the 2nd March.<sup>195</sup> Your proposal about the D.V.C. appears to be on the right lines. Perhaps it will be a good thing if you mention this at a Cabinet meeting. No special paper need to be prepared for it. The D.V.C. has come up often before the Cabinet, and a basic change in its structure should be mentioned there.

A non-official would be certainly desirable as part-time Chairman. I am not clear in my mind if well known businessmen should be approached in this connection. Every such appointment leads to questions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 75. To K. Ram: Honours and Lodgings<sup>196</sup>

I agree with you that these persons, because of the terms of their employment, should enjoy rent free accommodation. But I do not understand this business of a higher class of accommodation etc. Generally, I rather disapprove of these classes of accommodation unless there is some special reason like a large family etc. I would not like to take this matter up to the President if he has already

194. Letter to the Union Minister for Irrigation and Power.

195. Ibrahim proposed appointing "a non-official of high standing with business experience" as part time Chairman of the Damodar Valley Corporation, with the entire Board also being part time. However, they would have a Secretary-and-Chief Executive Officer working full time. He did not think the work justified having two full time officers as Chairman and Secretary. This was in part due to planned development becoming the concern of the State Government and in part due to funds shortage limiting the DVC to irrigation, power generation, and flood control, not allowing it to go on to intensive development.

196. Note, 2 March 1959.



given his decision. Not knowing all the facts as regards the accommodation, I cannot say anything very definite. You may, if you like, discuss this matter with Shri A. V. Pai.<sup>197</sup>

2. It is not clear to me what work the Honours Branch does now. In the old days, there was probably much work to be done. Now, there is practically none. Why indeed should this Branch continue?

## 76. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Ram Narayan Chaudhary's Hunger Strikes<sup>198</sup>

March 2, 1959

My dear Gulzarilal,<sup>199</sup>

Your letter of March 2.<sup>200</sup> I have received copies of your correspondence with Ram Narayan Chaudhary.<sup>201</sup> Sometimes he has also written to me and sent me copies. I regret to say that I have not always read all these papers. Partly this is so because I have really not got the time; partly because I have no desire to keep pace with Ram Narayan Chaudhary's repeated letters.

You know that I react strongly against hunger strikes, and I do not see why policies should be governed by them. Whether you should continue in your present position in the Bharat Sewak Samaj or not might be considered from the point of view of your other work. Certainly it should not be considered in connection with a hunger strike. The question arises whether I should continue in my nominal capacity in the Samaj. However, we shall discuss these matters some time later at leisure. I do not see why I should be hustled because somebody is hunger-striking.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary is one of the most extraordinary persons I have met. He has undoubted capacity for good work, but he has some kind of a kink

197. Secretary to the President of India.

198. Letter. File No. 2 (188)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

199. Union Minister of Labour and Employment; he was Chairman of Bharat Sewak Samaj, and Nehru was President.

200. Gulzarilal Nanda proposed to resign rather than have to deal with a fast by his colleague, Ram Narayan Chaudhary, in the Bharat Sewak Samaj. It was impossible to work with him, he was never satisfied, and he seemed to consider fasts a normal manner of functioning within the organisation. He had already fasted for three days, the newspapers had reported it, and now Gulzarilal sought Nehru's guidance.

201. Information Secretary of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, 1954 to 1959; quit the BSS owing to differences with Gulzarilal Nanda and set up the Gram Sahyog Samaj in 1959.

which makes it difficult for him to fit in with organisational work, unless of course he is the boss. I do not see how we can accept his approach to these various questions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 77. To Vishnu Sahay: Slum Clearance<sup>202</sup>

In order to consider the question of slum clearance and improvement, a meeting was held at 4 p.m. on the 4th March, 1959. The Prime Minister, the Minister of Home Affairs,<sup>203</sup> the Minister of Works, Housing & Supply,<sup>204</sup> the Minister of Law<sup>205</sup> and the Minister of Health<sup>206</sup> were present.

2. It was stated in this meeting that the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply was in general charge of projects for slum clearance in the various States, apart from Delhi Union territory. The Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply made plans, issued directions, etc., and when a scheme was approved, sanctioned funds to the State Government who were responsible for carrying it out. In the case of Delhi Union Territory, however, the Health Ministry, functioning through the Delhi Development Authority, was in charge of slum clearance.

3. It was decided that while the present practice in regard to all the States apart from Delhi Union Territory should continue, in regard to Delhi it should be changed as follows:

The Master Plan for Delhi should continue to be in charge of the Health Ministry working through the Town Planning Organisation. The slum clearance work, however, of the Delhi Union Territory should be in charge of the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply and should be carried out in accordance with the Master Plan. The actual execution of slum clearance work within the Delhi Corporation area should be the charge of the Corporation.

The Home Ministry will be the coordinating authority.

4. There is now no need for the Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance under the chairmanship of the Minister of Law to function as their report has

202. Note, 4 March 1959.

203. Govind Ballabh Pant.

204. K.C. Reddy.

205. Asoke K. Sen.

206. D.P. Karmarkar.



been presented and action taken thereon.<sup>207</sup>

5. The consequential changes necessitated by these decisions should be carried out.

## 78. To Rajendra Prasad: Reorganising Community Development Ministry<sup>208</sup>

March 5, 1959

My dear Mr. President,

As you are aware, my colleague, Shri S. K. Dey, Minister of Community Development and Cooperation, had a heart attack some ten days ago. Fortunately he is recovering. But it is clear that he will have to remain in hospital for about a month or even after that he will have to take more or less full rest for another month. During this period some arrangements have to be made urgently for his work.

Even apart from his illness, I was thinking of giving him a Deputy Minister. He has a Parliamentary Secretary at present, Shri B. S. Murthy,<sup>209</sup> Member of the Lok Sabha. I recommend for your approval that B. S. Murthy might be appointed Deputy Minister.

I would also recommend that Shri Shyam Dhar Misra,<sup>210</sup> Member of the Rajya Sabha, might be appointed Parliamentary Secretary in S. K. Dey's Ministry. He will be able to deal with questions, etc., in the Rajya Sabha.

I trust these proposals will meet with your approval. If so, I would suggest, subject to your convenience, that Shri B. S. Murthy might be sworn in as Deputy

207. The Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance, appointed on 25 January 1958, had submitted its recommendations in July 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/p. 400.

208. Letter. File No. 8/59, p.1, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

209. (1906-1979); Congressman from Andhra Pradesh, Member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1937-52; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-71; Union Deputy Minister of, (i) Community Development and Cooperation, 6 March 1959-24 January 1966, (ii) Health and Family planning, 24 January 1966-14 November 1967, (iii) Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing and Urban Development, 18 February 1969-13 March 1971.

210. (b. 1918); Member, Banaras State Assembly, 1943-49; Minister, Finance, Revenue and Police, Banaras State, 1949; Member, UP Legislative Council, 1950-52; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-62, and Lok Sabha, 1962-71; Union Deputy Minister of, (i) Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Cooperation, 8 May 1962-9 June 1964, (ii) Irrigation and Power, 15 June 1964-24 January 1966, (iii) Defence, 24 January-14 February 1966, (iv) Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation, 14 February 1966-13 March 1967.

Minister tomorrow, the 6th March 1959, at 12.15 p.m. If this time is not convenient to you, then I would suggest 5 p.m.<sup>211</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 79. To Amrit Kaur: M.O. Mathai Case<sup>212</sup>

March 5, 1959

My dear Amrit,

Thank you for your two letters, one yesterday and one today.

There is no question of any person getting cold feet. It is our usual practice that when any serious charges are made in Parliament, we enquire into them. When a charge was made against a person closely connected with me, it was even more important that we should follow this practice. To do anything else would have been grossly unfair to that person, apart from other consequences.

### You Said It

By LAXMAN



*You are just a member of this investigation committee, Mr. Lall.  
Your usual dress—short coat and cap—would have been quite sufficient!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 7 MARCH 1959)

211. Rajendra Prasad approved these appointments on the same day.

212. Letter to Amrit Kaur, Congress Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab, and former Union Health Minister.



The enquiry could, as asked for, have been entrusted to judicial authorities. That would have made it formal and some kind of a judicial procedure would have been followed. I did not think that appropriate and I, therefore, made the simplest arrangement possible, that is, asked the Cabinet Secretary to find out all relevant facts. He is endeavouring to do so. It is always better, in such cases, to give such documents as may be available, as that is supposed to carry greater weight.<sup>213</sup>

Our opponents would no doubt like to do many things to injure us, but one thing I cannot do, and that is to avoid the fullest enquiry into any matter connected with me, if a challenge is put forward.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 80. To K. Ram: Gopal Godse's Release<sup>214</sup>

I see no reason why we should interfere with the decision of Government already taken. The case of Godse is a very special one, not to be compared with habitual criminals. It is something much worse. You might forward this note to the Home Ministry.<sup>215</sup>

213. The reference is to the M. O. Mathai case, see SWJN/SS/46/pp. 389-391 and 665-668.

214. Note, 6 March 1959.

215. This document carries a note below Nehru's signature by a member of his staff, as follows: "Application of Shrimati Godse for release of her husband after giving him the benefit of the remissions earned." This seems to refer to Gopal Godse, convicted in the Mahatma Gandhi murder case.

## 81. In the Lok Sabha: Grants to Art<sup>216</sup>

प्रधान मन्त्री सहायता कोश

श्री यादव :<sup>217</sup> क्या प्रधान मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) “लोक नृत्यों की रामायण” के लिए प्रधान मन्त्री सहायता कोष से कुछ राशि दी गयी थी, और

(ख) यदि हाँ, तो कुल कितनी राशि दी गयी ?

प्रधान मन्त्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मन्त्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : (क) और (ख) : नयी दिल्ली के भारतीय कला केन्द्र को रामलीला नृत्य-नाट्य (बैले) का प्रदर्शन करने के लिए “प्रधान मन्त्री कोश - लोक कला उत्थान” (प्राइम मिनिस्टर्स फ़ण्ड - प्रोमोशन ऑफ़ फ़ोक आर्ट) से (प्रधान मन्त्री राष्ट्रीय सहायता कोश से नहीं) 50,000 रुपये की राशि दी गयी थी। यह रकम अगस्त 1957 और जुलाई 1958 में पच्चीस-पच्चीस हजार रुपयों की दो क्रिस्तों में दी गयी थी।

[Translation begins:

Prime Minister's Relief Fund

Shri Yadav:<sup>218</sup> Will the Honourable Prime Minister please provide the information that :

(a) Whether some money was given to “Lok Nrityon ki Ramayan” out of The Prime Minister's Relief Fund, and

(b) If such was the case then what was the amount given?

Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru) : (a) and (b) : An amount of Rupees 50,000 was given to Bharatiya Kala Kendra, New Delhi for the performance of Ram Lila Dance Drama (ballet) out of The Prime Minister's Fund - Promotion of Folk Art (not The Prime Minister's National Relief Fund). This amount was given in two instalments of Rupees Twenty-five thousand each in August 1957 and July 1958.

Translation ends]

216. Reply to a question, 6 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVII, col. 4817.

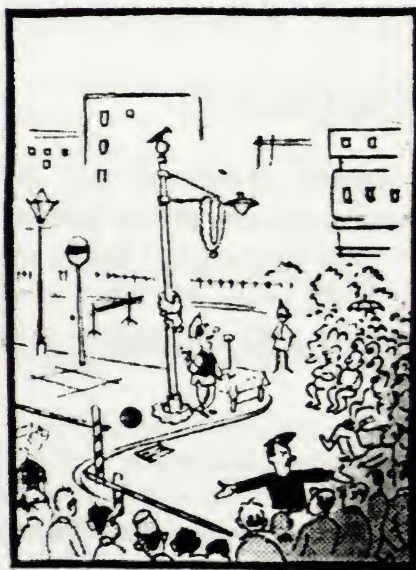
217. It is not indicated in the Lok Sabha records which one of the two—Ram Sewak Yadav (Socialist MP from Barabanki-SC, UP) or Ramrao Narayanrao Yadav (Congress MP from Parbhani, Bombay)—had asked this question.

218. See fn 217 in this section.



# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*It gives me great pleasure to inaugurate this new lamppost here....*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 20 MARCH 1959)

## 82. To S.K. Patil: Inauguration Cuts into Work<sup>219</sup>

March 6, 1959

My dear SK,

Your letter of the 6th March in which you suggest a meeting of the Transport Development Council and ask me to inaugurate it. Do you not think that I am rather over-doing this business of inauguration of conferences, etc.? I feel so. Your conference is strictly a business conference, not some kind of a public meeting. It should remain on the business level.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

219. Letter to the Union Minister of Transport and Communication.

### 83. To Vishnu Sahay: Irritation with Ex-post-facto Approvals<sup>220</sup>

I should like to know why this note has been put up at this very late stage.<sup>221</sup> The selected candidates left India for Austria on the 16th July, 1958 and 25th September, 1958. It seems to me rather extraordinary that this note should be put up now, six or seven months after this happened. There is no particular point in putting up such notes. I can understand some urgent cases where it is not possible to get prior permission, but for ex-post-facto approval to be sought after seven months, must surely be unique.

### 84. To B.C. Roy: Pension Delayed<sup>222</sup>

March 6, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

I am writing to you about the case of Major R.L. Mukerjee, retired Sub-Deputy Magistrate. It is stated that he retired from service on February 11, 1955, and that his pension case has been pending since then with the West Bengal Government. When this matter came to us, a reference was made to the West Bengal Government. Several reminders have been sent and two letters were written by my P.P.S. to your Chief Secretary, on December 24, 1958 and January 30, 1959. No reply of any kind has come.

Apart from R.L. Mukerjee's case, it is odd that letter after letter from my Secretariat addressed to the West Bengal Government should remain unanswered. May I beg of you to look into this matter? I have a feeling that if letters from the Prime Minister's Secretariat are ignored, probably other people may suffer a worse fate.

May I also remind you of a letter I wrote about Mihir Sen, the Channel Swimmer, some days ago?

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

220. Note, 6 March 1959.

221. The note by the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs was regarding offer of two scholarships by the Government of Austria for 1958-59.

222. Letter.



## 85. To Onkar Nath: Resigning from Trust<sup>223</sup>

New Delhi  
March 7, 1959

My dear Onkar Nath,<sup>224</sup>

You know that various questions have been asked in Parliament about Ministers being Trustees. I think that I should, wherever possible, give up my association with any Trust. I believe I am still Chairman of the Satyavati Trust. I should like to resign from that Chairmanship. Please take the necessary steps.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 86. To Vishnu Sahay: No Overruling the UPSC<sup>225</sup>

I suppose that in the circumstances it is not necessary to go to the U.P.S.C. again and ask them to revise their previous opinion. You might explain this to Professor Mahalanobis,<sup>226</sup> telling him that we have tried our utmost to get the U.P.S.C. to revise their opinion and have not succeeded. For Government to overrule them now would mean a reference to Parliament and discussion there. This matter will be treated as a controversial issue and the Government as well as the individuals concerned will be criticised in Parliament. We would rather not adopt this course. In fact it is only very rarely that we overrule the U.P.S.C. even though we disagree with them.

223. Letter. File No. 9/37/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

224. (1904-1971); Congressman from Delhi; associated with Delhi PCC as president, secretary and treasurer; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-55 and 1956-60.

225. Note, 11 March 1959.

226. Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta; Member, Planning Commission.

## 87. To L. Achaw Singh: IFS (B) Rules<sup>227</sup>

March 13, 1959

Dear Shri Achaw Singh,

I have your letter of the 9th March 1959, enquiring whether I have any objection to the publication of the correspondence exchanged between us on the subject of I.F.S. (B) etc.<sup>228</sup>

I have no objection to the release for publication of this correspondence. It should be clearly understood, however, that my agreement to such publication does not absolve you from the legal consequences, if any, arising out of such publication. As you may recall, your letter contains allegations against certain individual officers of this Ministry by name. The allegations made in this regard to certain appointments to the I.F.S. (B) had been enquired into and I had sent you a long note on the subject with my letter No. 715-PMH/58 dated 26 March 1958. This note should have satisfied you that no special favour had been extended to any particular individual.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 88. To K. Ram: Misusing Nehru's Name<sup>229</sup>

I am surprised to see this. I have certainly not agreed to this and I am wholly opposed to any such move.<sup>230</sup> You should write to the Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha,<sup>231</sup> and to the Deputy Minister of Labour.<sup>232</sup> You should also write to the so-called Souvenir Editor and tell him that this kind of approach is objectionable and I entirely disapprove of it.

227. Letter to L. Achaw Singh, Socialist Party, Lok Sabha MP from Inner Manipur.

228. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 315-316 and 320-321.

229. Note, 19 March 1959.

230. This refers to Jawahar Jubilee Celebrations Souvenir.

231. S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao.

232. Abid Ali.



2. I think you might also send brief letters to the persons named, that is, Shri Sri Prakasa, Shri H. P. Mody and Shri K. M. Munshi, telling them that their names have been used by this gentleman without my permission and I hope they will have nothing to do with this proposal.

3. If necessity arises, we may have to say something in the press about it.

## 89. To Krishna Hutheesing: Visit to Indonesia<sup>233</sup>

March 19, 1959

[Dear Betti],<sup>234</sup>

I have just received your letter of the 18th March. If President Soekarno has invited you and Raja<sup>235</sup> to visit him in Indonesia, this is entirely on a private basis and Government is in no way involved in a private invitation. Also there is no question of any objection being raised on the part of a Government to such a private invitation.

[Yours,  
Jawahar ]

## 90. To S. Dutt: Palitana's Objectionable Behaviour<sup>236</sup>

I agree with the proposed reply. I think, however, that our Embassy should be informed of the antecedents of the Palitana<sup>237</sup> people and of Gennaro Ottieri<sup>238</sup> and, more especially, that Gennaro Ottieri and his Secretary were convicted in India for illegal activities. (It is not clear what the punishment was). It might be desirable for our Embassy informally to inform the Italian authorities of this, though I presume they know this already.

2. I agree with the Home Minister that it would be desirable to take some action against the Ruler of Palitana.<sup>239</sup> Even before any particular action is

233. Letter to Krishna Hutheesing.

234. Krishna, the younger of Nehru's two sisters, was affectionately called Betti or Betty.

235. G.P. Hutheesing, husband of Krishna Huthseeing.

236. Note, 20 March 1959.

237. A city in Gujarat.

238. Seeta Kumari of Palitana was married to Gennaro Ottieri, son of an Italian industrialist, according to the *Straits Times* of 7 October 1957. See also SWJN/SS/45/pp. 480, 482.

239. Bahadursinhji Mansinhji.

taken, a letter might be sent to him by the Home Ministry expressing our displeasure at his various activities and ostentatious living and expenditure abroad. The fact that some Italian provided him with the funds adds to the discredit.

### 91. To MEA: Training IFS Probationers<sup>240</sup>

The other day I met some of the I. F.S. probationers. In the course of our talk, they mentioned that they could not profit by the rather vague contact with the School of International Studies in Delhi. If this contact could be closer, they would be able to derive much greater advantage from it. There was a good library, there were good lecturers, and they could meet foreign students there. Also, they could begin the study of foreign languages. As it is, they start learning their languages at a much later stage. If they knew something of these languages before they leave India, it would be easy to make progress later.

2. It seems to me that what they said, deserve consideration.

### 92. To B. Shiva Rao: Pensions and Pay Commission<sup>241</sup>

March 21, 1959

My dear Shiva Rao,  
Your letter of March 18.

It is true that the procedure relating to pensions etc. is not directly connected with any enhancement in pay or emoluments. Still perhaps it would be as well to consider the whole thing together. In any event, as the matter has actually been referred to the Pay Commission, it would not be appropriate to by-pass them now, more especially when the Pay Commission is expected to report before long.<sup>242</sup> But, it should be possible to give effect to your other suggestion, that is, to send copies of the Vishnu Sahay Committee's Report to the State Governments.

240. Note to N. R. Pillai, SG; Subimal Dutt, FS; M. J. Desai, CS; and B. N. Chakravarty, SS, 20 March 1959.

241. Letter to B. Shiva Rao, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Mysore.

242. Second Central Pay Commission, set up in August 1959, submitted its report to GOI on 24 August 1959 and its recommendations were accepted on 2 August 1960.



As for your second point, I am anxious that the Staff Councils should function.<sup>243</sup> I shall gladly address them at a joint meeting and try to help them in such ways as are possible.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 93. To Vishnu Sahay: Pensions and Pay Commission<sup>244</sup>

Please see my letter to Shri Shiva Rao.

2. On the whole, perhaps it is advisable to wait for the Pay Commission's Report before making any major changes in the rules governing pensions. But I do not myself see why, without making any fuss or announcement, such improvements as can be made in the meantime, should not be made. In any event, it would be desirable for you to send copies of your Committee's report to the State Governments, as suggested by Shri Shiva Rao.

3. As for the Staff Councils, I have an impression that progress is slow. I should like to go into this matter later a little more thoroughly. I am agreeable to addressing the new Staff Councils at a joint meeting, and you may let this be known.

### 94. To Sampurnanand<sup>245</sup>

21st March 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

Your letter of March 20th about members of foreign embassies going about and meeting people all over the country. I do not like this kind of thing. I am enquiring as to what the practices and conventions are.<sup>246</sup>

I have your other letter also in which you suggest that Ministers incharge of Cooperation should meet before the NDC meeting. For this purpose you suggest that the NDC meeting might be postponed to April 15th to 18th.

243. See SWJN/SS/46/p. 363.

244. Note, 21 March 1959.

245. File No. 17(18)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

246. Nehru inquired from the Secretary General and the Foreign Secretary on the same day: "I do not myself like the idea of members of foreign Missions running about in India and not only seeing our officials but opposition leaders. What is supposed to be the right practice or convention in this matter?"

## II. POLITICS

I am afraid it will not be feasible at all to postpone the NDC meeting. It has already been postponed once. Now all kinds of programmes have been made and they cannot all be upset afresh. I shall myself be away from April 14th to April 18th.

Also, I do not think a day's meeting of Ministers incharge of Cooperation will produce any bright results. We here have been spending days and days in considering it in all its aspects. The Congress President also has appointed a committee for the purpose and this committee consists of rather high-class economists and others such as Professor D. R. Gadgil,<sup>247</sup> Vaikunth Mehta,<sup>248</sup> etc.

What is required is for each Government to study this matter thoroughly and not merely have vague ideas. I am afraid many of our Ministers have the vaguest of ideas, and as for the Registrars of Cooperative Societies etc., I have come to the conclusion that they are the greatest obstruction to the spread of cooperation in India.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 95. To Satya Narayan Sinha: On Kansari Halder<sup>249</sup>

23 March 1959

My dear Satya Narayan,

K. Halder, MP,<sup>250</sup> wrote a letter to me about a certain matter from 13-D, Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi. When I tried to contact him at that address, I was informed that he did not live there. It has struck me that perhaps this house is allotted to him, but he has let it out to someone else. I think we should enquire into this matter. If there has been a case of letting out, we should take action.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

247. Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.

248. Vaikunth L. Mehta, Chairman, All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission.

249. Letter to Satya Narayan Sinha, Congressman from Bihar and Union Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.

250. Kansari Halder, CPI Lok Sabha MP from Mathurapur-SC, West Bengal; involved in the Kakdwip uprising of 1949-50; sentenced to life imprisonment by the Special Tribunal Alipur, 1960, while underground; released by the Calcutta High Court in 1962. See also SWJN/SS/39/pp. 423-429.



## 96. To G.B. Pant: Security Arrangements for the Prime Minister<sup>251</sup>

I am sorry to have to write about this matter again. I am often rather troubled about the manner these security arrangements are carried out. Recently, during the course of a visit to Bombay,<sup>252</sup> I was much distressed by the way the entire life of this great city was interrupted and the great inconvenience caused to a large number of people, because of my visit there. Many people complained to me also. Even Lady Mountbatten, who happened to be in Bombay and staying in Raj Bhavan, was held up for a long time on her way to Raj Bhavan simply because I was expected to pass that way. I heard that many cars and buses full of passengers were held up for certainly more than half an hour and possibly almost an hour in some places. Indeed, I saw many hundreds of cars standing by because the traffic had been stopped. There were scores of buses carrying people back from their offices and one can imagine the inconvenience and resentment caused by this hold-up.

2. That evening in Bombay I complained of this and insisted that there should be no stoppage of traffic at all even for a few minutes, because of my having to pass along a certain route. The Bombay authorities agreed to this and so the next day I carried out a heavy programme without any stoppage of traffic or fuss. The result was eminently satisfactory both for me and the general public.

3. I have always recognised the need for security arrangements and have tried to adapt myself to them. But overdoing security actually leads to more insecurity, apart from the public resentment caused. The essence of security should be unobtrusiveness and non-interference with normal life. I have some experience of great cities in other parts of the world and nowhere have I found this excess of arrangements for myself or for other Heads of States and Governments as I find in India. In a great city traffic is never stopped, except on very special occasions like the Coronation in London. Even then traffic is not stopped, but re-arranged because of the vast crowds that come. In India the tradition still holds of Viceregal times. This is totally inappropriate in the present day when the essence of public life is to come into contact with the public and not to inconvenience it.

4. Often when I have complained to local authorities while I am touring, I am told that they have to carry out the instructions issued from the Centre.

251. Note, 25 March 1959. Copied to B. N. Mullik, DIB, and G. C. Dutt, Deputy Director, IB.

252. Nehru visited Bombay, 9-11 March 1959, accompanied by Edwina and Pamela Mountbatten. See items 8 and 176.

When I complain to the Centre, I am told that this is largely the fault of the local authorities who overdo things. I think, therefore, that in such matters very explicit instructions should be sent to avoid any doubt. I have read through the rules and instructions issued for security arrangements when I am on tour. There are a number of things in

these instructions which I think can be and should be changed. But for the present I am referring to only some important matters:

- (1) On no account should the traffic of a city be stopped even for a minute. In a large city the whole life of the people is affected thereby and very great inconvenience caused. From the security point of view this is all wrong because special attention is drawn to my passage.
- (2) As a consequence of this or following this, streets should not be lined with the police. Only at cross roads and in a particularly congested place should extra police be placed.
- (3) There is no possibility of hundred per cent security where one may have to deal with an odd individual who may be mad or aim at mischief. General precautions are of course necessary for this purpose, but ultimately it is the wide-awakeness of a few persons round about me which can guard against this. To lay down special routes and line them with policemen and others is essentially to lessen security.
- (4) What I have said above in regard to great cities applies to some extent in country tours by car. It is wholly unnecessary and undesirable to line up long stretches of roads with policemen or guards. This is a Viceregal tradition and not the custom anywhere.

When Prince Philip was recently in Bombay, he objected strongly to these special precautions and even insisted on the motor-cycle outriders being removed, which was done at his instance.<sup>253</sup>

- (5) As for the cars etc. accompanying me, in a city it is not necessary for a warning car to go ahead. In fact the warning car is only necessary where the street is cleared and traffic suspended. If traffic continues then the warning car becomes completely useless. A pilot car, however, may be used and will occasionally be useful. It will be not far from my car. There may also be an escort car just behind my car and usually, in big cities outside Delhi, two motor-cycle outriders. This is the most that is necessary.
- (6) In Delhi, a difference is made between New Delhi and Old Delhi. I do not think that this different treatment is desirable. It is quite enough in

253. For Duke of Edinburgh's visit to India, see SWJN/SS/46/pp. 601-604.



Old Delhi, as in New Delhi, for a motor-cycle outrider to go just ahead of my car and an escort car. Of course there should be no clearance of roads or stoppage of traffic. At the most another motor-cycle outrider can be added.

- (7) On country roads there should only be a pilot car and an escort car—no cycle outriders. In fact, wherever possible, I would prefer the pilot car to go far ahead of me because otherwise I suffer the dust from it.
  - (8) On no account should a truck full of uniformed or un-uniformed men follow me either in a country tour or in a city.
  - (9) As stated in the rules, every attempt should be made to avoid a big convoy accompanying me either in a city or a country road.
  - (10) I have often found very large numbers of policemen, both uniformed or un-uniformed, at public meetings. No doubt law and order arrangements require a number of policemen but this seems to be very much overdone. I have even noticed at countryside gatherings which are relatively small, literally hundreds of police-men roundabout. At such gatherings no extra police are necessary at all except a very few from the point of view of keeping order. The question of security should not come into the picture. This will be looked after by the persons travelling with me.
  - (11) In my house the arrangements appear to me somewhat overdone. But, in any event, it seems quite wrong for people to pursue me when I am even walking about in my garden. There are several rows of security men all over the garden. They should remain in their places and no one should pursue me in this way.
5. I have just indicated a few points here and have not tried to revise the set of rules. I have not referred to railway travelling at all because I seldom go by railways and air travelling is relatively simpler.
6. The particular points I wish to stress now are:
- (1) Traffic should never be suspended or stopped whether in a city or in the countryside.
  - (2) There should not be any route-lining.
  - (3) It is not necessary for both a warning and a pilot car to go ahead of me. One car is enough on country roads. In cities normally two motor-cycle outriders are enough and there should not be any warning or pilot car. If, however, it is considered necessary, in some places there can be a pilot car.
  - (4) Large numbers of members of the police force should not be collected anywhere. I find that my touring usually involves a great deal of expenditure for the State Government, chiefly because of

the transport of large numbers of policemen. This is not right from either the personal or the public point of view. Local police should be adequate plus the few who accompany me.

(5) In Old Delhi the same arrangements should be made as in New Delhi.

7. I should like to add that I have no complaint to make against the Security Officers who accompany me. They have always been courteous and helpful, but they themselves have told me, when I complain, that they are helpless because of the arrangements made by the State authorities.

8. I should like these simple instructions indicated above to be issued immediately to the States as well as to the Delhi authorities.<sup>254</sup> I shall be going to Bikaner and Suratgarh Farm etc. on the 1st April. On the 6th and 7th I shall be in Allahabad District. On the 13th April I am going to Mayapur in Hardwar. From the 14th to the 17th I go to Madras State. On the 18th April I shall be visiting Nagpur, Wardha and Yeotmal in the Bombay State.

### 97. To Fathema Ismail: Help to Differently Enabled<sup>255</sup>

March 26, 1959

Dear Fathema,<sup>256</sup>

Indira has shown me your letter of the 16th March.<sup>257</sup> We should like to help Sherally Mohomed. But it is not quite clear to me from your letter what exactly is wanted. Red tape could be got over and I hope he would be able to go abroad. Will you tell me exactly where he wants to go to? Apparently he wants to perform the Haj pilgrimage. Does he want to go to any other place?

You say that he does not require any money but that should any need arises, he might be helped. I am prepared to help him. But some kind of indication should be given to me as to what help might be necessary. Our Missions abroad can hardly be told to help him to any extent. In fact any help given to him will

254. On the same day Nehru wrote to Mohanlal Sukhadia, Sampurnanand, and Y. B. Chavan about these instructions.

255. Letter.

256. (1903-1987); President, Fellowship of the Physically Handicapped; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1978-87.

257. Fathema Ismail had requested Nehru through Indira Gandhi to help Sherally Mohomed, a founding member of the Fellowship of the Physically Handicapped and himself differently enabled, to get a passport. Fathema asked whether Nehru could instruct Indian missions to "to help him should the need ever arise."



have to be from sources other than governmental. Within reason, I am prepared to arrange for this. But I must understand exactly what this amount might be.

Then there is the question of the travelling companion. Presumably, here also there is no question of money involved, but some kind of a financial guarantor for the companion is needed. Is it not possible for you to get a guarantor? Anyhow, please let me know what exactly you expect us to do in the matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 98. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Answering Auditors<sup>258</sup>

March 27, 1959

[My dear High Commissioner],

The Comptroller & Auditor-General has been writing to our Ministry repeatedly about some amounts which, according to him, are due from you. As he has again sent a reminder, I have looked through the papers. I find that on the 9th December 1958, Mathai wrote to you giving particulars. On February 25, 1959, N. R. Pillai wrote to you on the same subject. Will you please look into this matter rather urgently as the Auditor-General is likely to mention it in his report to the Parliament?<sup>259</sup>

[Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru]

258. Letter to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's High Commissioner to the UK.

259. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit replied on 6 April 1959: "Your letter of March 27th regarding the Comptroller and Auditor-General's reminders to the Ministry. Actually I had sent a reply to Mathai but it must have got there just about the time of his resignation and so did not reach him.

Immediately I heard from NR I looked into the matter again and this time I regret to say the fault lies with my office where somehow my reply got hung up. All the outstandings have been paid and one or two small items which I wish the Ministry to reconsider have been mentioned by me in my letter to NR."

**99. To D.P. Karmarkar: AIIMS Politics<sup>260</sup>**

March 28, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

You will remember my speaking to you about Professor Duraiswami<sup>261</sup> some time ago. I sent you a copy of a letter I had written to Dr. Jivraj Mehta<sup>262</sup> on February 8.<sup>263</sup> In this letter I had suggested to Jivraj Mehta that Duraiswami should be allowed to continue in the Institute for the present and for some time to come, say for three years, without having to decide to leave Government service. I had stated that with all the unfortunate tensions that had arisen in the Institute, any final decision about this at this stage would not be desirable.

Subsequently, Jivraj Mehta came to see me and I repeated this advice though I said the period might be lessened. He did not quite like what I said. I made it clear to him that the way Duraiswami had been treated in the Institute had not been fair and did not rebound to the credit of the Institute.

Now I understand that he has received another letter from Dixit, the Director of the Institute<sup>264</sup> telling him that the Institute has extended the time for him to exercise his option for service of the Government or of the Institute up to the 30th April 1959. Duraiswami seeks my advice (I have not seen him in this connection). He is prepared to abide by my advice, but his apprehension is that if he opts for service in the Institute, he would have no lien in Government service and he will thus be completely at the mercy of the Institute and the Director with whom his relations are none too good.

260. Letter to Union Minister of State for Health. File No. 2 (280)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

261. Dr. P.K. Duraiswami, orthopaedic surgeon and Head, Department of Surgery, AIIMS, 1956-59.

262. Minister in the Government of Bombay and Member of the Governing Body of the AIIMS.

263. For Nehru's letter to Mehta, see SWJN/SS/46/pp. 392-394.

264. Dr. B.B. Dixit, Physician, specialist in pharmacology and physiology, and Director, AIIMS, New Delhi.



What do you advise? I am convinced that Duraiswami is a man of high ability. In fact, Sir Harry Platt<sup>265</sup> spoke in the highest terms of his ability to me. I would not like him to be left in the lurch. That would be a loss to us.

Perhaps you might speak to me about this matter.<sup>266</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **100. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Engineers, not Bureaucrats, to run Engineering Projects<sup>267</sup>**

March 30, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,

My attention has been drawn to the Heavy Engineering Corporation which was formed, I believe, by your Ministry some time ago.<sup>268</sup> This is one of our major and very vital projects on which depends the growth of the engineering industry in India. It has been pointed out to me that the Members of the Board are mostly non-engineers; in fact many of them are Deputy Secretaries and the like. A project of this kind, surely, requires high class engineers or, at any rate, a majority of them. Nagraj Rao is, I think, the Chairman.<sup>269</sup> He is an able man and a good chemist. Presumably he is not an engineer. I imagine that if private industry had started some such type of corporation, they would have selected high class engineers and especially one such for the post of Managing Director.

We are too much in the rut in appointing people in our Secretariat to do specialised work for which they have no special training. Apart from the fact that they are normally busy with their own duties in the Secretariat, they have no special aptitude for specialised work.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

265. Well known British orthopaedic surgeon.

266. See also SWJN /SS/44/pp. 358-361.

267. Letter to the Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

268. In 1958 at Ranchi.

269. Dr A. Nagraj Rao, Chairman, HEC, January 1959-April 1964.

## (d) Social Groups

**101. To M.J. Desai: Refugees from East Pakistan<sup>270</sup>**

I shall discuss this matter with the Minister of Rehabilitation<sup>271</sup> whom I am seeing on the 6th of March.

2. Meanwhile, you can ask for further information, as suggested in your note,<sup>272</sup> from the West Bengal Government.

3. Those people who have actually migrated to India, will have to be helped by us. What I wanted to avoid was a public notification to this effect.

4. We have often had cases of our fishers or boatmen being kidnapped by Pakistanis because they were said to cross over to the Pakistan side of the river. This seems to me an absurd argument to advance. A river should have free transit anyhow, even though the technical boundary be in the middle of it. No boat can keep exactly on one side of the middle of the river as currents may force it to go this side or that side. Most boats travel in the middle of the river.

5. Recently, a large shipment of jute was confiscated by Pakistan.<sup>273</sup> I do not at all like this kind of thing happening again and again. Is it not possible to give our fishers and others greater protection? I think this matter should be investigated. We could have a steam launch in some parts of the river, mainly for the purpose of giving protection.

**102. To B.C. Roy: Refugees from East Pakistan<sup>274</sup>**

March 7, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of the 1st March about demarcation of the mid-stream boundary between Murshidabad and Rajshahi districts according to the Bagge Award.<sup>275</sup>

270. Note, 4 March 1959. File No: 4 (19)-Pak-III/59, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

271. Mehr Chand Khanna.

272. M.J.Desai's note of 4 March had suggested that the "West Bengal Government should give a sketch indicating the present position regarding control of both sides of the Ganga," and wanted the State Government to explain why they could not "enforce the right of the Indian fishermen to fish in our half of the river Ganga, giving them police protection where necessary."

273. In November 1958. See item 202.

274. Letter.

275. See Appendix 4.



In this, as in like cases, I think it will not be desirable for us to make any statement undertaking the responsibility for rehabilitation of all those persons who might be displaced. Nor should we open any relief camps for the purpose as we used to do previously in connection with displaced persons from East Pakistan. If we do that we shall get entangled in difficult operations which may go on indefinitely. We should, however, give relief where it is considered absolutely necessary.

We can certainly approach the Pakistan Government to allow these fishermen to continue to fish in that area. But I agree with you that it is unlikely that Pakistan will agree to any such proposal. The question of fishermen is more difficult than others. The only real way to help them is to find some sites where they can fish. Where there are any Government fisheries, we might try to put these people there. I do not see how they can be accommodated at Dandakaranya.<sup>276</sup> So far as I know, there are no fisheries there.

My anxiety is that we should not do anything which encourages people to migrate to India because of the consequences of the Bagge Award. If we proclaim that they will be given the normal refugee rehabilitation benefits, this will be an immediate inducement to them to migrate and they will suffer a great deal by this. I realise that many of them may migrate and we shall not be able to leave them unhelped.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 103. To G.B. Pant and A.K.Sen: Regulating Religious Organisations<sup>277</sup>

You will remember that the question of regulating religious organisations mutts, etc. came up before the Cabinet some time ago and I think we decided that any legislation that we might put forward should be as simple as possible.<sup>278</sup> In effect it should, to begin with, deal with the funds collected by these organisations and protect them and see that they are used for right purposes. Where there is a trust, they should be used in terms of the trust. That is, these funds should not be considered private funds of the Mahant or the head of the

276. For details of the scheme, see SWJN/SS/ 46/p. 13.

277. Note, Bhilwara, 8 March 1959.

278. On 20 January 1959.

organisation, and secondly, they should be properly audited, inspected, etc.

2. I should like to know how this matter stands now. I hope that steps will be taken soon in accordance with our decision.

3. Coming here to Rajasthan, I hear numerous complaints about the way these Mahants etc. are using funds for their private purpose.<sup>279</sup> Also, it is becoming a habit for these Mahants to marry and consider these funds as private property to be inherited.

4. I hope you will please expedite this matter.

### 104. To Bajrang Bahadur Singh of Bhadri: Muslims and Refugees<sup>280</sup>

March 14, 1959.

My dear Bhadri,

The Congress President<sup>281</sup> has forwarded to me a copy of a letter sent by Shri Lalit Sen to your Secretary, dated the 26th February, 1959. This letter deals with the case of some Muslims in Sundarnagar (Suket) who have been served with notices to leave for Pakistan. A list of these Muslims who have been served with notices under the Foreigners Act 1946 has also been sent to me.

I should like to have some detailed information about this matter, and I hope that no action will be taken in regard to them till a further consideration has been given to it. The mere fact that the Muslims are not Indian citizens does not necessarily mean that they have to be sent out of the Indian Union. There are many foreigners living in India. As to whether these Muslims are Indian citizens or not, is a further matter for consideration, but, as I have said above, even if they are not Indian citizens, action should not be taken where there is some special reason in individual cases.

Please, therefore, suspend any action in regard to these Muslims and have full particulars sent to me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

279. For example, Tikayat Govindlalje of Nathdwara temple in Rajasthan had secured an interim injunction from the Rajasthan High Court on 2 March 1959 that he alone be entitled to the ritual offerings at the temple and to manage temple property.

280. Letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Himachal Pradesh.

281. Indira Gandhi.



**105. To B.C. Roy: Refugees from East Pakistan<sup>282</sup>**

March 16, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of the 12th March about the fisherman who are said to have been displaced in the Murshidabad District.<sup>283</sup> We shall certainly write to Pakistan on this subject, but, as you say, there is little hope of their being helpful.

Meanwhile I learn from your Chief Secretary<sup>284</sup> that the figure of displaced fishermen is greatly exaggerated. In your letter you mention that there are 60,000 fishermen who have been displaced. In other accounts, it has been stated that 14,000 fishermen families have been displaced. Your Chief Secretary told us on the telephone that these figures are greatly exaggerated and that the entire region does not have so many fishermen families.

I am waiting for further information from your Government.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**106. To Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: Refugees from East Pakistan<sup>285</sup>**

March 17, 1959

My dear Tridib Kumarji,

Your letter of the 15th March about the plight of refugee fishermen in the district of Murshidabad.<sup>286</sup> I am enquiring into this matter. I understand that the actual numbers involved are very much less than those mentioned by you, I hope to have correct figures soon.

We are taking this question up with the Pakistan Government. I agree with you that it would only be fair for the suggestions you have made to be accepted.

282. Letter.

283. See Appendix 11.

284. S.N. Ray.

285. Letter to Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri, RSP, Lok Sabha MP from Behrampur, West Bengal.

286. See Appendix 13.

We shall put them to the Pakistan Government. But you know that we can seldom expect logic or reason from the Pakistan Government.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**107. To Mehr Chand Khanna: No East Delhi Refugees in Delhi<sup>287</sup>**

March 20, 1959

My dear Mehr Chand,

I find that an old letter from you dated February 19 has not yet been acknowledged. I am sorry.

You wrote to me about the demand for establishing a colony for displaced persons from East Pakistan near Delhi. I must say that I react strongly against this. I think we have already gone too far in establishing colonies round Delhi. At any rate, there was some justification for colonies for people coming from West Pakistan. There is none for East Pakistan refugees to be brought here for this purpose. We have been refusing land round about Delhi to political sufferers and the like. How then can we justify a new colony?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**108. To Bajrang Bahadur Singh of Bhadri: Refugees and Muslims<sup>288</sup>**

March 21, 1959

My dear Bhadri,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th March about the cases of some Muslims who had been asked to leave India. As you are having these cases examined afresh, I have nothing further to say. I should like, however, each case to be considered fully and separately, and then you can come to such decision as you

287. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs.

288. Letter.



think is right. I am not always satisfied at odd police reports which sometimes emanate from persons who have no judgment.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 109. To B.C. Roy: Refugees from East Pakistan<sup>289</sup>

21st March, 1959

My dear Bidhan

Your letter of March 19th about persons from the Murshidabad area.<sup>290</sup> I have already written to you on this subject. We do not even yet know how many people are affected. Nor do I understand why a person should run away from his land or profession because of some political change. This is a very bad principle for us to accept.

I am quite clear that there is no question of compensation involved in this and we should not encourage this idea. Helping hard cases is another matter. Obviously, if we give it out that help will be given to all persons who come away, everybody will do so.<sup>291</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 110. To B.C. Roy: Refugees from East Pakistan<sup>292</sup>

March 26, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of March 23.<sup>293</sup> We had previously heard from your Chief Secretary and today I answered a short notice question in Parliament on this subject.<sup>294</sup>

289. Letter.

290. See Appendix 17.

291. Letter copied to M. J. Desai.

292. Letter.

293. See Appendix 21.

294. See item 212.

We have already written to the Pakistan Government on this subject and our High Commissioner, Rajeshwar Dayal, who is here now and is returning to Pakistan very soon, will himself talk to General Ayub Khan on the subject.<sup>295</sup> I think that there is some possibility of a suitable arrangement being arrived at with Pakistan to allow these fishermen to function.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 111. To K. Ram: Refugees in Delhi<sup>296</sup>

You may inform them that we have given a great deal of consideration to this matter and whatever was possible has been done.<sup>297</sup> I regret nothing more can be done. The demands made<sup>298</sup> cover such a wide field that it is not possible to do anything in regard to them. They must realise that with all our sympathy for the displaced persons and our desire to help them, we cannot do anything which injures large numbers of other people. A recent census taken in Delhi indicated that the lot of the displaced persons in Delhi is relatively better than that of the older residents of Delhi.

### (e) Language

### 112. In Bombay: Speech<sup>299</sup>

Nehru pulls up Hindi Enthusiast

Bombay, 9 March.

Prime Minister Nehru today rebuked Hindi enthusiasts who, without knowing either science or technology, insisted on finding a Hindi equivalent to each and every scientific and technological term.

295. Rajeshwar Dayal met Ayub Khan on 1 April and reported to Nehru on 2 April the gist of his talk. See SWJN/SS/48/Appendix 6.

296. Note, 28 March 1959.

297. This refers to the difficulties expressed by the Delhi Refugee United Front.

298. *The Times of India* reported on 13 March 1959 that a deputation of the Delhi Refugee United Front led by Amir Chand Mehra had met Nehru on 12 March to have the eviction notices served on them by the Rehabilitation Ministry withdrawn.

299. Report of speech, Bombay, 9 March 1959. From the *National Herald*, 11 March 1959. On this occasion, he also spoke about slum conditions, see item 130.



Pandit Nehru was laying the foundation stone of the proposed theatre-cum-museum which would have an artificial planetarium with a revolving copper dome.

Seemingly annoyed when Bombay's Social Welfare Minister, Mr. N.K. Tirpude,<sup>300</sup> used the term "Kritrima Nabho Mandal" for "artificial planetarium", Pandit Nehru asked the Minister to repeat the Hindi phrase.

Even after the repetition Pandit Nehru could not catch it and Mr. Y.B. Chavan, Chief Minister, tried to explain it to him.

In his speech later, the Prime Minister referred to this and said that coining Hindi words for all scientific and technological terms was "dangerous". Science and technology were developing day by day and we must adopt these terms without trying to change them. By trying to translate these modern terms one did injustice to the language as well as to science he said.<sup>301</sup>

### 113. At Marathi Library: Language and Literacy<sup>302</sup>

बहनो और भाइयो,

आज आपने मुझे यहाँ बुलाया, और मालूम नहीं किस हैसियत से बुलाया। जो हैसियत मुझे इस बारे में ठीक मालूम होती है, वो प्रधान मन्त्री की हैसियत नहीं, लेकिन साहित्य अकादेमी का मैं अध्यक्ष हूँ, वो हैसियत ठीक है और साहित्य अकादेमी में काम करने से कुछ-न-कुछ मेरे सामने जो हमारे देश के अलग-अलग महान साहित्य हैं वो आते रहते हैं और मैं देखता हूँ कि कितनी उन्नति हो रही है हमारे देश में, अलग-अलग भाषाओं की। अब मैं भाषाओं का एक-दूसरे से मुकाबला तो करूँगा नहीं, क्योंकि अगर करूँ तो किसी को अच्छा लगे, किसी को बुरा लगे। लेकिन यह सब जानते हैं कि मराठी भाषा हमारे देश की भाषाओं में बहुत ज़ोरदार भाषा है (तालियाँ) और आजकल भी बहुत तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ रही है।

आपका यह संग्रहालय पुस्तकों का,<sup>303</sup> मैंने सुना...पहले तो मुझे मालूम नहीं था...सुना कि इसके आरम्भ करने वाले लोगों में बड़े-बड़े महापुरुष थे, लोकमान्य थे, रानाडे थे, गोखले थे,

300. (1919-2002); journalist with *Rashtra Doot*, 1942 and *Arun*, 1943; lawyer in Bhandara, 1945; imprisoned for role in labour disputes, 1949; President, Independent Labour Party, 1952; Deputy Minister, Madhya Pradesh, 1954-56; Minister, Bombay State, 1957; Minister, Maharashtra, 1968-72, 1977-78; General Secretary, Maharashtra PCC, 1972-73; President, Maharashtra PCC (I), 1978; Deputy Chief Minister, Maharashtra, March-July 1978.

301. For discussion on international scientific terms, see also SWJN/SS/44/pp. 540-541.

302. Speech while laying the foundation stone of the building of Mumbai Marathi Granth Sangrahalaya (Marathi Library), Bombay, 10 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

303. This Sangrahalaya was sixty years old and was set up for research into Marathi and promoting the library movement.

जो कि सारे भारत के इतिहास में बड़े आदमी गिने जाते हैं। तो शुरू तो आपने बहुत ज़ोरों से किया और साठ वर्ष की अवस्था भी हो गयी तो ठीक था कि आप ज़रा हाथ-पैर बढ़ाते अपने और नये-नये काम लेते, क्योंकि वो समय आ गया है कि हमारे देश में तेज़ी से हमारी संस्कृति और सभ्यता, यह सब फैले तेज़ी से, ऐसे लोगों में फैले जहाँ पहले नहीं भी थी।

आप जानते हैं कि शिक्षा बहुत तेज़ी से हमारी जनता में, भारत में फैल रही है। तो उसमें बहुत लोग शिकायत करते हैं, अच्छी नहीं, बहुत बुरी है। छोड़ दीजिए वह। वो अपने आप हल्के-हल्के सँभलती जायेगी, लेकिन मोटी बात यह है कि असंख्य लोग नये-नये शिक्षा पा रहे हैं देश में, लड़के-लड़की, सब और उससे असली भारत का रूप बदल रहा है, और भारत का मन बदल रहा है। क्यों? शिक्षा से बदलता है। कितने लोग जिन्होंने कभी, उनके पुरखों ने पढ़ना-लिखना नहीं सीखा था, आजकल लड़के और लड़कियाँ भी स्कूल में और कॉलेज में आते हैं। मैंने कहीं सुना, मुझे ठीक मालूम नहीं कि यह नम्बर ठीक है कि नहीं, कि पिछले वर्ष एक लाख ग्रैजुएट लड़के भारत भर में हुए और पच्चीस हजार, तीस हजार लड़कियाँ। मुझे ठीक मालूम नहीं, सही है कि नहीं, मैंने कह दिया वो, लेकिन अगर तीस हजार नहीं तो बीस हजार लड़कियाँ ज़रूर ग्रैजुएट हुई। तो...और कितने लाखों हाई स्कूल में पढ़ रहे हैं। तो इससे एक बहुत बुनियादी फ़र्क़, अन्तर होता जाता है हमारे जीवन में देश के, इसमें कोई शक नहीं, क्योंकि सबमें बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ शिक्षा होती है और सब चीज़ें ऊपर की हैं। तो वो बड़ी क्रान्ति हमारे देश में हो रही है, सारे देश भर में, सब भाषाओं और पढ़ने-लिखने वाले लोग बहुत बढ़ते जाते हैं। अब भी बहुत हैं, लेकिन और भी बढ़ेंगे, हर भाषा में, मराठी भाषा में बढ़ेंगे। तो उनके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि काफ़ी पुस्तकालय हों, काफ़ी किताबें उन तक पहुँच सकें और मुझे तो इस बात का दुख है, ये काफ़ी नहीं हैं हमारे देश में, बहुत कम हैं, और जो पुस्तकालय हैं वो बहुत छोटे होते हैं, बहुत मामूली होते हैं, और कोई अच्छा संग्रह यह नहीं होता।

आपका यह मराठी पुस्तकालय यहाँ, ये बड़ा है, अच्छा है। तो इसको तो ख़ैर, मज़बूत करना ही है, बढ़ाना है इसे, लेकिन फिर भी मन में विचार होता है, इसे तो महानगरी में जैसे बम्बई है, मोहल्ले-मोहल्ले में होनी चाहिएँ इसकी शाखाएँ। मालूम नहीं, इसकी कोई शाखा है कि नहीं। शाखाएँ होनी चाहिएँ जहाँ किताबें बदलती रहें। एक बड़ा संग्रह हो और अलग-अलग शाखाएँ हों। तो लोगों को पढ़ने का मौक़ा मिले। अब आप देखें हमारा देश, इत्ता बड़ा, पैंतीस-छत्तीस कोटि की आबादी। लेकिन आश्चर्य होता है कितनी कम किताबें यहाँ छपती हैं और कितनी कम पढ़ी जाती हैं। यों तो समाचार-पत्रों में भी जितना यहाँ पढ़ने वाले हैं बहुत कम हैं, और देशों के मुक़ाबले में। क्या बात है? यह नहीं कहा जाये कि लोग बहुत ग़रीब हैं। ग़रीब तो हैं हमारे देश में, लेकिन सिनेमा जाने के लिए ग़रीब नहीं हैं। (तालियाँ) एक सिनेमा में जाने के लिए एक किताब उसकी ले लें तो एक चीज़ हमेशा के लिए उनके पास हो जाये। कुछ आदत हमारे लोगों को नहीं है, यह हमारी दुर्बलता है। उस बात को बढ़ाना है, और बढ़ाना, पढ़ने की बात बढ़ाना, किताबों की, पुस्तकों की, कैसे बढ़े? बहुत तरह से बढ़ सकती



है, लेकिन सब में आसान तरीका तो यह है कि पुस्तकालय हो, वहाँ लोग ले सकें, दे सकें, पढ़ सकें, अधिक-से-अधिक। यूरोप में इसी तरह से बढ़ी। बहुत सारे...वहाँ हर जगह लाइब्रेरी होती है। तो यह सोचने की बात है, क्योंकि कोई देश के रहने वाले अगर काफ़ी किताबें नहीं पढ़ें तो उसमें बहुत सारी खराबियाँ होती हैं। एक तो अगर किताब कोई अधिक बिकती नहीं है, छोटा एडिशन निकलता है तो उसके दाम अधिक होते हैं। दाम अधिक होते हैं तो लोग उसको फिर खरीद नहीं सकते तो और भी कठिन हो जाता है उसका विकना। इसलिए अगर अधिक पढ़ने वाले हों और काफ़ी नम्बर में, गिनती में वो छपे, दाम कम हों और पढ़ें लोग। और अब आप देखें यूरोप में, इंग्लैण्ड में, एक क्रान्ति हो गयी थी किताबें छपने में जब सस्ती किताबें छपने लगीं।

मुझे याद है जब मैं वहाँ यूरोप में पढ़ता था, स्कूल-कॉलेज में तो वही समय था सस्ती किताबें वहाँ निकलने लगी थीं, [...] अच्छी किताबें और उससे बहुत लोगों ने जिन्होंने किताबें कभी खरीदी भी नहीं थीं वे पुस्तकें खरीदने लगे, सस्ती थीं, अच्छी थीं, हल्के-हल्के उनकी लाइब्रेरी बन गयी घर में। अब तो बहुत ऐसी छपती हैं हर जगह। हमारे यहाँ जो किताब छापने वाले हैं उनकी हिम्मत नहीं होती बहुत छापने की, क्योंकि मालूम नहीं बिके या न बिके। थोड़ा-थोड़ा छापते हैं दो हजार, तीन हजार, चार हजार, पाँच हजार कुछ। और उसके दाम भी ज़रा ज़्यादा ही होते हैं और पहुँच भी कम होती है। तो एक पेंच-सा पड़ गया है।

हमने एक बुक ट्रस्ट, जो गवर्नमेंट ऑफ़ इण्डिया ने बनाया है, बुक ट्रस्ट। इसलिए कि उसमें अच्छी किताबें, सस्ती, छपें, काफ़ी गिनती में, तादाद में, बहुत लोग पढ़ें। पुरानी हमारी पुस्तकें भी छपें और नयी भी।<sup>304</sup> मैं आशा करता [हूँ] कुछ करेगी। बुक ट्रस्ट के शायद जहाँ तक मुझे याद है अध्यक्ष हैं श्री चिन्तामणि देशमुखजी।<sup>305</sup> बहुत अच्छे आदमी हैं, बहुत उनको दिलचस्पी है। तो यह बात मैं बहुत ही इसको आवश्यक समझता हूँ—देश में लोगों को किताबों का पढ़ना। जब मैं कहता हूँ किताबों का, पुस्तकों का पढ़ना तो मेरा ध्यान इतना नहीं जाता कि आप कोई जिसको मैं कहूँ हल्की किताबें बहुत पढ़ें। हल्की भी आप पढ़ें, आप उपन्यास पढ़ें, कहानियाँ पढ़ें, ठीक है। लेकिन अच्छा साहित्य पढ़ें तो अच्छा है, चाहे वो उपन्यास हो, चाहे कुछ, क्योंकि उसके पढ़ने से हमारा विचार बनते हैं, हमारा चरित्र बनता है। बहुत बड़ा असर होता है भाषाओं का असर।

भाषाओं के नाम पर हमारे यहाँ कभी-कभी लड़ाइयाँ होती हैं, लेकिन उस भाषा की सेवा सब में बड़ी बात तो यही है कि पढ़ना-लिखना उसको, बजाय लड़ना उसके नाम से। जितने अधिक लोग लिखेंगे, पढ़ेंगे, उसकी सेवा करेंगे, उससे शक्ति बढ़ती [है] और हमें भी लाभ होगा उससे। एक बात मुझसे मेरे एक मित्र कहते थे, अब मुझे ठीक तो याद नहीं, लेकिन शायद उन्होंने कहा था कि हमारे देश की सब भाषाएँ जितनी हैं, सभी का एक कोई कोश बने तो

304. The National Book Trust was founded in 1957 under the Ministry of Education to publish good literature cheaply.

305. Chintaman D. Deshmukh was the Chairman from 1957-60.

शायद मालूम नहीं पचहत्तर या अस्सी शब्द सभी के एक-से निकलें, सिवा उन्होंने कहा था उर्दू भाषा, उसमें ज़रा कुछ अन्तर है और भाषाएँ जो संस्कृत से निकली हुई हैं, बहुत शब्द हैं, ज़रा-सा हेर-फेर हो गया है। तो हम इस बात पर ज़ोर दिया करते हैं। अन्तर क्या है, फ़र्क क्या है, वैसे यह बात कितनी करीब हैं, कितनी पास हैं एक-दूसरे के हमारी भाषाएँ, और वो भी भाषाएँ दक्खिन की; वही, आप जानते हैं तेलुगू, मलयालम, कन्नड़ और तमिल, उनके भी कितने संस्कृत के शब्द हैं, बहुत हैं। वो भी उनको बाँध देती है। तो असल में हमारी भाषाओं का इतना अन्तर देश में है नहीं जितना लोग समझते हैं। पहले-पहले अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में हमसे कहा जाता था, दुनिया में कहते थे अंग्रेज़ लोग, कि भारत एक देश तो है नहीं, क्योंकि भारत में तो कितना कहते थे चार सौ, पाँच सौ, छह सौ भाषाएँ हैं, कहा करते थे। हाँ कुछ ऐसे ही पाँच सौ-छह सौ भाषाएँ कहा करते थे। क्यों कहते थे, इसलिए कि सेन्सस में तो आप जानते हैं इस तरह से लिखते हैं कि एक-एक भाषा के पचासों टुकड़े कर देते हैं।

मुझे याद है बर्लिन में एक दफ़े कोई कह रहा था, एक अंग्रेज़ बोल रहे थे कि भारत में तो पाँच सौ भाषाएँ हैं, उसमें एकता क्या हो? तो एक भारतीय विद्यार्थी वहाँ उठा तो उसने पूछा आपको यह कहाँ से मालूम हुआ कि भारत में इतनी भाषाएँ हैं। तो उन्होंने कहा सेन्सस में लिखा है। तो उसने कहा कि वो यहाँ जर्मनी के सेन्सस में कितनी भाषाएँ लिखी हैं। तो मालूम हुआ जर्मनी के सेन्सस में सत्तर भाषाएँ हैं, सत्तर या अस्सी, क्योंकि यह छोटी-छोटी डायलेक्ट्स थीं या कोई बोलता था, वो सेन्सस में आ जाता है, लेकिन यह तो कोई [नहीं] कहता है कि जर्मन में सत्तर भाषाएँ हैं। जर्मनी में तो एक बड़ी भाषा है जर्मन। तो और यहाँ भी भारतीय भाषाओं की गिनती होती है सेन्सस में तो उसमें मेरा ख़याल है कोई ढाई सौ भाषाएँ हैं, जो-जो पटरी है हमारे देश की भारत और बर्मा के बीच में वहाँ बोली जाती हैं। भाषा तो ख़ैर, उनको कहना भी कठिन है, ये डायलेक्ट हैं जो चार-पाँच गाँवों में बोली जाती है और फिर कोई बदल जाती है।

ख़ैर, अब तो हमारे विधान में लिखा हुआ है कौन-कौन हमारी बुनियादी भाषाएँ हैं? चौदह भाषाओं के नाम लिखे हैं, वो हैं हमारी, सभी का हमें आदर करना है, सभी को बढ़ना है और याद रखने की बात है कि उन सभी में अन्तर बहुत कम है। कठिन नहीं है एक-दूसरे को समझना या सीखना, ज़रा कोशिश की ज़रूरत है और यह भी समझना है कि एक भाषा के जानने से हम दूसरी भाषा की सहायता कर सकते हैं। यह नहीं कि दो भाषाओं में लड़ाई हो, हम एक-दूसरे को हानि पहुँचायें। यह तो मूर्खता है बिलकुल। अगर भारत में एक भाषा बढ़ती है आगे तो उसका अच्छा असर और भाषाओं पर पड़ता है। इस ढंग से हमें इस प्रश्न को देखना है।

ख़ैर, मुझे ख़ुशी है कि आपने मुझे निमन्त्रण भेजा यहाँ आने का, और एक शुभ काम में भाग लेने का। अब मैं आशा करता हूँ, आपका यह ग्रन्थ संग्रहालय खूब बढ़े और मराठी भाषा की सेवा तो करता ही है, करेगा, लेकिन जैसे मैंने देखा अब वो बाहर निकलने वाली है इससे और भारत की भाषाओं की भी सेवा हो, वो और भी अच्छा है, क्योंकि इससे आप...मराठी का



भी इससे लाभ होगा और भाषाओं के जानने से औरों का भी होगा, और भारत की एकता को भी लाभ होगा। जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

I do not know in what capacity you have invited me here today. I do not think it could be because I am the Prime Minister, because that does not seem right to me. It could be, because I am the President of the Sahitya Akademi and in that capacity I am able to keep in touch with the literature of various states. I can see the tremendous progress which is being made in different languages. I will not compare them with one another because that might hurt the sentiments of people. But everyone knows that Marathi is one of the most powerful Indian languages and continues to grow very rapidly even today.

I have heard that this Library<sup>306</sup> of yours was started by very great men like Lokmanya Tilak, Ranade and Gokhale who have earned a place for themselves in India's history. You made a great beginning and it is now sixty years old. So, it was proper that you should expand your activities a little, because the time has now come when our culture and civilisation should spread to places where it has not reached earlier.

As you know, education is spreading very rapidly among the people. There are complaints about the quality of education, too; let us leave that aside because it will gradually improve. But broadly speaking, the fact is that innumerable boys and girls in the country are getting education in new fields and that is changing the face of the country in a real sense and the thinking in India is undergoing a change. Education is bringing about these changes. Children whose ancestors had never learnt to read and write are going to school and college today. I do not remember the exact number, but I think in the last year, one lakh boys and twenty-five or thirty thousand girls become graduates. I do not know whether the figure is absolutely correct. But if not thirty at least twenty thousand girls have become graduates and millions are studying in high school. So this makes a very fundamental change in the life of our country. There is no doubt about it, because education is the most revolutionary thing. The rest are superficial. So, a big revolution is taking place all over the country and the number of the literate is going up. Even now, the number is quite high and it will increase. So it is essential to have libraries so that books are within the easy reach of the people. I feel sad that there are not enough books available in

306. See fn 303 in this section.

the country and the libraries are very mediocre. There are very few good collections.

This Marathi Library of yours is very good. It should undoubtedly be expanded. But the thought that comes to my mind is that in a huge city like Bombay, there should be branches of this library in every single street and locality. The books could be circulated from one branch to another from a large collection so that people may be able to get an opportunity to read. India is a huge country with an enormous population of thirty six-thirty seven crores. But it is amazing how few are the books published in India and how little people read. In fact, even the readership of newspapers is very small compared to the other countries. Why is it so? It cannot be because people are poor. No doubt the people are poor in India but they are not too poor to go to films. If they would buy one book with the money that they spend on one film, it will be a permanent asset to them. Somehow our people are not in the habit of reading books. It should be fostered among them. How is it to be done?

There are many ways of encouraging people to form the habit of reading. But the easiest thing is to have more and more libraries so that people can borrow books. This is how the habit grew in Europe. There you have innumerable libraries in every city. So we must think seriously about this because there are many disadvantages in people not reading books. One is that if the books do not have large sales, smaller editions are printed which make them more expensive. If books are expensive, people cannot afford to buy them, which reduces the sales further. Therefore, the number of people who read books must increase and books should be printed in large numbers so that they may be cheaply priced and be within the reach of the people. You will find that in Europe and England, etc., there has been a revolution in the publishing industry and books are priced very low.

I remember that it was when I was in Europe studying in school and college that cheap books began to be printed for the first time. They were good books and many people who had never before bought books began to do so and build up libraries at home. Now there is any number of such books everywhere in the West. In India, publishers do not have the courage to print too many copies because, they cannot be sure whether they will sell or not. So, they print small editions of a few thousand copies each, hence they are more expensive and are not within the easy reach of the people. And, it becomes a vicious circle. The Government of India has formed a Book Trust in order to publish good books priced cheap in large numbers so that people may read more.<sup>307</sup> We want

307. See fn 304 in this section.



to publish both new and old books. I hope the Book Trust, of which as far as I can remember the Chairman is Shri Chintaman Deshmukhji,<sup>308</sup> will do something. He is a good man and is deeply interested. So I think it is very essential that people should read books in the country and when I say that, I do not mean so much light novels and stories. They are all right. But you must read real literature whether they are novels or something else because books mould our thinking and character. Languages have a very powerful influence.

There are often great disputes over the question of language. But a language can be served best by reading and writing in it instead of fighting over it. The more the people read and write, the better they can serve the cause of the language and make it grow stronger. We will also benefit by that.

I remember a friend of mine telling me—I don't remember his exact words—that if a dictionary of all the languages in India were to be made, seventy-eighty per cent of the words will be found to be similar except Urdu which is different. The rest of the languages which are derived out of Sanskrit have many words in common with some variations. We often tend to stress the difference between the languages. But in fact they are very close to one another. Even in the South Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, there are many Sanskrit words which form a close link. So the differences between our languages are not as great as people imagine. It was the British who started it by saying that India could never be one nation because there are four or five or six hundred languages in the country. This was what was revealed by their census in which as you know all the dialects were counted separately.

I remember once in Berlin, an Englishman was speaking and said that there can be no unity in India because there are five hundred languages spoken there. An Indian student got up and asked the speaker how he came by this fact, to which he replied that the census said so. He then asked how many languages there are in Germany according to the census. It was found that seventy or eighty were listed, because all the little dialects were counted separately. When there is one language, German, spoken in Germany, it was absurd to say there are seventy-eighty. As far as India is concerned, of the languages listed in the census, nearly 250 are spoken in the tract which lies between India and Burma. It is not quite right to call them languages. Most of them are dialects, each spoken in a few villages.

Anyhow, the Indian Constitution lists fourteen languages as the basic languages of India. We must respect all of them and help each of them to grow and remember that the difference between them is very little. It is not difficult to learn them. It requires a little effort and the realisation that by learning more

308. See fn 306 in this section.

languages we can help all of them to grow. It is absolutely foolish to fight over them because it causes great harm. If one language grows, it will have an impact on the rest of the languages. So this is how we must look at this question.

Well, I am happy that you invited me to come here and participate in an auspicious occasion. I hope that your library will grow and serve the cause of Marathi language well. That it does already, but, as I say, if it spreads it will help the other Indian languages too, which will be even better. Marathi will benefit in the process and so will the other languages of India, as also the cause of India's unity. *Jai Hind!*

Translation ends]

## 114. To Govind Das: Scientific Vocabulary in Hindi<sup>309</sup>

20 मार्च 1959

प्रिय गोविन्द दासजी,

आपका 20 मार्च का पत्र मिला।<sup>310</sup> धन्यवाद। सत्यनारायणजी<sup>311</sup> ने जो आपसे कहा वह कुछ बहुत सही नहीं था। हिन्दी का ज्ञान मेरा कम है। हिन्दी से अधिक तो संस्कृत मैंने पढ़ी है। जो कुछ हिन्दी जानता हूँ वह तो बोलचाल की हिन्दी मैंने सीखी और कुछ पुस्तकें पढ़ीं। इसलिए इस बारे में आपने सही कहा था। मुझे तो वह कुछ बुरा नहीं लगा।

इस विषय में या किसी और सांस्कृतिक विषय में अगर कोई मतभेद हो तो उसमें कोई खराबी नहीं है। ऐसा तो होता ही है, और इससे कुछ लाभ भी होता है।

वैज्ञानिक शब्दावली के बारे में तो मेरा विचार अवश्य यह है कि जहाँ तक मुमकिन हो, हमें अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय शब्दों का प्रयोग करना चाहिए। इसके मानी ये नहीं हैं कि हम अंग्रेज़ी के शब्द खाली ले लें। ऐसे वैज्ञानिक शब्द यूरोप की भाषाओं में बहुत सारे क़रीब-क़रीब एक-से हैं, या थोड़ा अन्तर है, और प्रतिदिन बढ़ते जाते हैं। थाईलैण्ड में क्या होता है, वह कुछ अच्छी मिसाल नहीं है, क्योंकि थाईलैण्ड इस बारे में बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ देश है। हमारा देश काफ़ी बढ़ गया है। और अभी तक तो काम अधिकतर अंग्रेज़ी भाषा में होता है। ख़ाली वैज्ञानिक शब्दों का प्रश्न नहीं है, बल्कि आजकल बहुत नयी-नयी निशानियाँ और सिम्बल का प्रयोग होता है। ज़ाहिर है कि हम उनको नहीं बदल सकते। ऐसे सिम्बल की भाषा बहुत बढ़ गयी है।

309. Letter to Govind Das, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh. Seth Govind Das Papers. NMML. Original in Hindi.

310. See Appendix 18.

311. Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.



मैंने सुना है कि जो भाषा के कमिशन की रिपोर्ट लिखी गयी है, उसमें भी यह सलाह दी गयी है कि वैज्ञानिक शब्द अधिकतर अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय होने चाहिए।

आपका

जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

20 March 1959

Dear Govinddasji,

I got your letter of 20 March.<sup>312</sup> Thanks. What Satyanarainji<sup>313</sup> told you is not fully correct. My knowledge of Hindi is poor. More than Hindi I have learnt Sanskrit. Whatever Hindi I know I learnt it through conversation and only a few books I have read. Therefore, what you said in regard to this was correct. I did not mind it at all.

If there is disagreement on this or any other cultural subject then there is no harm in it. It is bound to be there and it does some good also.

As for the scientific terminology I do think that as far as possible international terms should be used. It does not mean that we should adopt only English words. A large number of such scientific words are more or less common in the European language or there are minor differences, and such words are going on increasing day by day. What happens in Thailand is not a good example, because in this respect Thailand is much behind. Our country has made much progress. And up till now work is mostly done in the English language. The question is not only of scientific terminology, but these days many new signs and symbols are used. It is obvious that we cannot change them. Such language of symbols is very much developed.

I have heard that the Language Commission has also recommended in its report that scientific terms should be mostly international.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

312. See Appendix 18.

313. See fn 311 in this section.

## (f) Judiciary

**115. To K. Ram: Strictures on Chairman of Punjab National Bank<sup>314</sup>**

As has been pointed, this is a serious affair. I do not think that a penalty of mere five thousand rupees which the Director is empowered to give, is at all adequate. In such matters, the fact that prosecution might not succeed, should not come in the way of such a prosecution. We have a duty to the public and we should do our utmost to bring the offender to book. If the courts decide otherwise, that is their responsibility. The Law Ministry should certainly be consulted, but the matter is important enough to be considered by the Cabinet and you might inform the Finance Ministry and the Law Ministry of this.

2. I understand that Shri S. P. Jain is still the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Punjab National Bank.<sup>315</sup> That appears to be very improper.

## (g) Media

**116. To B.V. Keskar: News Agencies in India<sup>316</sup>**

March 5, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

A few days ago, the General Manager and the Editor of the *Times of India*<sup>317</sup> came to see me. This was about the continuance of the A.P. service to them from the United States.<sup>318</sup> They pleaded for this on various grounds which you know. I told them that this was a Cabinet decision arrived at after full consideration, chiefly because we wished to encourage Indian news agencies.

314. Note, 22 March 1959.

315. Shanti Prasad Jain was Chairman, Punjab National Bank Ltd, from 1954.

316. Letter to the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting. File No.43(134)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

317. J.C. Jain and N. J. Nanporia respectively.

318. *The Times of India* used the Associated Press of America, which being wholly foreign, was disallowed by GOI. PTI was Indian, although it had a partnership with Reuters from 1948. The UPI was the other Indian news agency, but it had ceased functioning from 1 October 1958. Hence, to the *Times of India*, Reuters seemed to enjoy a monopoly in India. See also SWJN/SS/44/pp. 142-143, 251.



Thereupon they said that there was only one agency left now, that was the P.T.I. which was closely connected with Reuter. Thus, in fact, there was no competition, and only one-sided news came here. If a second agency could be established here, like the U.P.I., that would help. As it was, there was no chance of a new Indian agency coming into existence in the near future. Why then should we prevent foreign agencies from sending their news here, at any rate so long as we could not make other arrangements in India? Their internal distribution of news could be objected to, and this was not going to take place.

Finally they said that at least they should be given six months more grace so that this matter might be further considered and the question of establishing another news agency in India might also be decided.

I told them that I could not alter Cabinet decisions. If necessity arose, the matter will have to be referred to the Cabinet again. It was for the Minister of I & B to deal with this. I was not for stopping news from coming here, but I did not want this kind of thing to prevent the establishment of Indian news services.

I do not know what has happened to the proposal to re-start the U.P.I.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 117. To B.V. Keskar: News Agencies in India<sup>319</sup>

March 7, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

I enclose a reproduction of an article in the *London Times*.<sup>320</sup> I must say that I am a little worried about the aspect of this question which is stressed here. It appears that we shall become now completely dependent on Reuters services. This is a bad look-out, even though they might be supplemented somewhat by P.T.I. men. We should discuss this matter a little more fully.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

319. Letter.

320. *The Times* of London, carried an item on 5 March 1959, "Restricted Channel for World News in India", datelined 4 March, that three international news agencies had to cease operations recently namely, Agence France-Presse, the British-owned Near and Far East News, and the Associated Press of America; that this was due to a GOI decision that foreign news agencies should function only in partnership with an Indian news agency; as a result, only one international news agency, Reuters, remained, and it monopolised access to the Indian market through its earlier arrangement with the PTI.

## 118. To K. Ram: Making Mahatma Gandhi film<sup>321</sup>

The following answer should be given to this Question:-

- “(a) No. Neither Columbia Pictures International Corporation nor any one on their behalf have asked Government for such permission. Mr. David Lean<sup>322</sup> and Mr. Sam Spiegel<sup>323</sup> have, however, met the Prime Minister and mentioned to him their desire to produce a high class film about Mahatma Gandhi<sup>324</sup> which would particularly bring out his message for the cause for which he stood. The Prime Minister expressed interest in the scheme. He said that a really good film on this subject would be welcome, but this was a difficult task.
- (b) & (c) No script has been prepared. In fact, so far as is known, no special steps have been taken yet in this matter.”

## 119. To G.B. Pant: Scurrilous Publications<sup>325</sup>

March 19, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I enclose some papers including an article in an Aligarh paper about me.<sup>326</sup> A similar article appeared in a Hindi periodical of Ajmer called *Nyaya*.<sup>327</sup> What do you advise me to do about these matters? I ignored the *Nyaya* article although the Editor of that rag had written the filthiest stuff, but if this kind of thing goes on, I am inclined to take some action.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

321. Note, 13 March 1959.

322. (1908-1991); film director; films include, *Brief Encounter* (1945), *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), *Dr. Zhivago* (1965) and *A Passage to India* (1984).

323. Samuel P. Spiegel (1901-1985); film producer; produced films such as Elia Kazan's *On the Waterfront* (1954) and David Lean's *The Bridge on the River Kwai* and *Lawrence of Arabia*.

324. David Lean and Sam Spiegel had planned a film on Gandhi after *The Bridge on the River Kwai*; they made *Lawrence of Arabia* instead.

325. Letter.

326. Article not traced. According to India News and Feature Alliance (INFA), (New Delhi: 1965), the only newspaper, published from Aligarh in Hindi and English, was *Dainik Prakash*, established in 1950 by Madan Lal Hiteshi, editor and publisher.

327. *Nyaya Weekly*, published from Ajmer by V. D. Sharma.



## 120. To N.R. Pillai: *Blitz's* Insult to American Ambassador<sup>328</sup>

I agree with you that the article or the so-called open letter by R.K. Karanjia<sup>329</sup> to Mr. Bunker<sup>330</sup> appearing in the *Blitz* of March 14 is in exceedingly bad taste and most improper. Normally the language of the *Blitz* appears to me to be objectionable. Perhaps some of us like you and me are old fashioned in this respect. But this letter goes beyond that and attacks the American Ambassador personally. The Ambassador is only the mouth-piece of his Government's policy, and it is utterly wrong to deal with any Ambassador on a personal basis in such matters.

2. The *Blitz* had distressed me so much during the past many months or years that I had given up looking at it. On several occasions when R.K. Karanjia came to Delhi, I expressed my inability to see him. Some two months ago, he came again to Delhi and begged me to see him. I agreed and I told him what I thought of the *Blitz* and the articles in it. He apologised and said that he was very sorry that anything had appeared which displeased me. The *Blitz*, he said, was a paper which wrote in a popular style as that was appreciated, but he certainly did not want to say anything in it which I thought was improper. He said that he would pull it up and asked me specially to look at the subsequent numbers.

3. I glanced through these subsequent numbers and found some improvement. Now he has again slipped and done so very badly.

4. I do not want to write to him myself, but I suggest that you should write to him and say that his recent article in the *Blitz* appears to have passed all bounds of decency. You might add that I feel the same way. Any newspaper can criticise a country's policy as strongly as it likes, though we hope that even so he could use language which is considered proper. In the present case, the attack is directly on the Ambassador. He should know that an Ambassador is the mouth-piece of his Government and his Government's policy and is not to be considered on the personal basis. To say that an Ambassador is lying is an insult to him and is highly objectionable. As a matter of fact, Mr. Bunker, as a man and as an Ambassador, has been respected by us.

5. An article, such as the one in the *Blitz*, actually harms the very cause which presumably Mr. Karanjia has at heart. If he wants to oppose a certain

328. Note, 21 March 1959.

329. Editor-in-Chief of *Blitz*.

330. Ellsworth Bunker, US Ambassador to India.

policy and brings it down to the personal level, this takes away from the strength of the argument.

6. You might suggest to Shri Karanjia that it would be fitting for him to say something in the *Blitz* to the effect that while he strongly opposed the US-Pakistan Pact, he meant no personal discourtesy to the Ambassador,

7. Please also convey my deep regret to Mr. Bunker over this article.



### III. Development (a) Economy

#### 121. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Developing Garhwal<sup>1</sup>

March 6, 1959

My dear V. T.,

I am sending you some papers and maps in connection with the development of Garhwal.<sup>2</sup> I do not know that the Planning Commission can help in this matter. I am greatly interested in all these hill areas and border areas, and Garhwal is both. I think there is a great deal of room for developing them and they deserve it from many points of view, including strategic and political.

Perhaps, you will kindly have this examined, and then we can deal with the other Ministries.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 122. To FICCI: Contours of Indian Economy<sup>3</sup>

Mr President,<sup>4</sup> Excellencies and friends,

Year after year you have been good enough to invite me to this annual function. And year after year I have come here for a variety of reasons. First of course, I felt that I ought to accept your kind invitation but more especially because I think it is right that there should be contacts of minds, apart from other contacts, as between the Government and the important body of men and interests that you represent in India.

Indeed, a Government should endeavour to have these close contacts, with every considerable section of opinion in the country. A government has and should have views and opinion of its own. It cannot be just a kind of mould on which you can stamp anything. No government is worth its name or its functions, if it is a flabby mess without clear ideas. On the other hand, a Government

1. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.
2. This included an undated letter from Chandra Singh Garhawali, President, Dudatoli Nirman Samiti, Village Dhurubapur, Kaldowar, Garhwal.
3. Inaugural speech to the 32nd annual session of the FICCI, New Delhi, 7 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in PIB files.
4. B.P. Singh Roy, industrialist from West Bengal, President, FICCI, 1958-59.

which is rigid in its outlook and which thinks that it has found the truth, the entire truth, and does not require to learn from others or to understand as to what things really are, that also fails or should fail. Because life is a complicated process and ever changing process at any time, more specially at a time like the present when you see change, taking place at a fast pace before your eyes in the world and in this country. And yet all of us, whether we are in the Government or whether we are outside, are apt to be a little rigid in our views, and you will, I hope, forgive me for saying that there is no greater rigidity than that of the person who has a vested interest, whatever that vested interest might be.

That is not a criticism of an individual. It is a natural phenomenon which applies to groups, individuals rise above it. And in a changing world, it inevitably happens that vested interests come into conflict with demands for change, that those who happen to be, well, at the top, feel uncomfortable because others want to push them out. In common parlance that is called by various names, class struggle and the like. I do not personally like too much stress being laid on it, at the same time, whether you would lay stress on it or not, to deny it or to ignore it, is to close your eyes to the facts of life. Obviously, there are conflicting interests between various groups. One person's profit is another person's loss, temporarily at least. And so there is a tug of war in our society between those interests, that is the class struggle. You may take it at a small level, at a factory level, at a zamindar-tenant's level or at any level you like, a bigger level. And the purpose of action of a Government or a society should be to remove them as painlessly as possible.

Unfortunately, the process cannot always be painless. It is inevitable that where there are certain interests, vested interests and they have to change, there is some pain involved in the process. Of course not to change them is likely to involve greater pain. So, even from that point of view that becomes necessary.

May I say right at the beginning, Mr President, that not only did I listen to your speech with great interest, but with a good deal of appreciation. That does not mean that I concur with all the views that you expressed but rather that I appreciate the spirit of your speech. It was a friendly approach, a cooperative approach, an approach while differing yet seeking ways of cooperation and common action.<sup>5</sup>

5. B.P. Singh Roy had claimed that import cuts were slowing development and that industrial growth was slower in 1958 than in 1957. He proposed the following remedies: (i) encourage foreign capital inflows; (ii) lower taxes to stimulate investment and demand; (iii) encourage cooperatives short of joint production; and (iv) associate business more with planning by reviving the Planning Advisory Board which was moribund. He assured Nehru that businessmen were keen to contribute and he called upon his colleagues to do business in the spirit of service.



That is the right approach for all of us. In this complicated and troubled world, there is far too much of the attitude of condemnation of each other, of considering the other individual or group as the enemy and to be not only struggled against, but if possible suppressed. Whether in the international field or the national field, this attitude comes up, this attitude of fierce hostility. In the international field, it may lead to uttermost disaster. In the national field also it may lead to disaster if carried on beyond a certain limit.

Now, I attach a great deal of importance, of course to the policies we pursue to the aims we have in view, the objectives, and how we are going to achieve them? After all, the whole purpose of thinking, of communion of thought, between groups and individuals, is to evolve logical, reasonable scientific policies. Otherwise, we merely drift with shifting winds and are the victims of circumstance. The whole purpose of civilised existence is not to be victims of circumstance, but to overcome the circumstance in so far as we can.

Therefore, we must think and have policies, and if we have policies it is reasonable to expect that there will be different approaches, that there will be different views. To expect that everyone should think exactly alike, this is the old approach of bigoted religion, when each religion sought by friendly means or by compulsion to convert others to its kind, thinking that that is the only way for world's salvation. I hope we have outgrown that stage of religious compulsion or attempted compulsion, but we do not seem to have outgrown that stage in the economic sphere. We will, I hope, and I expect.

Now, though policies differ, and there is nothing surprising that they should differ, if they are not some Utopian dream, they have to keep company with the facts of life, otherwise they fade away. The difference may come in the interpretation of the facts of life, but anyhow, the common factor is or are rather the objectives aimed at and the context in which we live. Those are the common factors from which all policies flow.

Therefore, even though they diverge, those policies, they will tend to come nearer, sometimes a little further away, but they will be forced to come nearer because they cannot go too far away from the facts of life, and from the objectives aimed at. Therefore, I am not afraid of policies differing, provided these facts are clear: what is the objective aimed at, and a clear understanding of the facts we have to deal with, international facts, national facts etc.

I do not mind if this audience of experienced businessmen think in a way which is not quite my way or I think in a way which is not quite your way. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal in common in our thinking and it is true that there are differences in approach too. But what I would particularly aim at is that whatever these differences might be, the approach should be a friendly, cooperative one, an approach to understand each other, an open approach, so

### III. DEVELOPMENT

that we may influence and be influenced. And I welcome your speech, Mr. President, because it was that type of speech and I think that that approach is likely to yield fruit.

It is natural, that those of us who have spent a considerable number of years in public work and have had to deal with a variety of problems, that we should form certain opinions, fairly firm opinions. We are not people with blank minds and those opinions cover most of the important aspects of life. We have to, because life has become an interconnected whole; and when firm opinions collide, there may be sparks. But it does not matter if we are determined to face these matters, firmly certainly, but always cooperatively.

May I say here, that in the course of your speech you mentioned that you would like consultation at various levels in the preparation of the Third Five Year Plan. I can assure you that we would welcome that consultation from time to time, full consultation, not merely a casual and a formal thing. Indeed, we

#### *Consultation Free, Cure Guaranteed*



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 8 MARCH 1959)

want that type of consultation, with all kinds of groups, interests in India. We have got all kinds of panels though they have not sometimes met frequently. We should like them to meet, more frequently, panels of scientists, engineers, doctors, and I do not know how many others, trade, labour and so on and so forth.



I am sure, that the Planning Commission would welcome this consultation with you. In the course of that consultation, I hope, I am sure, we will profit, and I think you may also profit. After all, the Planning Commission has certain views and objectives broadly laid down. Our previous plans and the Second Five Year Plan, and if you read that Second Plan report, you will find not only the immediate objectives but the projections into the future also indicated. That is to say how we look upon them. It is odd, how people tend to forget what we said a few years ago, not so long ago, in the Second Plan report. So that you have before you, more or less, the thinking of the Planning Commission which, of course, is not static, it is dynamic, and the last few years since the Second Plan was made have brought many new experiences, many shocks to us, and a shock is probably as good a way as any of education of an individual or a group. So, we shall welcome that consultation.

Now, what exactly do we aim at? Well, you can lay down our aims or the world's aims in many ways. For the moment, we can even say we just want higher standards of life for our people, greater opportunities of growth, to get rid of unemployment and so on and so forth. What more? We say we are aiming at a "Welfare State." I remember a few years ago, five, six, seven, eight, I forget, when we talked about the "Welfare State". Some people of experience in the business world objected to that word "Welfare State." They seemed to think, it was a revolutionary doctrine to talk about the "Welfare State."

Now, that was of course neither a logical nor a sensible reaction, but it was that type of reaction, unthinking, instinctive reaction, which comes from vested interests. It does not think—this is a something new coming which might affect me—and they react. Of course that instinctive reaction has nothing to do with logic or reason, instinct may be good of course sometimes, but I remember, how actually, the conception of a "Welfare State" was criticised as something bad, not by many, but by some persons, some persons in the business world, persons of note. Now you will see that nobody in the wide world, I think, has a word to say against the "Welfare State" not only in India, but in any country in the world. It is an acknowledged thing, that every country should aim at a "Welfare State." That is a new development I think, it is new that originally when people talked about a classless society, it was thought that that was a sign of red revolution. Some extreme socialists talked of it, communists talked of it, of course, and class warfare and classless society and all that. Even we, moderate as we are in the National Congress, talked about a classless society. It was laid down as our first objective.

Now, I have been noticing lately that in the countries representing the highest development of the capitalist system, they talk about a classless society. In the United States of America, some of the leading people there representing

the system that is established there, talk about the classless society as a thing to be aimed at. In fact, in practice the United States, you may approve of it or disapprove of it, is far more advanced towards a classless society than many countries which talk about it. So you see how words delude us, we get tied to dogmas and words and forget this changing world, where ideas change, conditions change, we change with it, and yet our minds are locked up in a prison. What we discuss, whatever we discuss, it is seldom that we come out of that prison of preconceptions and prejudices and vested interest. Gradually, we have to come out because the facts of life are changing, and they force us to come out.

Now if you will forgive my saying so, the capitalist class—use that term in a broader sense—in the more developed countries realise this fact more than perhaps the capitalist class in India. They are more in touch with these dynamic changes in life, they participate in them. While we in India, naturally, from the point of view of industrialism, are relatively underdeveloped, undeveloped, and so people here still think in a way which prevailed fifty years ago in England or America; but even in those countries it is not common now. It is astonishing the rate of change and the change affecting people's minds; and all these terms, like communism, socialism, capitalism and the like lose that edge which they had. Of course, they represent certain sets of opinions, thoughts, approaches, policies, but they lose that edge which they had, and they are often used for political purposes, political ends. That does not mean, that there is no difference, in these approaches, there are differences and important fundamental differences. But I do venture to say that those differences become less again because the facts of life force them to be that.

We talk about a public sector and a private sector and what we say has relevance and you may argue this way or that way. You, Mr. President, have discussed this question briefly in your address. Probably, if I said something about it, it would not be wholly the same as you have said, and yet there will be something in common too. The fact of the matter is, public sector and the private sector arguments are important; but in the ultimate analysis, it is not the public sector and the private sector that counts but the public approach to every sector. And I should like you to appreciate that the public approach to every sector—public, private, whatever it may be—it is that approach, that which way it is tending, where it is going, call it what you like. If the private sector has a public approach, well it approximates to the public sector. A public sector, if it works in such a narrow way, then it ceases to give all the advantages that we expect from it, though broadly said, it should anyhow.

Therefore, we should always avoid making our minds prisons of words and phrases. At the same time, we must avoid ever more becoming slaves of



our preconceived notions in a changing world, vested interests and the like, because the only test of any measure, the final test is—is it good for the people, does it advance them?

You know our great leader Gandhiji, he had no hostility to any class, he was friendly to all. And yet the basic things he stood upon was that the common man in India should have a fair deal, should advance, that the burdens on his back should go, and he said “I do not wish ill to anyone but anything that comes in the way of the advance of the common man must go.” That is the basic test.

Now, we may differ as to what comes in the way and what does not come in the way. But if it comes in the way of the advance of the common man, then there must be a common understanding that that thing must go. And no person should defend it on any specious plea or whatever you may like to call it. You may call it in terms of democracy, in terms of free enterprise, in terms of this or that; but if something comes in the way of the development of the millions of India, it is a burden to them, then it has to go. Let us find the most painless way for it to go, that is a different matter. And that is not a question of your opinion or my opinion, it is something inherent in the circumstances of the world today.

If once you advance on the path of democracy, if once you give political power through the vote, etc., to every adult citizen, sooner or later, that political power will be translated into economic power. It may take time possibly but you cannot prevent it, because political power is only the first stage of democracy, it is bound to advance further, to demand other kinds of power and equality. The vote represents, in theory not in practice, equality, political equality, each man one vote, whether he is a millionaire or a pauper. Of course, in practice the millionaire has a great deal of influence, the pauper has none, that is a different matter. But in political theory you have put them in the same level, the millionaire and the pauper by giving each a vote and no more than a vote. Having got it, he wants the other equality, in other phases of life, it is inevitable. It may be, not absolute equality, but certainly a removal of the differences, and what you see, in a large number of countries today, is that urge towards economic equality. It may take different shapes. Therefore, it is not as I said a question of my opinion or your opinion, it is a question of recognising the facts of life.

Now, as has been said frequently before, one of our major difficulties today in India is that political change and revolution has come here before an economic revolution has given us adequate resources. The political revolution demands all the time an economic revolution. Demands, in the nature of things, at the same time, tend to delay it. It is a curious contradiction. What I mean is there is this urgent necessity of, of economic revolution to fulfill the people's demands. At the same time, those very demands come in the way, that is, the more you

fulfill those demands, the less capable you are of laying the basis for rapid progress which requires investment, etc., etc.

There are these conflicts which the western nations escaped because they have the economic revolution first and then you might say the full political revolution. We have this difficulty, and other underdeveloped countries also have that difficulty. Well, it has to be faced, there is no other way out. We have certain advantages, but in any event we have to face those advantages and disadvantages and get over this barrier which prevents this rapid progress, the barrier of an underdeveloped country.

We talk now and you have mentioned it in your address, Mr. President, about a self-generating economy. You may remember that in our President's address to the joint session of Parliament reference was made to the Third Five Year Plan, and he said that it was hoped that by the end of the Third Plan, that is, in about seven years time from now, our economy will be self reliant and self-generating.<sup>6</sup> It cannot be hundred per cent self-reliant and cut itself off from the world. But what it meant was that we shall cross that barrier which divides an underdeveloped from a fairly rapidly developing country, and that the main things, the basis or foundation of development, has been laid here. Although as a matter of fact, compared to a large number of underdeveloped countries, India is probably a good deal ahead of them. Still it has to rely on others and it is a measure of that reliance, a kind of trouble that we have had last year, foreign exchange, and this and that, and the reactions to it.

Now, we talk of planning, and generally speaking planning has been accepted in the country. I mean to say that even those who did not like the idea, who criticised it, accepted it. Perhaps some people may have some mental reservations, that I do not know. But broadly, undoubtedly, it is accepted and the country is, in a sense, plan-conscious. I do not think, it is plan-conscious in, what I would call, in a deeper sense, it is rather superficially so. Because when I see arguments about the plan, or demands made on the plan this way or that way, they seem to ignore the basic conditions of planning. They seem to think that planning is a collection of a large number of projects put in a row, may be with priorities.

Well, obviously that is not the planning, it is the least part of planning. Planning is something much more important and deeper than that. Planning first of all, aims at some kind of a broad objective. We leave out these big words, but a broad objective let us say is, considerably higher standards of living, equal opportunities for all our people and an advance along every sector of our national life. Obviously, if you do not advance in some, you will not be

6. On 9 February 1959.



## You Said It

By LAXMAN



*Aperture F/16, speed 1/200—I was a professional photographer before the import cut, Madame.....*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 10 MARCH 1959)

able to advance in others, there will be a bottleneck, you have to advance all along. You were telling us, that our production went down because of the difficulty of foreign exchange and we could not get raw materials or something from outside or some equipment or something, perfectly true.

You see, how advance in one sector, no advance in another, brings down the other sector immediately. You have to make advance all along the line, which includes the most important and fundamental and basic thing—education. Because after all, it is the human being that counts, not all the machines in the wide world, because it is man that produces the machine and it would be a bad day when the machine sits on the man and puts an end to his manhood, if I may say so. Education is a basic thing of all, health, all these in spite of our limited opportunities, we have to advance them. It is not good enough, to put up steel plants in India, important as they are. We must produce men who run the steel plants, and they take much more time to train than the steel plants take to build. That is to say, one thing is connected with another, but in the final analysis when we plan, we try in our planning to produce a balanced growth—all kinds

### III. DEVELOPMENT

of balances, balance in agriculture and in industry, balance between production and consumption.

Consumption again brings to you this, that the person who consumes is certainly wanting to consume, but he may not have the wherewithal to buy the thing, no purchasing power. Therefore, providing him first with purchasing power and so on so that it has to be as carefully thought out a process as possible to balance these, to produce equilibrium on an ever rising spiral.

Please remember that no economy in the world today is based on private enterprise or free enterprise entirely, none; and people who talk with enthusiasm about private enterprise seem to forget the tremendous inroads on private enterprise which have been made in the most advanced countries of the world which accept private enterprise and capitalism as a basis. Private enterprise is limited everywhere because no complex society can live in terms of that type of private enterprise, it just cannot be done, there will be upsets all over. But, of course, there are degrees of limitation.

Now, therefore, if you left this process of balancing to the market as is supposed to be done under an ideal system of private enterprise, there would be absolute chaos in the world today, leave out India. If you left it to the market forces in a country which wants to develop rapidly, it will not develop rapidly, there will be difficulties all over, there will be all kinds of forces at work, conflicting forces, crises and all that.

Now, it may be and it is quite possible, that with the best of planning in the world, you do not get rid of difficulties and you do not get rid of crisis arising. Maybe it is the defect of planning or forces which you cannot control. But in theory, the only way to approach a complex situation is to plan, that seems to me obviously the only way to approach it. Without plan, whatever you may do, whether in the narrow or big sphere, nobody surely will suggest that you must do it without thinking and planning even in your individual lives much more so in the national life.

Now, I said we have to have these balances of production and consumption because the moment you produce and there is no consumption, there is an imbalance. You talked about textiles and some others. We can produce much more, but it is not for the moment consumed, not because people do not want clothes but because for the moment, let us suppose, their purchasing power has been affected by various factors.

So far as the normal consumer goods are concerned, it does not matter very much if they fluctuate a little, production and consumption. They will adjust themselves. But certain basic things should not be allowed to fluctuate too much; and really, the real things, the foundation you might say, not the consumer goods but other things, they must inevitably be controlled and



balanced, because they affect everything. Suppose let us say, power, electric power, any other kind of power, it is basic. You cannot start an industry or anything unless you have some assurance of power. Obviously, who is going to give you an assurance about power? If it is the private enterprise developing power here and there, it is conceivable that you may never get going at all in a country like India. It can only be an organised State effort. Or take steel, the basic industry again, or take coal or take cement, I can go on mentioning the important things like this. They have to be planned with the greatest care. Take transport, communications, all these have to be planned, planned in a way, not just increase of this and increase of that. That is not good enough, but the increase of one has to be balanced by increases of others to fit in with it. If we don't have transport developing while your factories are coming up, well, the raw materials do not reach the factories and finished goods do not come out of it.

You see, planning becomes a highly scientific exercise. In fact, one might even say, that with the development of various processes and experience, planning has become subject to obvious variations, a precise thing, the approach

## TRANQUILIZER



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 13 MARCH 1959)

I mean, the resources may be lacking that is a different matter. But it has become as precise as you can imagine. That is, if you want to industrialise a country, you have to rely on certain developments in agriculture, more production than you have. That is the basic, essential thing for a country which is not industrialised, that is, agriculture. Agriculture comes first, it is the absolute first, with nothing near it; greater production in agriculture. Basic and heavy industry must come, in fact, if we have agriculture flourishing, than the first efforts should be made. You cannot industrialise a country by having subsidiary industries like mining industries, consumer goods industries. It does not matter how many you have unless you develop the basic things, the basic industries, the machine building industries, iron and steel, chemical industries, fertilizer for agriculture, etc., power, irrigation—these are basic things. You must develop them, the plan must. But you must develop them in a balanced way, not accidentally, then you have to see that the things, the consumer goods of course are essential, and so on and so forth. That, I am venturing to put before you, is that this is almost going out of the domain of private fancy as to what we want or what we do not? There are some things which inevitably have to be done, if you want to plan for rapid progress. There is a domain for private fancy too, what you prefer and what you do not prefer.

Now, I said agriculture is most important. Of all these, it is the basic thing in India, and we have been laying great stress, we have talked recently, to which you have referred Mr. President, and we have decided in fact, not merely talked, about cooperatives and we have laid as our objective cooperative farming and later on, however, when our people are agreeable to it, we have talked about ceilings on land. We have talked about, not talked, these are decisions, the state taking up the wholesale trade in food grains; and as you have said, there has been a fair amount of vocal opposition to it. And I have been interested in that opposition, because that opposition has indicated, well, if I may say so, five per cent of a reasoned approach and ninety-five per cent of passion. The very words are full of passion, angry words, and I thought when I read some of these violent diatribes, that there is no passion as the passion of a vested interest which is afraid. Every other passion is secondary to it.

It has been quite an extraordinary educational experience, for me at least maybe for others, the way these subjects have been dealt with by some people. It may be said that there are two sides to a question. That can be argued. Certainly there are two sides to a question even when one side is right and the other side is wrong there are two sides to a question. But apart from that exactly what is this thing cooperation, this terrible revolution, a revolutionary word which has disturbed some people's minds so much. I was under the impression that one of the universally accepted things in the world today is the cooperative principle.



There could be no doubt about it, and not only that, but even in India, backward as we are, in cooperation we have made fair progress.

You asked us, Sir, in your address, let us have private schemes of cooperation. I wondered what you meant, and if you had, well, cared to see what has already been done in India. The other day I gave some figures in Parliament I think, and I would invite your attention to what has already been done without any major effort. It is quite a big slice, quite a substantial amount, not enough, of course not. And it is true, that in the old days cooperatives were chiefly credit cooperatives, now we talk of them as a service, multipurpose cooperatives. But there are plenty of multipurpose cooperatives, and you will be surprised to know that there are hundreds of cooperative farming societies in India. That is to say, without any effort from Government, people have formed them, farmers have formed them themselves, and yet this thing is talked about as if it was some dangerous novelty, the touch of it may drive us to a terrible thing—what is it, collectivisation—which itself is a symbol of the still more terrible thing, communism.

Well, that is not the way we think. And I should like to make it perfectly clear, we are not against communism; we are not against capitalism; we are not against anything like that, and I object to that mental approach. Constituted as I am, if anybody throws that thing to me he drives me in the very direction he wants to prevent me going. That is the normal reaction of a vital human being and still I am vital enough to resist being pushed about. I cannot understand our importing here in our language or in our policies this business of anti-ism which is so prevalent in the world today.

All people say in Asia there is this great rivalry going on, great competition between India and China. I have no sense of rivalry or competition with China. In fact, possibly, I do not know, our objectives are not the same. Partly they are, both raising standards of living; partly, I think, they are different. Anyhow, I have no sense of rivalry. They are welcome to do what they like in their country. It is none of my business. If I can learn from them, I shall learn from them; and I propose to do what our people like in our country, and if anybody wants to learn from us, our doors are open.

So this entire approach of against this country or the rival of that country is a bad approach, I think bad from an international point of view, bad from a national point of view. And if somebody tells us that cooperative farming will lead to collectivisation, therefore, to communism, well, if it leads to that, I am not frightened. I do not understand the words being hurled about like this in order to frighten people. I do not approve of collectivisation. I do not think that, so far as I can see, it is suited or it is likely to be suited to our country, we are not going to work for it. Though I might tell you even now in India, there

are a few collective farms. It is a big country with great variety and we allow all these things to happen. Nobody is, no Governmental apparatus is, exercising coercion. People have been keen themselves, some farmers.

Anyhow, our objective is cooperative farms in the conditions such as they exist in India, the conditions being very very small holding. I don't lay down, I don't venture to advise other countries as to what they should do. That depends on their conditions, their economic advance, whatever it is, whatever they have to face there, the complex of things which conditions life round them. We have to deal, you and I, with conditions in India.

The conditions of land in India are that the holdings are terribly small. Maybe the average holding is about an acre or a little more. What are you to do with that? Don't think of a big farm, which can do very well by itself and adopt scientific and other practices and improvements. We have to deal with ninety nine per cent or probably much more of people who have an acre or two of land. How are they ever to advance? I say if you leave them as they are, it does not matter how much you help them with better seeds and better fertilisers and all that. They would make some progress undoubtedly but they will never, never get out of the rut of poverty. Then I am not prepared to envisage a future in which this vast agricultural population remains ever on the verge of subsistence and I would rather have millions of revolutions in India for which upset them, to think of these people, millions of our peasantry living on the verge of starvation.

Therefore, let us remember this basic fact, and not be threatened by all kinds of pictures, of bogeys. The biggest thing and the most frightening thing, call it what you like, the biggest reality is the poverty of India and hundreds of millions who suffer from it, and every effort that we make, in whatever domain, will have to keep that in view, how to help them? We realise we can't do away with it quickly, suddenly, and it will take generations to deal with it but we must march in that direction. Therefore, if the holding is so small, how is it ever to take advantage of modern techniques, etc., such as they are.

Of course, there are too many people on the land, they have to be diverted to industry, and the burden on land should grow less, industry, big industry, middle industry, small industry, cottage industry, call it what you like, all kinds of industries. And I think that can be done and that will be done, and the process need not be terribly slow. For the rest, the land must be worked in the cooperative way.

Now, we do not, remember, say that you must start cooperative farming immediately, we do not do anything of the kind. We have said that we should have service cooperatives all over India. We have suggested that this should be done in three years' time. We have about five hundred and fifty thousand so-



called villages, big and small. Presumably that would mean, let us say about two hundred thousand cooperatives in India because some of them are very small villages. It is not a terrible figure to contemplate. When these service cooperatives are functioning, it will be open to people, whenever they choose, to have cooperative farming. We do not want legislation, we do not want compulsion. Let them decide for themselves. We, it may be, we go and try to induce them to decide for themselves; that is a different matter and that is our right and we certainly propose to do that.

Why then this tremendous shouting all over? Has something gone wrong with the people's heads, my head or other people's heads, I do not understand it. Have we lost the capacity for reasoned thought because we are afraid that somebody is going to tread on our toe or vested interests which is even more tender than our toe. Vested interests progressively will have no place in this world, any vested interest which comes in the way of a fellow man, will have still less place in the world. Nobody wants to attack anybody's interest, but it should be realised that in India—I am not talking about the world—the differences in wealth today are terrible. Even the examples of conspicuous spending are painful when we see the differences in the spending capacity of the people. How can any country, much less a politically democratic country, tolerate all that?

So these things arise, and other agricultural things, the ceilings on land, or the wholesale trade in foodgrains. Ceiling on land is a common feature I might mention about this cooperative business. One factor, that is, collective farming, takes place in all manner of countries. I think it is on a fair scale in Canada. Canada is not going to opt for collectivisation so far as I know, and here it is. People do not know these facts.

Now, one important factor about cooperatives is that if the cooperative movement is going to succeed in India, and it must, then it must be preceded by careful training and education. It is no good saying "form the cooperatives and allow the village people to function." It is not good enough. And I fear, and I confess myself that we have not paid enough attention—some attention has been paid but not enough attention—to that aspect. We have to train people carefully as to how to organise them. It is a scientific way of doing things, and it is in the measure that we train people that the cooperative movement will succeed.

Well, Mr. President, I have taken advantage of your kindness in inviting me and talking about some subjects which you have dealt with in your address and some subjects with which you have not dealt with. I hope you will forgive me for the liberty I have taken.

## 123. To Morarji Desai: Perspective Planning<sup>7</sup>

March 18, 1959

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of the 18th March with which you have sent B.K. Nehru's<sup>8</sup> letter of March 11. I am returning the letter.

I agree with you that we should tell him that he should work on the lines of what he calls the Grand Design, as he has mentioned in the last paragraph of his letter.

I do not think that we should plan for eight years instead of five. As a matter of fact, this limited period does not make much difference if we are doing perspective planning. Perspective planning means that we look ahead much more even than eight or ten years. The five year period is just a part of that longer period we are planning for. The only difference is that we work out the five year period in some detail, while the broad features are thought of in terms of the larger period.

Nor do I think it at all desirable for us to have two Plans, one on a restricted scale and another on a bigger scale. This would really make both Plans rather ineffective and unrealistic. It is rather like having two lines of defence for your country. This inevitably results in the first line being not taken seriously. Apart from this, we have some considerable time to draw up our Third Plan, and if we are compelled by circumstances, we can adjust it accordingly. At this stage, it would be very unwise to have a double line of thinking.

B.K. Nehru talks about the price to be paid. If the price means inviting private capital to come in, I have no objection at all, subject always to our general policies not being affected. In regard to oil, however, and on this B.K. Nehru lays considerable stress, I have a good deal of doubt and this doubt persists even after my talks with the American expert who came here.<sup>9</sup> I do not wish to rule this out completely, and it may perhaps be possible to permit exploration of oil in some field not touched by us so far. But, the more I have looked at our links with private firms, the more I have disliked them. You will remember the question that came up before us the other day about the additional amount we have to pay to the American oil company who had entered into a contract with us for exploration of oil in Bengal etc. We suddenly realised that we had to pay much more than we had thought. I rather doubt if we would have

7. Letter.

8. Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs to handle India's external financial relations.

9. The reference seems to be to Walter James Levy, see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 168-169.



come to that agreement if we had known all this, and yet the American expert who came called that a very good agreement for us.

Almost all over the world today, there is some kind of a revolt against the big oil combines. The more their ways are understood, the more they are objected to. In India we have necessarily to concentrate on the more hopeful areas which we have already tackled. Once these areas get going and produce oil, then the position will be greatly changed. We may even ask some foreign companies to function at this stage, but we shall be able to do so from a much stronger position. All I can say at present is that I do not rule this possibility out, though I consider it unlikely and perhaps even unwise.

There is another matter which has been troubling me and which affects our broad approach to our policy in regard to taxation, etc. You will remember my sending you a note by Kaldor.<sup>10</sup> We have adopted some of his proposals, but without other and important parts of them. We have arrived at a stage when we cannot really expect big results and revenue if we function on the old lines. We put additional taxes yielding little revenue and creating a lot of ill-will and trouble. This indicates that we must try to think anew and on different lines. I still think that there is a good deal of room for getting more revenue, but this can only be achieved by new methods.

I think, therefore, that we should give quiet thought to this during the coming months. Nothing much can be done for this year's budget, but if we think from now onwards for next year, we might be in a position then to take some positive steps. I would, therefore, like these matters to be discussed at some leisure by a few of us as soon as the burden of this year's budget is over.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. For Nicholas Kaldor's note, see SWJN/SS/46/p. 408.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*It must be somewhere here! According to our calculations the factory should go into production tomorrow!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 13 MARCH 1959)

## 124. To A.K. Chanda: A Corporation to Coordinate Public Enterprises<sup>11</sup>

March 19, 1959

My dear Asok,

I received your letter of March 10th some time ago. In this, you have again suggested the formation of a central autonomous Corporation to control and coordinate the establishment and operation of public enterprises. At that time, I think the idea did not find much favour. We shall consider your suggestion again.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. Letter. File No. 17(348)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.



## 125. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Preparing the Third Plan<sup>12</sup>

March 21, 1959

My dear V.T.,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st March,<sup>13</sup> with which you have sent me a note on the main issues relating to the Third Five Year Plan. I agree with you that an informal meeting of the Planning Commission should be held to consider this paper before the National Development Council meeting. If it is convenient to you and others, this meeting might be held on the 27th March afternoon, say at 4 p.m. or 5 p.m. (this is Good Friday and hence a holiday) or on Saturday morning, the 28th March, at 9.30.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 126. To Planning Commission: A Socialist Third Plan<sup>14</sup>

I think it will be a good thing to answer this question. I would suggest a fuller answer than the one suggested. I give a draft below. I do not know if it is possible to have this new draft utilised for the question. In any event, it can be used for supplementaries.

Question No. 1578

(a), (b) and (c): Attention is invited to Chapter II of the Second Five Year Plan. The whole purpose of planning is to advance towards a socialist pattern of society by stages, and each Five Year Plan is intended to be a major step forward in this direction. Consideration is now being given to the Third Five Year Plan from this point of view.

It must be realised that the establishment of a socialist pattern of society depends on a large number of factors and involves many changes in the present structure of society. This cannot be done by legislation alone. Further, it involves a much higher degree of production both in the agricultural and industrial fields and more equitable distribution. The proposals for agrarian reform and the

12. Letter. File No.8/2/59-CDN, Planning Commission.

13. Krishnamachari wrote that two important papers relating to state trading and the Third Five Year Plan, discussed at the informal meetings of the Planning Commission, were yet to be forwarded to the Chief Ministers.

14. Note, 30 March 1959.

furtherance of Cooperatives are essential parts of this progress towards a socialist objective. In industry, it is Government's policy to have the basic and strategic industries under State ownership and control and to have general control, in accordance with the planned objectives, of the other fields of industry.

It must be realised that the full achievement of a socialist pattern will necessarily take a considerable time.

### (b) Community Development and Social Welfare

#### 127. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Need for Local Leadership<sup>15</sup>

March 2, 1959

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th February.<sup>16</sup> I entirely agree with you on the need of building up an effective organisation of the people's own representatives at the village level and of educating the leaders at all levels. I would be much interested to have a report of the study camp of M.P.s held at Pattancheru.<sup>17</sup>

Unfortunately, S.K. Dey had recently a heart attack and is confined to hospital for some time.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. Letter. File No. 17/28 59-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

16. Sanjiva Reddy wrote that community development was progressing well with 70% of the state already covered. He estimated that this would be true of the rest of the country also. The MPs' study camp at Pattancheru had concluded that "educating the masses" was essential and must be done by representatives of villages, MLAs and politicians in general. The bureaucracy, though active, was inadequate. Rather ambiguously, he also reminded Nehru about "the urgent need of educating the leaders at all levels first and then educating the people through them."

17. The first study camp for the members of the Informal Consultative Committee on Community Development of the Parliament was organised at Pattancheru near Hyderabad from 29 January to 4 February 1959.



## 128. To Bharat Sewak Samaj: Speech—1<sup>18</sup>

अन्दाजी<sup>19</sup> और साथियो,

आप जानते हैं कि मैं कभी-कभी साल में एक दफ़ा इस भारत सेवक समाज के अधिवेशन में आता हूँ। कभी-कभी वो भी। हर साल नहीं, कभी; और इस वजह से रोज़मर्रा के काम से जो भारत सेवक समाज में हो रहा है, बहुत ज़्यादा मेरी जानकारी नहीं है। कुछ-न-कुछ तो मालूम होता रहता है। कुछ-न-कुछ यहाँ आ कर सुनता हूँ। लेकिन यह तो कुछ दूर से अन्दाज़े होते हैं। अभी आप सुन रहे थे, मैंने भी सुना, बिहार में क्या हुआ? बम्बई में क्या हुआ? दो-एक और जगह क्या हुआ? काम की फ़ेहरिस्त, अच्छे काम हुए हैं। फिर भी सोच मैं यह रहा था कि हमारे सामने बहुत सारे फुटकर अच्छे काम करने हैं या कोई खास काम को, कोई बड़े काम को उठा के उसको सफल बनाना है। दोनों बातें करनी हैं। यह तो नहीं कि एक दूसरे का विरोधी हो। यह माने नहीं हैं। लेकिन फिर भी कुछ-न-कुछ यह बात आती है कि हम किस पर ज़ोर दें? और वो भी कोई एक बात नहीं है कि आप सारे देश में एक ही बात पर ज़ोर दें। कुछ कभी हो भी सकता है और कुछ कभी नहीं, क्योंकि उसमें यह थोड़ा-सा अन्देशा है कि पचासों छोटे-मोटे काम जो जिसका जी चाहे करे, काम अच्छे हैं, अपने ढंग के। उनसे कोई देश के बड़े सवालों से सम्बन्ध खास नहीं रहता। यह हो सकती है यह बात।

तो फिर किस ढंग से काम किया जाये? भारत सेवक समाज किसलिए बने? यह बनी कि वो ज़रा हमारी जो पोलिटिकल राजनीतिक संस्थाएँ हैं, उनसे अलग-अलग से, मतलब उनसे मित्रता रख के, उनके सहयोग से, लेकिन उनसे अलग...यानी राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में भारत सेवक समाज कोई हिस्सा न ले सीधा। इसमें राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में जो काम करते हैं वो ज़रूर हिस्सा लें आ के। आना चाहिए उनको, हरेक को दावत है। लेकिन समाज की हैसियत से वो पोलिटिकल प्रश्नों को न उठाये और यह भी कि वो जहाँ तक बन पड़े इस बात का भी मौक़ा किसी को न दें कि वो भारत सेवक समाज के ज़रिये से पोलिटिकल अपनी उन्नति चाहें या किसी और तरह की। यानी जहाँ तक हो सके उसमें कोई लालच देने का सवाल न हो कि अगर करेंगे तो कुछ उनकी तरक्की होगी और किसी मैदान में...मुश्किल होता है करना, क्योंकि कुछ-न-कुछ उसका असर ऐसा होता है। हम देखते हैं और संस्थाओं में काफ़ी अन्दर झगड़े...कौन बड़ी कुर्सी पर बैठे? कौन सदर हो? कौन मन्त्री हो? कौन क्या हो?

18. Speech at the sixth All India Convention of the Bharat Sewak Samaj (morning session), Pratapnagar, Bhilwara, 8 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

The three-day convention, held between 7-9 March 1959, was attended by 700 delegates from various parts of the country.

19. Union Minister for Labour, Employment and Planning, he was also the Chairman of the Bharat Sewak Samaj.

अब कोशिश तो यह थी कि भारत सेवक समाज में इस ढंग की बात न हो, क्योंकि जो लोग इसमें आयेँ उनको कोई अधिकार तो खास होता नहीं, न होना चाहिए। सिवा इसके कि उनको मौका काम करने का मिले, काम करने का भी, एक हाथ-पैर से काम करने का।...आम तौर से वो काम नहीं जिसको औरों से काम कराना, काम नहीं होता है। वो भी ज़रूरी होता है, लेकिन काम नहीं होता है। काम आम तौर से खुद करने से, और भी देख के करते हैं।...इस ढंग से हम चलें, क्योंकि बुनियादी बात तो यह थी और है कि भारत में बहुत काम करना है, परिश्रम करना है। हुकूमत, सरकार नहीं कर सकती है उसको, उस और न ही करना चाहिए उसको—यहाँ तक भी मैं कहूँगा। अगर हुकूमत, सरकार करने की कोशिश करे...एक तो कर ही नहीं सकती सारे देश में, हर गाँव में कहाँ तक हुकूमत पहुँचे और अगर इत्फ़ाक़ से करना चाहे तो आपके देश की शक्ल बदल जाये बिलकुल। बहुत सारे लोग उस काम के करने में लगेँ और बहुत सारे लोग मैं नहीं जानता और क्या करें? इसलिए हर तरह से यह ज़रूरी बात है कि अगर देश बड़े काम उठाये जैसे कि उठाने ही हैं हमें तो जनता उनको करे। किसी शक्ल में करें, मेरा मतलब यह नहीं है कि सब श्रमदान से देश का काम हो। मेरा मतलब यह नहीं है। लेकिन यह समझना कि देश की उन्नति के लिए हरेक को, हर नागरिक को, परिश्रम करना है।

इस क्ऱदर हमारे देश में यह आदत हो गयी है इन्तज़ार करने की कि सरकार काम करेगी, चाहे वो प्रदेश की हो, चाहे म्युनिसिपैलिटी हो, चाहे केन्द्र की हो, वो करेगी। इस बात से लड़ना, इस विचार से लड़ना कि और लोग करेंगे और खुद करने का मादा पैदा करना...और जहाँ-जहाँ ऐसा हुआ है, वहाँ बहुत जल्दी बड़े काम हो गये हैं। मैं फिर दोहरा देता हूँ आपको, यह सबक सीखना है हमें। यह कि भारत के जो बड़े-बड़े काम होने हैं, सारे हिन्दुस्तान में ज़मीन पर, ये वो, चारों तरफ़, बड़े काम नहीं हो सकते सरकार के द्वारा ख़ाली। बाज़ बड़े-बड़े काम हो सकते हैं। कोई बड़ा कारख़ाना खड़ा कर दे सकते हैं, खुल सकता है और बहुत सारी बातें हो सकती हैं। लेकिन खासकर देहात में, ये जो पाँच-साढ़े पाच लाख गाँव हैं। और शहरों में भी बहुत बातें हैं वो अफ़सरों द्वारा नहीं होते हैं और अफ़सरों द्वारा होना अच्छा भी नहीं होता, दोनों बातें हैं। असल में हिन्दुस्तान में या ऐसे मुल्क में बड़े काम एक ही तरह से हो सकते हैं जब शासन, अफ़सर, शासन और उसके अफ़सर और जनता की ताक़त मिल के लगे; तब बड़े काम हो सकते हैं, क्योंकि दोनों अपने ढंग से कर सकते हैं अपनी बात को। हमारे यहाँ जो अफ़सर हैं, सरकारी अफ़सर, वग़ैरह, पुराने हैं, नये हैं। पुराने ज़माने में आपको याद होगा, अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में हर बात को हम देखते थे कि यह ऑफ़िशियल है कि नॉन-ऑफ़िशियल [...]. यानी ऑफ़िशियल और नॉन-ऑफ़िशियल, अफ़सर या जो अफ़सर नहीं है, उनमें दीवारें थीं बीच में। एक अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत के अफ़सरान के और एक आम जनता के प्रतिनिधि। ज़ाहिर है, जो उस वक़्त यह दीवार थी दोनों में, वैसी दीवार आज़ाद मुल्क में नहीं होनी चाहिए। उसके माने नहीं...ऑफ़िशियल-नॉन-ऑफ़िशियल कोई माने नहीं हैं ऐसे मौक़े पर; कुछ माने हैं, लेकिन वो माने नहीं हैं। लेकिन अभी तक हमारे दिमाग़ों से वो बात निकली नहीं है। हल्के-हल्के निकल



जायेगी, निकलती है, लेकिन और कुछ-न-कुछ वाक्यात भी ऐसे हैं कि जो उस दीवार को रखते हैं। यह भी बात सही है। मैंने महज़ इस बात को सामने रखा, क्योंकि हमें कोशिश करनी है कि...हम सभी को कि...वो सब पुराना फ़र्क ऑफ़िशियल्स और नॉन-ऑफ़िशियल्स का न रहे। लोग वो ही हैं। वो फ़र्क असली शुरू हुआ था अंग्रेज़-हिन्दुस्तानी का, फिर हिन्दुस्तानी उनके, जो उनके साथ थे, वो भी अलग से हो गये।

खैर, गरज़ कि मेरा मतलब यह है कि मैं बार-बार इसको कहता हूँ, क्योंकि इसकी अहमियत आपके सामने रखने को कि हिन्दुस्तान के सामने बहुत बड़े काम हैं ज़मीन पर, उद्योग-धन्धों पर, हज़ारों। समाज के उठाने में बहुत बड़े काम हैं, क्योंकि आखिर में, इसका अन्दाज़ा होता है कि चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना है और कई दफ़े सवाल मुझसे हुए हैं कि आपके यहाँ कितने सवाल हैं? क्या हैं? तो मैंने उसका जवाब दिया है कि हमारे यहाँ चालीस करोड़ सवाल हैं और हमने जान के दिया है। यह मज़ाक़ में नहीं, क्योंकि एक-एक आदमी एक सवाल है। हम एक किताब में सुन लें कि चालीस करोड़ आदमी हैं, ये हैं, वो हैं तो दिमाग़ में कोई असर नहीं होता। हर वक़्त आपको सोचना है कि चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना है। चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को कोई शक्ति दुनिया में नहीं उठा सकती है सिवा वो ही चालीस करोड़ आदमियों के, और कोई भी नहीं उठा सकता। यह बात समझने की है। इसलिए उनमें यह भावना और शक्ति अपने को उठाने की पैदा करनी है। हाँ, उसमें सहायता मिले हर तरह की, यह तो और बात है। सरकार दे, यह दे, वो दे, वो दूसरी बात है। लेकिन उनमें होनी चाहिए और आज़ादी की निशानी होती है कि आदमी अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होता है, मुल्क अपने पैर पर खड़ा होता है, इन्सान उठता है। जो नहीं होता वो कोई ख़ाली नारे से आज़ादी नहीं हो जाती। उसका दिल आज़ाद नहीं होता, वो औरों के ऊपर, औरों के काम से रहता है। चाहे वो जिस ढंग से रहे। किसी देश में जो औरों के काम पर रहते हैं लोग, वो बोझा होते हैं देश के लिए। चाहे उनको आप ले लीजिए, जो कि हमारे समाज में अब तक किसी क़दर पहले से ज़्यादा, जो कि ऊँचे समझे जाते हैं यानी जिनकी आमदनी औरों के काम से होती है और उनके दिमाग़ या शरीर की मेहनत ख़से, नहीं होती। तो वो बोझा है देश के लिए, ज़ाहिर है। यानी अन-प्रोडक्टिव जो लोग हों और जो कुछ अपनी मेहनत से देश की सेवा न करें। मेहनत चाहे दिमाग़ की हो, चाहे हाथ-पैर की हो, कुछ-न-कुछ तो हो।

तो हमें...यह सबमें बड़ा सवाल हिन्दुस्तान का है कि देश, अगर देश की तरफ़ आप देखें तो [...] औरों की तरफ़ ज़्यादा देखने की ज़रूरत न हो। हम अपने यहाँ अपनी आवश्यकता की चीज़ें पैदा करें, हम सेल्फ़ रिलायण्ट हो जायें और उसी ज़रिये से हम आगे बढ़ें। आजकल आप जानते हैं, हम ज़रा भी तरक्की करने की कोशिश करते हैं तो हमें बाहर से मशीन मँगानी पड़ती है, बाहर के सामान, यहाँ तक कि मुसीबत में बाहर से ग़ल्ला भी मँगाना पड़ता है। यह तो, यह तो, एक तरह की गुलामी है, बाहर के ऊपर जो कि बहुत ही तकलीफ़देह है, जो कि निकल नहीं सकती। खैर, यह तो मुल्क का हुआ, इसे हमें हटाना है और यही सब पंचवर्षीय योजना वग़ैरह इसलिए हैं; लेकिन उसका दूसरा पहलू यह है कि...बिलकुल व्यक्तिगत पहलू कि.

..लोग समझें कि उनको, औरों पर बहुत भरोसा नहीं करना है कि उनकी देख-भाल [...] ठीक से हो जायेगी, खुद खड़े हों। खुद अकेला आदमी तो क्या खड़ा हो सकता है, सब मिल के, मिल के करना है। एक गाँव वालों को मिल के, मोहल्ले वालों को मिल के, जहाँ कहीं भी। हाँ, मिल के काम करें, क्योंकि बहुत काम अकेले नहीं होते हैं।

हमारे कम्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट हैं, कम्यूनिटी ब्लॉक्स हैं, क्या उनके माने हैं, बिल्कुल वही माने हैं जो एक दूसरी तरह से आपके भारत सेवक समाज के हैं। वो ज़रा ज़ाबिते से चल रहे हैं। खास बात नहीं है। माने उनके वही हैं। सरकारी चीज़ किसी क़दर हो गयी। हम हर वक़्त कोशिश करते हैं कि यह कम्यूनिटी ब्लॉक्स सिस्टम, यह, जहाँ तक मुमकिन है, ग़ैर-सरकारी हो जाये, जहाँ तक मुमकिन है। कुछ-न-कुछ तो रखना पड़ेगा, क्योंकि उसमें एक नियम और डिसिप्लिन रखना है। वह न जायें और पैसा, पैसा बहुत ख़र्च होता है तो उसमें दिक्कत न हो। लेकिन असली माने में तो भारत सेवक समाज एक बिल्कुल नॉन-पार्टी काउण्टरपार्ट हुआ, ऐसे काम करने का, जो देश के लिए ज़रूरी हैं, आर्थिक और सामाजिक क्षेत्रों में। सामाजिक क्षेत्रों में तो सरकारी तौर से बहुत कम हो सकता है; कुछ हो सकता है लेकिन बहुत ज़्यादा नहीं। वो आम तौर से समाज खुद ही करे। मैंने यह एक सीधी-सादी बात आपके सामने रखी, क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ कि बुनियादी बातें हमारे सामने रहें। हम, हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत अच्छे काम करने वाले लोग हैं, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत सुस्त लोग हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के काम करने को आप नापिये गज़ से तो और मुल्कों के मुक़ाबले में छोटी होती है नाप उसकी। वज़न कम है। सब मुल्क दुनिया के नहीं, लेकिन बहरसूरत जो आगे हुए हैं मुल्क, कैसे बढ़ें हैं?

हमारी तो आदत हो गयी है समझ के कि कोई या तो कोई नारे से बढ़ जाता है या कोई लूट के बढ़ जाता है इधर-उधर के मुल्कों से। समझते हैं यह बात ख़तम हुई। जो बड़े लोग हैं जो साम्राज्यवादी मुल्क रहे हैं, फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, अंग्रेज़ हैं, अमरीका है...अमरीका उस माने में साम्राज्यवादी नहीं है जो मैं कह रहा हूँ...और बड़े मुल्क हैं या यूरोप के मुल्क हैं, अगर ग़ौर से आप देखें तो वो बढ़े हैं अपनी मेहनत से, अपनी अक़ल से। हाँ, उसमें उन्होंने लूट-मार भी और मुल्कों की की। उसमें भी ताक़त की और परिश्रम की ज़रूरत थी। पलंग पर लेटे-लेटे नहीं हो गयी। आये वहाँ से, हिन्दुस्तान आये, विलायत से और स्पेन से और कहाँ से। आठ-नौ महीने के सफ़र में समुद्र से। मालूम नहीं, सैकड़ों आदमी मर गये। कुछ पहुँचे। एक दम था, हिम्मत थी, परिश्रम था। इस तरह क्रौमें बढ़ती हैं। यह सबक़ हम भूलते-से जा रहे हैं। इसलिए मुझे फ़िक़र है। और जितनी बहसें हों वो बहसें हों, यह नहीं कि इस पे चलें उस पे चलें...लेकिन कोई इस बहस के खिलाफ़ कोई दूसरी बहस नहीं हो सकती है। चाहे कोई आपकी नीति हो। चाहे गाँधीवाद हो, चाहे पूँजीवाद हो, चाहे समाजवाद हो, चाहे साम्यवाद हो, उसके पीछे काम है, परिश्रम है, मेहनत है, सहयोग है। सहयोग बग़ैरह में फ़र्क़ है। कहीं फ़ौजी सहयोग होता है, ज़ब्र का होता है, दबाव का होता है। कहीं खुशी से होता है, देते हैं, और जहाँ तक हो सके, ज़ाहिर है, खुशी का सहयोग अच्छा होता है, इन्सान बढ़ता है बग़ैर दबाव के, बग़ैर परिश्रम के नहीं बढ़ता। तो हमें इस परिश्रम का सबक़ सिखाना है और परिश्रम के सबक़ के साथ-साथ



संस्था के लिए सहयोग हो जाता है, क्योंकि अलग-अलग तो आदमी तो कर नहीं सकता, मिल के करते हैं।

हमने सहयोग का सबक सीखा। अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के मुकाबले में कांग्रेस ने, गाँधीजी ने सिखाया। अच्छा था, लेकिन वो मुकाबले का भी था। अब उससे भी अधिक मुश्किल काम हुआ अपने घर को बनाना। बाहर वाले को तो निकाल दिया घर से; बैठा था हमारे घर में। लेकिन घर को बनाना, साफ़ करना, बनाना और हम आदी हो गये बाहर वाले के ज़माने में कि कोई और आ के कर देगा हमारा तो यह भूल है। और खराबी हो जाती है। तो यह भारत सेवक समाज अधिकतर हाथ-पैर से काम करने वाली चीज़ है। दिमाग़ से भी हम किसी को पढ़ाने [बढ़ाने] जाते हैं तो बहुत आवश्यक बात है आप और काम करें, लेकिन हमेशा इसमें मैनुअल लेबर के बग़ैर...मैं बड़े ज़ोरों से आपसे कहता हूँ, क्योंकि मैं खुद नहीं किया करता हूँ मैनुअल लेबर। लेकिन मैं नहीं करता सिवा इसके कि फुटकर कभी चर्खा चला लूँ या बाग़ में खोद लूँ। वो तो मज़ाक़ है, लेकिन मैं तो मजबूर-सा हूँ, लेकिन मेरा दिमाग़ ज़रूर मुझसे कहता है कि यह एक ज़रूरी चीज़ है हर तरह से स्वास्थ्य के लिए, दिमाग़ के लिए, समाज के लिए, देश के लिए, हर तरह से एक व्यक्ति के लिए।...तो इधर ध्यान भी दिलाना है।

अब मैनुअल लेबर में तो नहीं है कि अमीरों का मैनुअल लेबर कि वो सुबह के समय अपने घर में वर्जिश कर रहे हैं, अपनी मशीन [अपने मसल] निकालने के लिए। बजाय यह करने के आप फावड़ा ले के खोदिये, उससे आपको फ़ायदा भी हो, कुछ आपकी मशीन [आपके मसल] भी बने। एक क्रिस्ता मैंने पढ़ा था; एक शख्स अफ़्रीका में बीस बरस रहा। एक अंग्रेज़ था। बिलकुल वहाँ के जो देशी लोग गिने जाते हैं, समझे जाते हैं तो उसने कहा आ के कि अगर कोई वहाँ का आदमी लन्दन में आये और लन्दन में कोई देखे बड़ा शहर, बड़ी-बड़ी इमारतें, मोटर-गाड़ी, हवाई जहाज़, वग़ैरह तो उस पे असर होगा। लेकिन सब में ज़्यादा ताज़ुब उसे यह होगा कि लोग बैठ कर वर्जिश कर रहे हैं। यह क्या है? क्योंकि उसकी ज़िन्दगी काम की है। अच्छा, जब ज़िन्दगी काम की है तो जहाँ काम ख़त्म होता है तो फिर वो आराम करता है। लेकिन जिनकी ज़िन्दगी काम की नहीं है, वो नक़ली काम ढूँढते हैं। मैं नहीं कहता मैं नक़ली काम के खिलाफ़ [...] हूँ। वो मुफ़ीद है, लेकिन असली काम को बुरा समझ के वो नक़ली ढूँढते हैं। ख़ैर, तो बात आपको और हमें समझनी है।

आप जानते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान एक बहुत नाज़ुक, इस वक़्त हाल में, रास्ते पे चल रहा है। तो उसके आगे बढ़ने की निशानी है कि रास्ता आगे हो, न हो तो ख़ैर, मुसीबत हो। लेकिन बाज़ औकात उसमें मुश्किल न हो और यह दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना और तीसरी आने वाली है। यह बिलकुल एक ज़बरदस्त हमारे इम्तहान का ज़माना है। ये सात वर्ष हो जाते हैं। इन सात वर्ष में अगर ठीक-ठीक काम हुआ तो हम एक बड़े भारी समुद्र को पार कर जायेंगे, तरक्की के [...]। उसके बाद सारे मुल्क के काम का सिलसिला मुश्किल होगा, लेकिन तेज़ी से चलेगा; यानी हम एक पार करेंगे पिंजरा जो एक मुल्क को...एक ग़रीबी के पिंजरे को कुछ पार करेंगे। लोग अमीर नहीं होंगे। यह मेरा मतलब नहीं है। मैं आपको धोखा नहीं दिया चाहता। लेकिन

मुल्क उसके बाद ज़्यादा तेज़ी से दौलत पैदा करेगा; लोगों की मेहनत से, कारखानों से, खेती से, वगैरह, जिसमें बच रहेगा हर साल जिससे तरक्की होती है। अब बचता कम है। यह नाज़ुक मौक़ा है। ख़ैर, यह पोलिटिकल सवाल है, आर्थिक सवाल है। उसमें भारत सेवक समाज क्या करे? किस तरह से मदद करे, क्योंकि कोई चीज़ सामने होनी चाहिए। यह भी अच्छा है कि अपने गाँव में कुछ फ़ुटकर काम करें? कोई बुरी बात नहीं है। लेकिन अगर अपने काम को आप एक बड़े काम में जोड़ दें तो आपके काम की शक्ति बढ़ जाती है।

अब मैं इसी सोच में था कि किस बड़े काम में आप जोड़ सकते हैं, क्या करें? क्योंकि एक तरफ़ से भारत सेवक समाज में बहुत ज़्यादा ऊपर से हुकूमत नहीं होनी चाहिए मेरी राय में। नहीं तो बन्द हो जाता है। हर प्रदेश में क्या, हर शाखा को आज़ादी होनी चाहिए बहुत कुछ कि जो कुछ कर सके, करे। जो-जो दस-बीस-चालीस, जिसमें जनता का फ़ायदा हो, लाभ हो, वो करे। बन्धन बहुत कुछ नहीं होने चाहिए। हाँ, ऐसा बन्धन हो, ग़लत बात न करे, वो तो और बात है। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, कोई कम्यूनल बात करने लगे, वो तो बुरी बात है। कोई हिंसा की बात न करे, कोई बुरी बात। लेकिन और जितने समाज सेवा के काम हैं, वो चुन सकते हैं। अलग-अलग हैं। पहाड़ में एक है, नीचे दूसरा है। शहर में एक है, गाँव में दूसरा है। जो फ़र्क़ हैं, वो करें। तो यह आज़ादी तो होनी चाहिए। फिर भी किसी तरफ़ अधिकतर ध्यान दिलाना है, जिधर लोग ज़्यादा देखें। अभी हमारे कुछ भाई आये सौराष्ट्र से, जिन्होंने कहा कि वो ये मिली-जुली खेती करने का उन्होंने निश्चय किया है। बहुत अच्छी बात है। मैं आपसे नहीं कहता और मैं समझता हूँ मुनासिब न हो कि भारत सेवक समाज अपना कार्यक्रम बनाये कि चलो हम जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन हर जगह करायेंगे। दो बातें हैं। एक तो मैं नहीं चाहता कि भारत सेवक समाज एक चीज़ जिसमें आजकल बहस हो रही है कुछ मुल्क में उसमें उस ढंग से पड़े, दूसरे यह कि इस चीज़ की इस वक़्त उस ढंग से आवश्यकता नहीं है। हो सकती है वो, लेकिन उस ढंग से नहीं। लेकिन जिस चीज़ की बिल्कुल ज़रूरत है देश में, वो जिसको सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव कहते हैं, गाँव-गाँव में, हर जगह। उसकी बिल्कुल...वो तो फ़ौरन आज...और उसमें जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ कोई विरोध नहीं है और अगर विरोध है भी तो वो किसी और डर से है, उससे नहीं।

अब कोऑपरेटिव सहकारी काम यह एक बिल्कुल जड़ और बुनियाद हमारे देश के हर काम में होनी चाहिए। बाद में उद्योग में, इण्डस्ट्री में वगैरह, लेकिन गाँव में तो होनी चाहिए और उसके बगैर गाँव बढ़ता नहीं। वो काम एक यों तो अच्छा है और वो एक ज़्यादा ऊँचे दर्जे का है, हायर लेवल [का] है। यानी समाज को आप ज़्यादा ऊँचा कर देते हैं उसको करके। ख़ाली एक तो नाप यह है कि उससे ज़्यादा लाभ होगा आपको, ज़्यादा पैदा होगा, ज़्यादा। लेकिन यह ख़ाली नहीं है। उससे आप समाज को ऊँचा करते हैं, एक दर्जे। तो सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव को चलाने में भारत सेवक समाज को दिलचस्पी लेनी चाहिए ज़ोरों से। उसमें से जो चाहे वो अपना वो जॉयण्ट कल्टिवेशन करें, वो उन पर है। भारत सेवक समाज उसको न उठाये इसलिए कि वो एक बहस में जा कर न पड़े। अच्छा ये कोऑपरेटिव का बहुत हम चर्चा करते हैं। और मैं



जानता हूँ आप जवाब नहीं दे सकते हैं जो हम करना चाहते हैं, हम करें क्या? रुकावटें हैं, ये है, वो है, क्रायदे-क्रानून की। खैर, वो तो अलग सवाल है। क्रानून बदलना चाहिए।

लेकिन एक बात है भारत सेवक समाज खास कर सकती है कि कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट हमारे देश में सफल नहीं हो सकता जब तक कि काफ़ी सीखे हुए लोग नहीं हैं, जो कोऑपरेशन को सीखे हुए हों, और वो सीख भी नहीं सकते कि आप उनको एक-दो-तीन रोज़ में बुला कर उनको [सिखा] दीजिए कि वो क्या करें? इस तरह नहीं होता। काफ़ी एक गहरी चीज़ है, सीखने की चीज़ है। कोई काम। एक बड़ई का काम सीखने को बिठाइए आप लड़के को तो काफ़ी महीनों लगे उसको बड़ई का काम सीखने में। अच्छा बड़ई, लुहार का और आप कोऑपरेटिव शुरू करने को आप एक आदमी को भेजो कि तुम कोऑपरेटिव चलाओ तो यह एक निकम्मी बात है। इसलिए हमें कोऑपरेटिव को पक्की तौर से सिखाना है। मेरा खयाल है कि छै महीने का कोर्स इसका होना चाहिए। जो पक्की तौर से सीखें। मेरा मतलब यह तो नहीं है कि लाखों आदमी चलें छै महीने के कोर्स में। लेकिन कम-से-कम जहाँ कोऑपरेटिव हो गाँव में, वहाँ एक आदमी सीख के आना चाहिए। चलायें, ज़्यादा हो तो और भी अच्छा। खैर, उसमें तो हमारी प्रदेश की गवर्नमेंट को करना है। केन्द्र को करना चाहिए। लेकिन मैंने यहाँ आपसे इसलिए कहा कि भारत सेवक समाज में इधर विचार करें और अपने लोगों को, चुने हुए लोगों को, सिखवाने की कोशिश करें और फिर मदद करने की, इसको सहकारी संघ खोलने में हिस्सा लें, क्योंकि यह चीज़ हमारे सामने एक बड़ी चीज़ आयी है और यह एक निशानी हो गयी है हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को आपस में सहयोग से, सहकार से, आगे बढ़ने की। तो इसमें भारत सेवक समाज को मदद करनी चाहिए इस माने में।

दूसरी बात जो कि भारत सेवक समाज ने बिहार में की...कहीं-कहीं उधर भी हमें झुकना है...यानी काफ़ी तादाद में बड़े पैमाने पर पब्लिक वर्क्स बनाना। बिहार में हुआ, दिल्ली के पास भी कुछ हुआ। अभी स्वामीजी ने आपको बतलाया कितना पैसा बचा। गवर्नमेंट का पैसा कम खर्च हुआ, फिर भी बचा। गाँव वालों की मदद हुई और केन्द्र को भी शायद उन्होंने पचास-साठ हज़ार रुपये भेज दिया। साठ हज़ार रुपये भेज दिये। तो यह ज़ाहिर है, यह ढंग, यह पुराने ठेकेदारी ढंग से कहीं ज़्यादा अच्छा है, हर तरह से अच्छा है। कोई ठेकेदार की मैं बुराई नहीं किया चाहता हूँ। कोई भले होते हैं, कोई नहीं होते। यह कोई व्यक्तिगत बात नहीं होती है। यह होती है ढंग क्या सीधा होता है। यहाँ तो हर बात व्यक्तिगत बना ली जाती है।

यहाँ राजस्थान में बड़े-बड़े जागीरदार थे। उनको हमें हटाना था और हटाया। ज़मींदारी से हमें अदावत थी। अब नहीं हैं वो। बड़े भले आदमी थे, अच्छे थे, शरीफ़ थे। उनसे थोड़े ही कोई हमें अदावत थी, लेकिन जागीरदारी से हमें अदावत थी। तो वो बात हो जाती है न एक प्रथा की। इस तरह से यह कॉण्ट्रैक्टर, ठेके का काम—यह बहुत अच्छा ढंग नहीं है। छोटा-मोटा हो, यह मैं नहीं कहता। जितना ज़्यादा दूसरे ढंग से करे, उतना अच्छा है। मैं तो कहूँ...खैर, ये बड़े-बड़े काम हैं—जैसे कि बिहार में हुआ कि आम जनता का कुछ इन्तज़ाम हो। कोई श्रमदान नहीं है। श्रमदान हो वो तो अच्छा है, वो तो अलग है। लेकिन उनको कुछ मज़दूरी भी मिले।

यह जो बीच का रुपया गायब हो जाता है, बीच के इंटरमीडियरीज के आने में, वो रुपया बचे। कुछ उनको मिले, कुछ देश को लाभ हो, कुछ गाँव को मिले। उसमें फ़ायदा है और सबमें बड़ी बात यह है कि उनके इस तरह से करने से वो उस काम को अपना समझने लगते हैं, यानी उनमें कुछ उनको अभिमान होता है कि हमने किया, हमने नहर बनायी, हमने सड़क बनायी, हमने स्कूल बनाया, अपनापन आ जाता है। यह नहीं कि बाहर वाले बना के खाना हुए। वो एक ग़ैर को समझते हैं। तो ऐसे बड़े कामों को उठाना चाहिए ज़ोरों से। उन कामों में कोई फ़र्क़ होगा। एक और भी तरीक़ा है, उससे भारत सेवक समाज को ख़ास मतलब नहीं है। लेकिन हमारे होते हैं ये ट्रेड यूनियन और ट्रेड यूनियन अगर मज़दूरों का, मेसन, राजों ख़ाजगीरों, का हो, उसमें इंजीनियर वगैरह भी हों तो कोई वजह नहीं कि ट्रेड यूनियन से ही क्यों नहीं समझौता किया जाये कि तुम बनाओ; वो ही ठेका लें। ट्रेड यूनियन बनाये यानी बनाने वाले खुद हों बीच के लोग। मेरा मतलब यह है कि बीच के लोग जहाँ तक कम हों, उतना अच्छा हो। उसमें हरेक का लाभ होता है और उसमें ज़ाहिर है हमने किया। उसमें फिर वो ही कोऑपरेटिव आ जाते हैं। उसमें उनका कोऑपरेटिव हो, राज-मज़दूरों का, कोऑपरेटिव काम करे। अब इसमें भारत सेवक समाज में [ने] भी कुछ काम किया है। कुछ उसको अभ्यास हुआ, कुछ तज़ुर्बा हुआ और कुछ उन्होंने इंजीनियर भी उनके साथ...उनको मदद किया चाहते हैं। यह अच्छा है। उसको बढ़ना चाहिए और इस तरफ़ आपको देखना चाहिए। लेकिन ऐसे काम को याद रखिए आपको उठाना नहीं है जब तक कि आप ठीक इन्तज़ाम न कर सकें। अगर आप किसी भी तरह से यह करते हैं तो सरकारी रुपया मिला...तो फिर [...] आप बहुत बदनाम होंगे अगर काम अच्छा नहीं हुआ। काम अच्छा हो और यह कोई शिकायत किसी को न हो कि सरकारी पैसा ग़लत खर्च हुआ।

मैंने आपको दो-तीन बातें बतलायीं, और बातें तो बहुत हैं, लेकिन एक छोटी बात आपको मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ कहीं भारत सेवक समाज किसी गाँव में काम करे, या किसी मोहल्ले में तो कम-से-कम उस गाँव-मोहल्ले को हमेशा साफ़ रहना चाहिए। एक निशानी हो जाती है, एक नमूना हो जाता है, एक बुनियाद है और काम करने की। बड़ा काम मैं उसको नहीं कहता, लेकिन यह उनको प्रण कर लेना चाहिए कि साफ़ रहे। गाँव वालों को रखना चाहिए, मोहल्ले वालों को रखना चाहिए, लेकिन और कोई न रखे तो भारत सेवक समाज में जो काम करने वाले हों, उनको रखना चाहिए। उनके करने से और लोग भी करेंगे। यह एक माने में छोटी बात है और एक माने में बहुत बड़ी बात है, क्योंकि यह एक निशानी हो जानी चाहिए [...] भारत सेवक समाज के काम की कि जहाँ वो काम करते हैं, वो जगह साफ़ रहती है, मोहल्ला, सड़क, वगैरह, वगैरह।

अब एक बात और मैं अक्सर कहता हूँ यह कि मैंने आपसे शुरू में ही कहा कि हम कुछ पोलिटिकल झगड़ों से अलग रहना चाहते हैं। बड़ा मुश्किल है। इन्सान एक झगड़ालू आदमी है। बात करते झगड़ा लाता है। समझ में नहीं आता कैसे झगड़े से दूर रहें। फ़ौरन कोई-न-कोई बात निकल ही आती है वहस की, झगड़े की। ख़ैर, यह तो लाचारी है। दूसरी तरफ़ से जो लोग



बिलकुल झगड़ालू नहीं होते, वो अक्सर बिलकुल निकम्मे होते हैं। मेरा मतलब यह है, उनमें दम नहीं होता है। आदमी में दम होना चाहिए, शक्ति होनी चाहिए और फिर शान्त स्वभाव होना चाहिए; यह बड़ी मुश्किल है ऐसे आदमी का मिलना, पूरी तौर से। तो खैर, कोशिश की जाती है। तो कम-से-कम भारत सेवक समाज में ये बहसें, जहाँ तक हो, नहीं आनी चाहिए। हमने, मुझे इस वक़्त ठीक मेरे दिमाग़ में याद नहीं है कि आपका कॉन्स्टीट्यूशन क्या है, भारत सेवक समाज का? सीधा-सादा है और सीधा-सादा रहना चाहिए, और इसमें आप पोलिटिकल ढंग लायेंगे, कॉन्स्टीट्यूशनवाज़ी के और कहें कि यह डिमॉक्रेसी इस तरह से आती है, उस तरह से नहीं तो माफ़ कीजिए, फिर आप तो फिर ख़तम हो जायेंगे और डिमॉक्रेसी को बटोर के ले जायेंगे। आजकल डिमॉक्रेसी का इतना चर्चा है कि कॉलेज के लड़के कहते हैं डिमॉक्रेसी है, वो तय करेंगे कि क्या वो पढ़ेंगे, उनका प्रोफ़ेसर नहीं तय करेगा। स्कूल के बच्चे तय करेंगे। वो तय करें और डिमॉक्रेसी की तरक्की ऐसी होती जायेगी तो फिर बहुत आसान होगा। बच्चे बैठ के तय करके आसान-से-आसान इम्तहान होंगे, बग़ैर इम्तहान के डिग्री मिले, सब कुछ हो। यह तो तमाशा कर दिया है और डिमॉक्रेसी को बदनाम कर रहे हैं। डिमॉक्रेसी एक चीज़ भेड़-बकरों की नहीं होती है, इन्सानों की होती है। भेड़-बकरों की गिनती से नहीं होती है। हाँ, गिनती चलती है डिमॉक्रेसी में। लेकिन अगर गिनती के पीछे अक्ल नहीं है, डिसिप्लिन नहीं है तो गिनती फ़िज़ूल है। ख़तम हो गयी गिनती। फिर और बातें आती हैं जो डिमॉक्रेसी को दबा देती हैं। इसलिए डिसिप्लिन, कोई देश कोई समाज डिसिप्लिन के बग़ैर नहीं चल सकता।

डिसिप्लिन दो तरह के हो सकते हैं। एक तो फ़ौज का डिसिप्लिन। जो अफ़सर डालता है और एक अन्दर का अपना-अपना डिसिप्लिन। फ़र्क़ मुल्कों में यह होता है, आज़ाद मुल्कों में और जो आज़ाद नहीं हैं, कि आज़ाद मुल्कों में सेल्फ़ डिसिप्लिन होता है, क्रौम अपने ख़को, डिसिप्लिन करती है, स्वीकार करती है। और दूसरे वाले उनके [वो] जिनके, ऊपर डिसिप्लिन थोपा जाता है। बग़ैर डिसिप्लिन के कोई काम हो ही नहीं सकता है। छोटे-मोटे चाहे जितने और यह सब हम बनाते हैं कॉन्स्टीट्यूशन बग़ैरह, यह क्या है? यह भी एक नियम बनाते हैं। नियमित रूप से देश चले। हम पार्लियामेंट में बोलते हैं या कहीं, तरह-तरह के उसमें बातें हैं कि एक साथ हम किस वक़्त खड़े हों। किस वक़्त बैठें। अध्यक्ष खड़े हैं तो हम बैठे रहें। अध्यक्ष बोले तो हम बैठे रहें। अध्यक्ष बोले तो हम उनकी बात मान लें, चाहे हम समझें कि अध्यक्ष बिलकुल ग़लत कह रहा है, तब भी बात मान लें। उससे बहस थोड़े ही कोई करेगा। यानी यह डिसिप्लिन है जिससे एक क्रौम चलती है और हरेक समझे कि मैं सही हूँ, और ग़लत है, यह अपने को सही समझ के कहे कि मैं अपनी राय पर चलूँगा तो उसमें तो हुल्लड़वाज़ी है। यह कोई डिसिप्लिन नहीं रहता। फ़ौज में हर सिपाही यह कहे तो फ़ौज तो नहीं रहती वो। न फ़ौज है, न अफ़सर है, न सिपाही है। वो तो एक भीड़ है। हममें यह फ़ौजियतपन नहीं है। तो इसलिए यह इन बातों में बहस करना, भारत सेवक समाज के विधान बग़ैरह के सिलसिले में, और डिमॉक्रेसी क्या है, क्या नहीं है? हमारी डिमॉक्रेसी काम करने की है, बहस करने की नहीं होनी चाहिए और आपको आज़ादी है कि आप अपनी जगह जो काम चाहें करें। बुरा काम

न करें, अच्छा काम करें। बस यही फ़र्क़ है। अच्छे कामों में जिधर हम ज़्यादा मिल कर तय करें, उधर ज़्यादा ध्यान दें और विशेषकर कोशिश करें कि कोई-न-कोई बड़े काम को उठायें वहाँ, खास काम को जिसमें आप दिखा सकें, क्योंकि बहुत सारे काम करने में फ़ायदा तो होता है, लेकिन वो कोसे जाते हैं। लेकिन आपको अधिकार है। और दो-एक बातें जो खास काम के लिए मैंने आपसे इस वक़्त कहीं, वो ज़रा आप ध्यान दें जैसे यही सहकारी संघ वगैरह के सिलसिले में, और फिर मैं दोहराता हूँ कि भारत सेवक समाज का नमूना हो, जहाँ काम करने वाले हैं, वहाँ सफ़ाई है।

[Translation begins:

Nandaji<sup>20</sup> and comrades,

As you know, I am very seldom able to come to the conferences of the Bharat Sewak Samaj. So, I am not very well acquainted with its day-to-day activities, though I keep hearing about them and learn some more when I come here. But this is more like guesswork. Just now we heard a long list of what has been done in Bihar, Bombay and one or two other places. Good work is being done. Yet, I was wondering whether we have to take up sundry small tasks or one special task, some big task, and make it a success. We must do both. The one is not opposed to the other and that is where our emphasis lies. It is not necessary that the same thing should be taken up all over the country. But the problem about taking up sundry small jobs is that though good work may often get done, they may not have any direct relevance to the bigger national issues.

So, then, how is this problem to be tackled? What was the Bharat Sewak Samaj set up for? It was set up as an organisation which keeps itself away from politics and political institutions while seeking their cooperation for its activities. The Bharat Sewak Samaj does not participate directly in politics though politicians are welcome to join the Bharat Sewak Samaj. It is open to everyone. But the Samaj cannot be used as a forum to raise political questions or for the personal aggrandisement in politics by any of the individuals, as far as possible. Which means that, as far as possible, there should be no room for temptation that working for the Bharat Sewak Samaj might lead to some rewards in other fields. It is a difficult thing because to some extent such things are unavoidable. We often see petty quarrels arising in most institutions over the posts of President and Secretary and what not.

Our efforts were to see that such things did not happen in Bharat Sewak Samaj and so we gave no powers to any of the members except the opportunity

20. See fn 19 in this section.



to work, even manual work. Getting other people to do something is not work though that is also necessary. Work is something that people should do themselves and induce others to follow their example. So this is how the Bharat Sewak Samaj must function, because the basic fact was and is that there are innumerable tasks waiting to be done in India. People must work very, very hard. The government cannot do them and I would go so far as to say that it should not do so. If it were to take on these tasks, it would have to do them all over the country in every single village which is simply not possible. It is only if the people cooperate and take on the responsibilities that the country can be transformed. Therefore, it is essential in every way that the people should become self-reliant. I do not say that everything can be done by shramdan, by voluntary labour, but that they should understand their own role in the progress of the nation and work hard towards that goal.

It has become a habit among the people in India to wait for the government, the State government or the Municipality or the Centre to do the work. We must fight against this way of thinking and create an atmosphere in which the people learn to be self-reliant. Wherever this has been done, big jobs have been accomplished very quickly. I shall repeat once again that all of you must learn this lesson without fail. The big tasks that have to be done in India cannot be done by the government alone. The government can take up some big projects like putting up a big plant or industry. But all the tasks that need to be done in the five and a half lakh villages in the country and even many things in the cities cannot be taken up by officials and it is not a good thing for the officials to take on all the responsibilities. In fact, in a country like India, big national tasks can be accomplished only when the people cooperate with the government officials. There are various kinds of officials among us, old and new. In the old days, you may remember, in the days of the British, we saw everything as official or non-official, and there was often a barrier between the two, between the officials of the British Government and the representatives of the common people. Obviously, such barriers cannot exist in a free country. Official and non-official have no meaning in such circumstances. But we have not been able to get out of that way of thinking yet. It will go gradually, but somehow circumstances conspire to keep those barriers. This is also true. I am pointing this out to you merely because we must all make an effort to erase the old differences between officials and non-officials. After all, the people are the same. The difference was first created by the British between themselves and the Indians and then among Indians who joined the rank of officers.

Well, anyhow, what I mean is that it is important to bear this in mind and I say it repeatedly because there are enormous tasks which need to be done, regarding land, regarding the industries and for social reconstruction. Ultimately,

the yardstick for this is the upliftment of forty crore people. I have often been asked how many problems do you have and I have replied that there are forty crore problems. This is not a joke because each individual is a problem. When you look at cold statistics, they make no impact. We have to constantly bear in mind that forty crore human beings have to be uplifted. There is no power in the world except those forty crore themselves who can accomplish this gigantic task. This is something that must be understood clearly. Therefore, our effort should be to foster self-reliance in them and to develop an ability to work. It is a different matter that they should be given every kind of help from the government and other agencies. But self-reliance and the ability to stand on one's own feet are the signs of freedom in a human being as well as a nation. The individual or a nation who does not learn to be self-reliant cannot be truly free for they are constantly dependent on others and become a burden for everyone. Take for instance, the section of society which lived off the labour of others without doing a stroke of work themselves. In the past they were held in great respect. It is obvious that they are a burden on the nation because they are unproductive and do not serve the nation in any way, by doing mental or physical work of any kind.

So, the biggest problem in India today is the need to be self-reliant, because a country which is self-reliant does not have to look to others very much. The only way that we can progress is by producing what we need and becoming self-reliant. Nowadays, as you know, we have to import machines from outside for everything that we wish to do. In fact, we have had to import even food grains in a crisis. This is after all a form of slavish dependence on other countries which is very distressing. We must make every effort to get out of it and all our five year plans, etc., are aimed at this. But the other aspect, the personal aspect, of the problem is that people must understand the need to become self-reliant and not to look to others to look after them. It is true that an individual cannot stand absolutely alone. So he has to cooperate with the people in his locality or village or wherever he lives.

We have our community development projects, our community blocks. What are their objectives? They are absolutely the same as those of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, except that they are being done more formally. But the objectives are the same. The only difference is that the community projects have become official to some extent though we make all efforts to keep them from becoming so. However, a certain amount of governmental control is necessary to maintain discipline and to curb unnecessary expenditure or misuse of funds. But as far as the Bharat Sewak Samaj is concerned, strictly speaking, it is a completely non-party counterpart of the community development schemes for taking up the tasks of social and economic reconstruction. The government can do very



little in the field of social change and generally speaking, they have to be brought about by society itself. I have put this simple proposition before you because I want you to be clear in your minds about the basic principles. We have able people in India but they are extremely lazy. If you compare the output of work done in India with the other countries especially the advanced countries of the world, it is very little.

It has become a habit with us to think that one can accomplish things by shouting slogans or by plundering other countries. People seem to think that this is all that is necessary. Those big countries, which have been imperialist countries like England, like America... America is not imperialist in that sense... and other big countries or the countries of Europe... If you look carefully you will find that they owe their progress to hard work and mental ability. It is true that they plundered from other countries. But even that required strength and hard work. They did not build huge empires by remaining idle. They came to India from England and Spain and elsewhere, travelling for months by sea, and hundreds of people used to die on the way. So all this required daring and courage and hard work. This is how nations grow. We are gradually forgetting this lesson and that is why I am worried. And no matter how many discussions and debates we may have about following this path or that path... there can be no debate on the issue that the question before us is not which policy we must follow opinions are bound to differ on the subject, but whether you follow Gandhism, capitalism, communism or socialism, it has to be backed by hard work and cooperation. There are different kinds of cooperation. There is military cooperation which is based on compulsion and pressure. It is obvious that the cooperation which is given without any force or compulsion is better because human beings grow not by pressure but by hard work. Therefore, we must teach the lesson of hard work and with this we get cooperation for the institution, because individuals cannot achieve anything by standing alone, only through joint effort.

We learnt the lesson of cooperation under the leadership of Gandhiji in the Congress when we challenged British imperialism. The task before us today is even more difficult. Now that we have removed foreign rule from the country, we are faced with the task of reconstruction, cleansing and rebuilding India. We had got into the habit of looking to the others to do our work for us. This is wrong. Bharat Sewak Samaj is an institution which believes in manual labour as well as mental effort. It is certainly necessary to educate the people but manual labour is equally important. I always stress this though I myself do very little manual labour, except an odd bit of gardening or spinning the charkha. But that is nothing. However I am helpless. My mind does tell me that manual labour is very important for good health, mental as well as physical, for the

society and the nation and the individual. So we must draw people's attention to it.

I do not count the activities of the rich as manual labour. If they were to learn to use a spade, it will do them good. I once read a story about an Englishman who lived in Africa for a number of years almost entirely as a native. He said that an African who went to London would no doubt be greatly impressed by the tall skyscrapers and cars and aeroplanes, etc., but he would be more amazed if he saw them exercising. He himself works so hard that when his work is over, he rests. But even those who do no physical labour have to do some exercise. To an African, it would seem artificial. I am not opposed to artificial work. But the problem is that they discard real work for the artificial. Well, this is something that all of us must understand clearly.

As you know, India is passing through a very critical period. The difficulties that we are facing are a sign of progress. We are passing through a difficult time. Now the Second Plan is almost over and the Third is going to start. So, it is great testing time for us. If our progress is satisfactory in the next seven years, we would have crossed a great ocean. There will be difficulties in the future, too, but our progress will be more rapid because we would have come out of the abyss of poverty. I do not say that everybody will become rich. I do not wish to deceive anyone. But the country's capacity to produce wealth from land and industries, etc., will increase and there will be more to save. Now there are hardly any savings. Well, this is a critical situation in which there are political as well as economic problems. What should the role of the Bharat Sewak Samaj be in such circumstances? How can it make itself useful? It should have a specific goal. It is not a bad thing to do odd little tasks here and there in the villages. But if you associate yourself with some big project, you will grow in strength.

I was wondering what you could take up, because on the one hand, in my opinion, there should be no interference from the top in the Bharat Sewak Samaj. Otherwise it becomes stagnant. Every province and every branch must have the freedom to do something useful in the public interest. There should not be too many restrictions except in cases of obvious misdemeanour. For instance, if they were to indulge in communal activities or violence, it is a bad thing. But they should be free to choose the sphere in which they wish to work. There are different tasks to be done in the cities and the villages. But their attention should be focussed on some aspect of social service. Just now, some delegates from Saurashtra said that they had decided to take up joint cultivation. That is a very good thing. Now I do not say, and nor would it be feasible that the Bharat Sewak Samaj should take up joint cultivation as its programme everywhere. There are two things. One, I do not want the Bharat Sewak Samaj to get into



controversial areas, and two, it is not necessary at the moment to do joint cultivation. What is however absolutely essential is to form service cooperatives everywhere. That is immediately necessary and as far as I know, there is no opposition in the country and even if there were, it is due to some other fears.

Now, cooperative societies are absolutely the crux of our activities in the country and should be taken up on a large scale. They should be set up immediately in every village. For one thing, this ensures a higher level of functioning. The society is lifted to a higher plane. One measure of it is that it will help to increase production. But it also enables the society to function on a higher plane to some extent. So the Bharat Sewak Samaj should take a greater interest in running the service cooperatives. Those of the members who wish to take up joint cultivation can do so. But the Bharat Sewak Samaj should not enter into any area of debate. All right, we talk a great deal about cooperatives. But I am aware that you cannot give me a clear answer of what we should do. There are legal obstacles and what not. The laws have to be changed, which is a different matter.

But there is one thing that the Bharat Sewak Samaj can do very well. The cooperative movement cannot succeed in the country unless there are enough trained people, trained in the running of cooperatives in the country. They cannot be trained by calling them and telling them in two or three days what they have to do. It doesn't happen like this. There is a great deal to be learnt, and learning is weighty business. Even if you wish to train a carpenter or an iron-smith, it would take years. So it is absurd to send a man who is completely untrained to run the cooperatives. We must train people to do it. I think there should be a six-month course for it so that they may learn properly. I do not mean to say that millions of people should join the course. But wherever there is a cooperative society at least one individual from that village should be trained. Well, anyhow, this will have to be done by our State governments and the Centre. But as I told you, the Bharat Sewak Samaj should consider taking up the training of selected people and then help them to form cooperative societies. This is a very big thing in India today and has become symbol of the people's cooperation. The Bharat Sewak Samaj must help in this task.

Secondly, we have to also take up what the Bharat Sewak Samaj did in Bihar— constructing public works on a large scale. It has been done quite successfully in Bihar and near Delhi. Just now Swamiji told you how much money had been saved. The government had to spend very little. The villages benefited and I think they sent back fifty-sixty thousand rupees to the Centre. So it is obvious that this is better than the old system of giving the job to contractors. I am not saying anything against contractors, for there are good as well as bad people. There is nothing personal in this. I do not know why

everything should be taken as personal.

There used to be big jagirdars in Rajasthan. We had to remove the jagirdari and zamindari system and so we did. It is not because we had an enmity with the jagirdars and zamindars. There were good people among them. It is the system which we were opposed to. Similarly, the system of contractors is bad. The more we have of the other type of work, the better it will be. I would say that as far as possible, the masses must participate in the big tasks. That does not mean shramdan, though even that is a good thing. The people should be paid wages. But the money that is spent on the intermediaries can certainly be saved and used for the country's welfare. The greatest advantage in this is that the people feel a sense of involvement and pride in the work they are doing. They think of the road or the canal or the school they constructed as their own. It does not happen if the task is entrusted to outsiders. So these are the big tasks that have to be taken up. Another way of doing it is to come to an understanding with the trade unions and workers and engineers and ask them to do the work. But it does not concern the Bharat Sewak Samaj directly. What I mean is that the less people there are as intermediaries the better it will be. It is in the interest of everyone and we will have something to show for it. So, once again we come round to the question of cooperatives among the trade union workers. The Bharat Sewak Samaj has gained some experience by undertaking these tasks and the cooperation of engineers has been assured to them which is a good thing and must be done more often. But please remember that you must not take up such tasks unless you can make proper arrangements for it. If you get governmental aid or assistance from elsewhere and fail to do the job properly, you will get a bad reputation. So, nobody should be given an opportunity to say that public money has been wasted.

I have talked to you about a few things and there are a number of things to tell you about. But one small thing that I would like to tell you is that wherever the Bharat Sewak Samaj takes up something, it must ensure that the village or street is kept clean. It should be an example to others. I do not say that it is a big thing. But the workers must take a pledge to maintain cleanliness and the villagers and the people from the neighbourhoods must also pledge to do so. Their example will be followed by others. So in a sense, even a small thing like this will become an achievement, because it will become a symbol of the way the Bharat Sewak Samaj functions.

Another thing, and this I say often, as I said right at the beginning, is that we wish to keep ourselves aloof from political controversies. It is difficult because man is a quarrelsome creature and is only too ready to start disputes. It is very difficult to prevent people from quarrelling when there is always some cause or the other for dispute. On the other hand, people who are passive and



do not ever quarrel are often completely useless. What I mean is that they lack spirit. Men ought to have guts, strength and then also be peace loving. It is very difficult to find such a man, at least one who is completely like this. But the effort should be made. Well, anyway, the Bharat Sewak Samaj should refrain from entering into controversies. I do not remember at the moment what the constitution of the Bharat Sewak Samaj says. It is simple, straightforward and should be kept like that. If you give it a political colour and enter into controversies about the best way to establish democracy and what not, then I am afraid you will be finished and also put an end to democracy, if you will forgive my saying so. Nowadays, there is a great deal of talk of democracy with students saying that they and not the professors will decide what they will study. Soon the school children will be making similar demands and democracy will become a simple affair, with children deciding that the examinations should be easy or that degrees must be given without examinations. It is becoming a joke and getting democracy a bad name. Democracy is not for sheep but for human beings, and though numbers do count in a democracy, unless they are backed by training and discipline, mere numbers are useless. Without discipline, democracy will be completely suppressed and no nation or society can progress.

Discipline can be of two kinds. One is military discipline and the other is self-discipline. The difference between the nations which are free and the others which are not is that there is self-discipline among free nations. The nations which are not free have to accept a discipline enforced from above. Nothing is possible without discipline. What are the Constitution and other laws for? They are meant to ensure that the country functions in a disciplined way. Whether we are speaking in Parliament or elsewhere, the need for solidarity and unity is extremely important as also the necessity of knowing when one should speak up and when to keep quiet. We have to accept the decisions of the Speaker even if we feel that it is absolutely wrong. There is no question of arguing about it on the floor of the House. So, discipline is something which is absolutely essential for the smooth functioning of a country. If each individual pulls in a different direction, there will be chaos. An army cannot allow each soldier to decide for himself. It will no longer be an army if there is no discipline, it will become a crowd. We do not have this sense of discipline in us. It is not becoming in the Bharat Sewak Samaj to enter into political controversies. Our democracy should be a practical democracy and not merely of debates. You have full freedom to do whatever you wish to do in your own sphere. The only thing is that there should be a definite focus on some area and a special effort to undertake some big project so that you may have something concrete to show for it. It is a good thing to take up sundry small jobs. But it will be better if you paid attention to some of the special tasks that I have talked to you about like the cooperative

societies, etc. I shall repeat once again that the hallmark of the working of the Bharat Sewak Samaj should be cleanliness.

Translation ends]

## 129. To Bharat Sewak Samaj: Speech—II<sup>21</sup>

8-3-1959

साथियो,

पिछले पौने तीन घण्टे से मैं आपकी कार्रवाई सुन रहा था और जो अलग-अलग प्रदेशों से रिपोर्ट्स आयी थीं उनको सुना। उसके कई असर मेरे ऊपर हुए—कुछ अच्छे, कुछ अच्छे नहीं। यानी एक तो यह असर हुआ कि भारत सेवक समाज का काम फैलता जाता है, फैलता है भारत के अलग-अलग हिस्सों में और दूसरे ढंग से भी फैलता है कि अनेक तरह के काम उसमें आते-जाते हैं; दोनों ढंग से। और यह भी असर हुआ कि बाज़ हमारे देश के हिस्सों में कहीं ज़्यादा हो रहा है, बाज़ कहीं कम। यह तो मैं क़रीब-क़रीब समझ सकता था कि ऐसे हो ही रहा है।

अब, जिस ढंग से यहाँ रिपोर्ट्स वग़ैरह पढ़ी गयीं, वो मुझे ढंग पसन्द नहीं आया, उससे कोई लाभ नहीं किसी को हुआ, न मुझे हुआ, शायद कहीं-कहीं झलक आ गयी। लेकिन वो एक बेजान-सी चीज़ है। उसको आप पढ़ भी सकते थे जो उन्होंने लिखा है, एक ज़्यादा सरलता से पढ़ें आप, पर्चे आपको दे दिये जायें। कई साहब आपको बतायें कि हमने दस मील सड़क बनायी या पचास बीघा ज़मीन खोदी या जो कुछ और ऐसा किया, वो कुछ बहुत हुआ नहीं उससे कुछ। तो मैं एक तो कहूँगा यह कि आपका ढंग, लेकिन एक बात मैं ज़रूर कहूँगा कि एक-एक प्रदेश के संयोजक या जो कोई थे उनके आने का कुछ कहना, यह अच्छी बात थी और एक-एक प्रदेश के लोगों को आना चाहिए और कुछ-न-कुछ बताना चाहिए। लेकिन यह ढंग नहीं कि आपको बतायें कि हमने कितने फुटकर काम...यह फुटकर काम है, करने ही चाहिएँ उन्हें, जितने अधिक करें, कोई गुल-शोर मचाने की बात नहीं अगर आपने दो-चार मील सड़क बना ली है, या दस-बीस बीघे में कुछ खेती कर ली। एक संस्था के लिए कहना हमने प्रदेश में यह किया...कुछ मेरे ऊपर असर कम हो गया काम का। बजाय वहाँ काम हुआ, उलटा ही असर हुआ। लेकिन अच्छा है कि एक-एक प्रदेश से कनवीनर, संयोजक कुछ-न-कुछ कहें, फ़ेहरिस्त न दें, कुछ और कहें अगर कह सकते हैं, कहें। फ़ेहरिस्तें नहीं कि किस ढंग से वहाँ इस तरफ़ जनता का ध्यान जा रहा है, किस तरह से वो खुद करने लगे हैं काम उस ढंग से।

21. Speech at the sixth All India Convention of the Bharat Sewak Samaj (afternoon session), Pratapnagar, Bhilwara, 8 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.



उसी के साथ मैं समझता हूँ कि ज़्यादा अच्छा हो अगर कोई समय आपके अधिवेशन में हो तो आप एक-दो प्रश्नों को ख़ास रख लें विचार करने के लिए। उस पे कोई प्रस्ताव हो-न हो, मुझे कोई प्रस्ताव की फ़िक्र नहीं, क्योंकि कोई प्रश्न हो...फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, आप चाहते हैं तो आप इस समय रखते ये सहकारी संघ का प्रश्न, कोऑपरेशन का। तो उस पर...दो-तीन घण्टे उसी प्रश्न पर बात होती है, क्या हुआ है आपके यहाँ? आप जानते हैं, क्या कठिनाइयाँ हैं, क्या आप समझते हैं हो सकता है? तो एक प्रश्न को पकड़ कर आप उस पे विचार करते। कोई प्रश्न हो, एक हो, समय हो आप दो प्रश्न रख लें, इस ढंग से। यह इससे ज़्यादा आप पकड़ेंगे सवालियों को और कोई नतीजा निकलेगा, कुछ रोशनी पड़ेगी आपके दिमाग़ में, हमारे दिमाग़ में, सबों के, जितने सुनने वाले हैं। यह तो मैं आपके आइन्दा के अधिवेशन के लिए एक आपको अपना विचार पेश करता हूँ कि आप विचार करें।

अब भारत सेवक समाज ऐसी संस्था नहीं है, न होनी चाहिए कि उसको एक ढकेल-ढकेल के या, अगर आप माफ़ करें, मैं कहूँ [...] चाबुक लगा कर आगे बढ़ाया जाये। इस तरह की संस्था नहीं है, न हम चाहते हैं, यानी जो उसके असली माने हैं, वो उखड़ जाते हैं। असली माने ये हैं कि आप लोग औरों को भी...उनको सिखायें, अपने आप काम ख़ुद करें, अपने ऊपर भरोसा करके। तो चाबुक से तो होता नहीं। तो इसलिए तरह-तरह के काम होंगे। जैसा मन में आया। अच्छा काम हुआ वहाँ और मैं कोई रोका नहीं चाहता। लोग कोई भी अच्छा काम हो वहाँ करें। लेकिन उसी के साथ इस तरह से आप बहुत एक...क्या कहूँ एक...आप का सारा काम गोल हो जाता है, पतला हो जाता है, गहराई नहीं होती उसमें, पकड़ नहीं होती। जो-जो काम आप करें एक माने में, समाज सुधार के हैं, समाज कल्याण के हैं, वो हैं, समाज को कुछ-न-कुछ फ़ायदा होता है, कोई भी भला आप करें, समाज का होता है, लेकिन उसी के साथ अगर वो एक गोल [-मोल] समाज का कल्याण आप उठाते हैं तो कोई बात जमती नहीं। अलग-अलग कुछ-न-कुछ लाभ हो जाये। इस तरह से समाज कल्याण, सोशल रिफ़ॉर्म तो हमेशा से लोग करने वाले हैं, हमेशा से कहते हैं, हमारे देश में हमेशा से करते आये हैं और देशों में होता है। सोशल रिफ़ॉर्म संस्थाएँ होती हैं, अच्छा काम करती हैं। लेकिन फीका होता है काम, और मैं नहीं चाहता कि भारत सेवक समाज का काम फीका हो। मैं कोई रुकावट नहीं करता आपके काम में, जो चाहे करें। लेकिन मुझे ख़तरा मालूम होता है कि फैलते-फैलते इतना फीका हो जाये कि उसमें कोई खुशबू ही न रहे। तो मैं नहीं चाहता कि उस तंग माने में यह एक सोशल रिफ़ॉर्म संस्था हो। हालाँकि सोशल रिफ़ॉर्म इसका ख़ास मतलब है। समाज कल्याण, समाज को सुधारना। लेकिन [...] आम तौर से जो समझा जाता है सोशल रिफ़ॉर्म संस्थाएँ, मैं नहीं चाहता कि यह हो, क्योंकि वो भली होती हैं, भले आदमी उनमें होते हैं, लेकिन उसका कोई बहुत असर नहीं दुनिया पर पड़ा है आज तक।

तो फिर क्या किया जाये? कुछ-न-कुछ आपको एक अपना ध्यान जमा के उस तरफ़ डाला जाये। जब शुरू में ये भारत सेवक समाज शुरू हुई थी तो यह विचार था कि यह तेज़ी से भारत भर में फैले। यह विचार, यह फैले और लाखों आदमी, करोड़ों आदमी, पैसा हो, कुछ-न-कुछ

करें। वो कुछ विचार नहीं हुआ सफल, वो बात नहीं हुई और कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है उसका न होना, नहीं हुआ। फिर यह हल्के-हल्के जड़ पकड़ने लगी। वो मैंने समझा अच्छी बात है, हल्के-हल्के बढ़ें। एकदम से दिखावे के लिए कुछ इधर-उधर से हो जाये तो उससे कुछ नतीजा नहीं। हल्के-हल्के जड़ पकड़ के फैलना। लेकिन मैं जरूर यह चाहता हूँ कि यह पनीली चीज़ न हो, ज़रा गहराई हो उसमें। अब कैसे हो, कैसे न हो, मैं उसमें तो नहीं बहुत जा सकता। लेकिन मुझे ज़रा-सी झलक हुई कि लोग समझते हैं कि उन्होंने ज़रा इधर फुटकर काम कर दिया, उधर कर दिया तो उन्होंने एक बड़ी बात की। मैं नहीं मानता। हमेशा से फुटकर काम होते रहे हैं तो बड़ी संस्था की कौन-सी जरूरत है? तो क्या करें, किस ढंग से, क्योंकि ये चीज़ें, पकड़ की नहीं कि मैं पकड़ कर आपको बता दूँ कि ये करो, वो करो। यह तो अच्छा काम करने वाला होता है, वो हवा को फैलाता है काम करने का। अपने चारों तरफ़ वो हिला देगा; अपने गाँव को नहीं, ज़िले को हिला देगा, लोग काम करेंगे। नहीं है तो क्रायदे-क्रानून से काम तो पता होता नहीं। तो...लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ आप इस पर विचार करें, क्योंकि हमें जहाँ तक बन पड़े, यह, इस तरह का काम करना, यानी गाँव वाले, शहर वाले खुद काम करें...कुछ-न-कुछ उसकी हवा फैलानी है। वो हवा खुद काम करके होती है। खाली ये किताबें-पुस्तकें निकाल के नहीं, खुद जहाँ दस आदमी करते हैं, सौ आदमी देख कर करेंगे। सौ को देख के हजार करेंगे। इस तरह से फैलानी है और उसको ठीक रास्ते पर फैलाना है। एक बहुत सारे भले काम हैं।

जब मैं...बहुत बरस हुए, जब मैं वहाँ विलायत में केम्ब्रिज में पढ़ता था तो एक हमारे भाई आये, महाराष्ट्र से थे जहाँ तक मुझे याद है। वो एक बड़े ज़ोरों के सोशल रिफ़ॉर्मर थे और आये और अच्छे थे और उन्होंने जो हिन्दुस्तानी लड़के केम्ब्रिज में पढ़ते थे, उनको जमा किया। मैं भी था उनमें। तो उन्होंने एक लेक्चर दिया कि बेवाओं के विवाह के लिए, विडो-रिमेरिज का। उसको बहुत लोग पसन्द करते हैं। खैर, अक्सर लड़कों ने कहा बहुत ठीक आप कहते हैं, होना चाहिए उनका विवाह। फिर उन्होंने पर्चे निकाले, कहने लगे सब लड़कों से, तुम प्रतिज्ञा करो कि तुम खाली एक विधवा से विवाह करोगे। अब यह तो (हँसी)...तो मुझे नहीं मालूम किसी ने दस्ताखत किये या नहीं, मैंने तो नहीं किये साहब (हँसी)। मैंने कहा विधवाओं से विवाह तो होना चाहिए। उनको क्रानून से, और तरह से, समाज से होना चाहिए, पूरी आज्ञादी हो, मुझे पक्का यक़ीन है इसका। यह बड़ा अनर्थ है, अन्याय है, ग़लत बात है समाज के लिए, उसको रोकना। लेकिन किसी से यह कहना खाली विधवा से विवाह करो, यह तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आयी बात। लेकिन अक्सर हमारे सोशल रिफ़ॉर्मर इसी ढंग से चलते हैं और इसीलिए उनका असर कम होता है।

तो यह मैं चाहता हूँ कि कहीं हमारे ये भारत सेवक समाज में यह रंग सोशल रिफ़ॉर्मर्स का न आ जाये। अब एक दूसरे ढंग के सोशल रिफ़ॉर्मर थे गाँधीजी जो कि एक तरह से छोटी-छोटी बातें उठाते थे। छोटी तो नहीं थीं, लेकिन फिर भी सोशल रिफ़ॉर्मर्स के मुक़ाबले में छोटी थीं। लेकिन उस छोटी बात को उठा कर वो क्रान्ति पैदा करते थे। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि बहुत सारे लोग हमारे और बड़े अच्छे लोग ऊँचे दर्जे के, उन्होंने जाति भेद के बारे में आवाज़ उठायी; आज नहीं,



चालीस-पचास, साठ-सत्तर बरस से, हमेशा से उठी है। हमारे यहाँ उसके विरोध में बड़े-बड़े आदमियों ने उठायी है। लेकिन इस ज़माने में इस पिछले पचास बरस, साठ बरस में काफ़ी बड़े-बड़े लोगों ने उठायी और कुछ उसका थोड़ा-सा असर हुआ हो। अलग-अलग संस्थाएँ बनीं। ब्रह्मसमाज [...] प्रार्थनासमाज और [...] क्या-क्या। गाँधीजी ने आ के इस बात को ज़ोर दिया। उन्होंने जो हमारे हिन्दुओं में, जिनको हरिजन कहने लगे, अछूत भाई, दबाये हुए भाई, उनके उठाने पर। ख़ाली इस बात को पकड़ कर उन्होंने उस पर ज़ोर दिया, उसके दिखाये कि माने क्या हैं? जब तक यह बात नहीं हो तो उस समय तक अन्याय तो है ही, लेकिन सारा आप का देश एक माने में आज़ाद नहीं हो सकता, असली आज़ादी। आप दबायें औरों को तो कैसे होगा? और हिन्दू समाज गिरेगी और गिर गयी है, और गिरती जायेगी। कोई ज़्यादा बड़ी बात नहीं कही। लेकिन उन्होंने देखा... वो हल्के-हल्के में उनसे अक्सर पूछता था कि आप जो करते हैं यह तो सही है, लेकिन आप ज़ोरों से सारे जाति-भेद और कास्ट सिस्टम के खिलाफ़ क्यों नहीं मैदान में आते? उन्होंने कहा, तुम समझे नहीं कि अगर यह अछूतों का सवाल और हरिजनों का सवाल हल हो जाता है तो कास्ट-सिस्टम टूट जाता है। यह उसका नतीजा है, वो रह नहीं सकता है, जिस ढंग से हो रहा है। तो लेकिन, अगर मैं लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें करूँ तो ध्यान एक चीज़ से हट जाता है, जिसको पकड़े हूँ, जिसमें मैं ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ हरेक का। तो इस माने में मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर आप बहुत सारे छोटे-मोटे इधर-उधर काम करें तो ज़रूर आपका काम कुछ-न-कुछ लाभदायक होगा, लेकिन कुछ जमती हुई बात नहीं नज़र आती मुझे। एक हवा दौड़े कि लोग करें कुछ बातें तो क्या करें? करें तो बहुत कर सकते हैं, मगर किस ढंग से करें? क्योंकि एक तरफ़ से आपकी भारत सेवक समाज एक संस्था है, जिसके बन्धन बहुत नहीं हैं, क़ायदे-क़ानून बहुत नहीं हैं। आप कहीं भी काम करने को तैयार हुए, आपने जो चाहा शुरू किया, वो अच्छी बात है। लेकिन उसमें एक लाभ है, एक नुक़सान है। एक संगठित समाज जो होती है वो उसके लिए रास्ता साफ़ है, चलती है उस रास्ते पर, उसमें वो आज़ादी फैलने की नहीं होती।

लेकिन फिर एक शक्ति बढ़ने की होती है। भारत सेवक समाज वैसी संगठित नहीं है, न होना चाहिए, हम नहीं चाहते। लेकिन उसमें दूसरी बातें फिर होनी चाहिए कि तेज़ी से चारों तरफ़ फैले, बग़ैर संगठित हुए, नहीं तो न इधर की रहती है, न उधर की रहती है। तो इन बातों में, यह मैं चाहता हूँ, इन बातों पर आप विचार करें, बजाय उसके कि फ़ेहरिस्तें सुनें, कहाँ क्या हुआ, कहाँ क्या नहीं। वो तो आप कागज़ पर पढ़ सकते हैं, क्योंकि आपके विचारों से, आपकी राय से कुछ रोशनी पड़ती है, सबों की राय से, सम्मिलित राय से रोशनी पड़ती है; बहस से; क्योंकि हमारे सामने जो काम हैं देश में, बहुत ज़बरदस्त हैं। और उसमें ज़बरदस्त महज़ काम नहीं हैं और वो काम ठीक हो नहीं सकते जब तक कि हम कुछ समझें नहीं नज़र भारत का क्या है।

अभी एक भाई मेरे पास आये, एक बुजुर्ग। उन्होंने कहा भारत का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता जब तक कि हम पक्की तौर से जैसा भारत दस हज़ार बरस हुए, पाँच हज़ार बरस हुए था, वैसा

न करें; कल्याण नहीं हो सकता। मैंने कुछ दूर तक सुना, फिर मैंने उनसे कहा, यह तो मैं समझ सकता हूँ कि भारत के जो बड़े सिद्धान्त हैं, ऊँची बातें, उनको हम याद रखें, क्योंकि बड़ी ऊँची चीज है, जो एक हज़ारों बरस से उसने भारत को सँभाला, भारत के दिमाग को, भारत के मन को, आत्मा को। मज़बूत चीज़ें हैं, दुनिया के लिए भी, मैं समझता हूँ वो ठीक हैं। वो तो ठीक बात है। लेकिन अब मुझसे कहना पाँच हज़ार, दस हज़ार बरस पीछे चले जाओ तो मुझे कुछ कठिनाई मालूम होती है। एक तो यह कि जहाँ तक मालूम है, कुछ हिसाब लगाया गया है, सारे भारत भर में उस वक़्त आबादी लाखों की थी, करोड़ों की नहीं। बहुत कम आबादी थी। अब करोड़ों की है और बढ़ती जाती है, करीब-करीब चालीस करोड़ की अब है, उस समय लाखों थी। तो यह तो नहीं करने बैठेगा कि करोड़ों को क़त्ल करो कि लाखों की आबादी हो जाये, पाँच-सात, दस बरस में (हँसी), क्योंकि इतिहास को आप पलट नहीं सकते। उस समय आप पढ़ें, उस समय जहाँ तक हाल पढ़ें, बहुत अच्छी बातें थीं। रामराज्य का हम पढ़ते हैं और मुझे कोई सन्देह नहीं, रामराज्य जो कुछ हो, बहुत अच्छी बातें हैं, लेकिन आप एक बात याद रखिए कि उस समय चूँकि आबादी कम थी, ज़मीन...बेशुमार ज़मीन थी, जंगल थे, आदमी कम थे, ज़मीन की कमी नहीं थी, जितनी जिसको ज़मीन अपनी कर सके, करे; इस में सारा कितना फ़र्क़ हो जाता है आजकल, ज़मीन की कमी और आदमी...आदमी बढ़ते जाते हैं यहाँ...नया प्रश्न, यह प्रश्न था ही नहीं यहाँ। अलावा इसके दुनिया बदल गयी, सिद्धान्त नहीं बदलते। लेकिन दुनिया बदलती है। तो आपकी समाज बदलती है उसके साथ। जो प्रश्न [...] इस समय हैं हमारे देश में, वो प्रश्न पहले थे ही नहीं। हज़ार बरस हुए, नहीं थे; पाँच हज़ार बरस हुए, पाँच सौ बरस हुए नहीं थे और जो पाँच बरस बाद जो प्रश्न होंगे, वो और नये प्रश्न उठेंगे। बदलती हुई दुनिया में नये प्रश्न उठते हैं। तो उससे हमें सँभालना होता है अपने को। अपनी जड़ भी रहे, जो हमारी बुनियादी जड़ है हज़ारों बरस की, वो क़ायम रहे। हम अपने देश को उखाड़े न जायें, लेकिन उसी के साथ जड़ रखते हुए हज़ारों बरस में, आजकल की दुनिया में, हवा में और सूर्य के प्रकाश में हमें रहना है। पुराने नहीं, पाँच हज़ार बरस के, वो तो गुज़र गया, इतिहास हो गया और इसमें फूल-पत्तों की भी शाखें हमारे देश के पेड़ से निकलनी हैं। ताज़े फूल-पत्तों..और फूल भी आप जानते हैं, निकलते हैं, गिरते हैं और नये फूल निकलते हैं दूसरे मौसम में। यही होता है समाज के साथ। जब तक नये फूल-पत्तियाँ निकलने की उसमें शक्ति न हो तो ख़ाली जड़-जड़ रह जाये तो जड़ भी बेकार हो जाये। लेकिन जड़ न हो तो फूल-पत्ती भी नहीं रहती। तो दोनों बातों की आवश्यकता हो जाती है न? तो इसलिए आजकल के पेचीदा सवाल हैं आपके भारत सेवक समाज के हल करने के लिए नहीं हैं। करने को तो हर पुरुष करने की कोशिश करता है, आप भी करें, लेकिन संस्था के रूप में तो आप जहाँ कुछ हल करने की कोशिश करें तो हो सकता है आप फँसने लगें बहसों में; वो बहसों आप ज़रूर कीजिए, लेकिन भारत सेवक समाज में नहीं कीजिए, अलग जा कर कीजिए बहस। यानी समाज को नहीं बाँटिए उन बहसों में। इसलिए हमने कहा कि हम किसी राजनीतिक दल के साथ नहीं बन्धन करते। यों राजनीतिक लोग हम सब हैं, कम नहीं, बड़े ज़ोरों के हैं।



सौ बरस हुए क़रीब, रेलगाड़ी आयी थी। सौ बरस हुए रेलगाड़ी का आना भारत में, उससे समाज पर असर होने लगा। ये क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ें होती हैं रेल का आना। क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ें हल्के-हल्के फैलीं। अब तो सब चढ़ते हैं उस पर। क्रान्तिकारी थीं तो यही रेलें, पर यह असम्भव, बहुत माने में क्रान्तिकारी था। लेकिन एक ख़ास समाज के अन्दर के संगठन रेल में बड़ा कठिन हो गया...वो बात फ़र्ज़ करो कि अछूत एक मोहल्ले में रहें, वो नहीं सब लोग रेल में बैठ कर आते हैं। अब क्या अछूतों के लिए अलग गाड़ियाँ होंगी यहाँ, नहीं? जैसे जाति के मामले में रेलगाड़ी ने कुछ उलट-पलट की थी, कोई बहस नहीं थी। या कारख़ाना बनता है; आपके यहाँ कारख़ाने हैं; कारख़ाने में कोई देखता है कौन जाति का है जो उसके पास काम कर रहा है। सब मिल कर काम करते हैं। जो आता है, करते हैं। बड़े शहर होने लगे। गाँव में एक कुआँ उसका है, ये है वो है, वो बात शहर में नहीं चलती। इस तरह से समाज बदलती है जब बाहर की बातें बदलती हैं, और बदलती जाती हैं। और आजकल मैं आपको बताऊँ, सबमें बड़ी चीज़ जो है, वो पढ़ाई है, स्कूल और कॉलेज में जाना। यह बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ है। और अब एक नयी बात हो रही है। अब से मतलब पिछले पाँच-दस बरस से कि जो लोग स्कूल और कॉलेज में जाते हैं, उनके बाप-दादा, परदादा कभी नहीं गये थे। तो एक नयी हवा उनके घरानों में आने लगी, अपने बच्चों के द्वारा जो स्कूल जाते हैं। वो क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ें हैं उलटने में, उसमें ख़राबी भी है, और अच्छाई भी है। ख़राबी यह है...अच्छाई तो है ही...ख़राबी यह है फिर वो थोड़ा-सा स्कूल में पढ़ कर और कॉलेज में पढ़ कर बाप का काम नहीं करना चाहते, कहते हैं हम बाबू बनेंगे। हम देहली जा कर नौकरी करेंगे या जयपुर जा कर। तो बात ग़लत है। उनको...हाँ, नये काम करें ज़रूर, लेकिन पुराने काम अच्छी तरह से करें। यह बिल्कुल ठीक नहीं कि लोग अपने गाँव को छोड़ कर शहर में दौड़ें नौकरी करने के लिए। गाँव को अच्छा करें, गाँव को उठायें, अपनी विद्या से, अपनी अक़ल से। इस तरह से उठेगा देश। लेकिन पढ़ाई बहुत क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ है। लड़कों की पढ़ाई क्रान्तिकारी है ही, लड़कियों की और ज़्यादा है क्रान्तिकारी। यह भी सीधी बात है।

अब मैं आपको बताऊँ, जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है, पिछले साल एक लाख लड़के ग्रैजुएट हुए देश भर में और तीस हज़ार लड़कियाँ हुई हैं, ग्रैजुएट। मैं उसका नहीं कह रहा हूँ जो स्कूल में पढ़ती हैं। वो तो लाखों हैं, बहुत हैं, करोड़ों होंगी। तीस हज़ार लड़कियाँ और नौजवान लड़कियाँ ग्रैजुएट हुईं। इससे...क्योंकि औरत ज़्यादा क्रान्ति घराने में करती हैं, समाज में मर्द की बजाय? जब औरत निकलती है, और काम करने के लिए या बाहर पढ़ती-लिखती है तो अपने घर के अन्दर, अन्दर भाग में, अन्दर हिस्से में वो क्रान्ति लाती है। उसके विचार, उसके ढंग करने का। क्रान्ति के माने यह नहीं हैं कि सब अलग-थलग दुनिया को कर देती हैं, लेकिन...मेरा मतलब नहीं कि...लेकिन हलके-हल्के बदलना है समाज। ख़ैर, ये सब बातें हो रही हैं। और [...] शायद बहुत सारे आप लोगों ने इधर ध्यान कम दिया हो क्या-क्या हो रहा है? क्योंकि जब ऐसी क्रान्ति होती है तब जिस आवाज़ से आप उनसे बोलें वो ऐसी हो जो उनके काम [कान] में समाये, नहीं तो आपकी आवाज़ कोई सुनेगा नहीं, आपकी बात कोई नहीं सुनेगा, और आप

नाराज होंगे हम कैसी माकूल बातें करते हैं, कोई सुनता नहीं हमारी। वो कुसूर आपका होगा, और किसी का नहीं। हाँ, आवाज़ होनी चाहिए जो उस वक्त्र...वक्त्र की हवा है, उससे मिलती हुई, नहीं तो, वो सुनाई देती। तो इन सब कामों में यह तो मैंने कहा वक्त्र की हवा, लेकिन उसी के साथ मैं यह भी कहूँ कि हमारे देश में एक साथ, एक वक्त्र की हवा नहीं चलती है, वो हर वक्त्र की हवा चलती रहती है। तो उसमें हर...सब सदियों में हम मौजूद हैं। आजकल में तो हम रहते हैं बीसवीं सदी और उसके पीछे जितनी सदियाँ आप कहिए हज़ार-दो हज़ार बरस सब समय यहाँ मौजूद हैं। आप सफ़र करते हैं। आजकल आप हवाई जहाज़ पर सफ़र करते हैं, आप मोटर पर, हाथी पर, हर चीज़ पर आप सफ़र करते हैं। जिस चीज़ पर लोग पाँच हज़ार बरस हुए बैठ कर जाते थे, उस पर हम अब भी चलते हैं और जो चीज़ बिल्कुल जो आज नयी है, हवाई जहाज़, उस पर भी हम चलते हैं। तो इस माने में मैं कहता हूँ यहाँ हर ज़माना मौजूद है, एक साथ, मिला-जुला। और सारे विचार भी ऐसे मिले-जुले हैं। तो ख़ैर, यह तो एक दिलचस्प कहानियाँ हैं, मैं आपसे घण्टों कहता जाऊँ, क्योंकि मेरा मन टटोलता रहता है कि क्या हो रहा है? क्या मैं करूँ? क्या औरों को कहूँ करने को? वो ख़ाली एक रटा हुआ सबक तो नहीं होता है, वो हर वक्त्र, एक-एक नब्ज पर हाथ रखना होता है, अपनी नब्ज पर, औरों की नब्ज पर, और देश की नब्ज पर, क्या है? क्या मामला है? क्या बीमारी है? कितना ज्वर है? उसको समझना है। जो लोग इसको समझने की कोशिश नहीं करते और ख़ाली अपने रटे हुए सबक कहते जाते हैं, उनका असर नहीं होता या थोड़ा असर होता है, कम होता है। तो काफ़ी कठिन बात है और ख़ासकर इसलिए कठिन है कि जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, एक ही समय पर भारत में इतने तरह-तरह के विचार हैं, इतने तरह-तरह के...क्या कहूँ एक...बहुत सारी नब्जें हैं, एक नहीं है, ये सब बातें हैं।

तो मैंने आपको महज़ एक इशारा दिया कि आप सोचें इस पर कि कैसी पेचीदा चीज़ है दुनिया आजकल की; और ये बहुत कुछ, बहुत कुछ वाद हैं जिसका चर्चा होता है—साम्यवाद, समाजवाद, पूँजीवाद, गाँधीवाद—बड़े ज़ोरों से बहस होती है और बहस ठीक है, लेकिन असल बात तो यह है कि जैसे आप बहस करते हैं, जिस बात पर आप बहस करते हैं, वो बदलती जाती है। यह अजीब बात है। समाज पर आप बहस करते हैं, लेकिन समाज बदलती जा रही है और जिस बुनियाद पर आपने बहस शुरू की थी, वो बदल गयी कुछ रोज़ बाद। ख़ैर, इन सब बातों से भारत सेवक समाज का क्या सम्बन्ध है, आप पूछें? यों तो दिलचस्प कहानी है। मैं खुद नहीं जानता क्या सम्बन्ध है (हँसी)। लेकिन फिर भी सम्बन्ध है और सम्बन्ध यह है कि कोई काम आप करें, कहीं करें तो जितना ज़्यादा आप अपने देश को, दुनिया को समझते हैं, उतना ज़्यादा काम आप भला कर सकेंगे। ज़ाहिर है, आँख बन्द करके करेंगे, कम फ़ायदा। आँखें जितनी खुली रखी जायें आपकी, हालात समझे जायें, उतना आप ज़्यादा करेंगे। तो सम्बन्ध तो हुआ इन बातों को समझने का।

तो इस वक्त्र हमारा देश तेज़ी से बदल रहा है। एक तरफ़ से तो हम यह देखते हैं, दूसरी तरफ़ से आप जाओ बहुत सारे गाँव में तो देखिए गाँव ऐसा ही है; हज़ार बरस पहले रहा; कोई



फ़र्क नहीं हुआ उसमें। वैसा-का-वैसा ही है। फिर भी गाँव ज़्यादा तेज़ी से बदलने लगे, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं और बदलना चाहिए उन्हें। किसी तरह से उन्हें निकलना चाहिए उस गढ़े से जिसमें पड़े हैं। और उसमें, सब में बड़ी चीज़ उनके बदलने की, फिर मैं आपसे कहता हूँ शिक्षा है। बच्चों की शिक्षा, लड़के और लड़कियों और हम समझते हैं और हमारी कोशिश है कि पाँच-सात बरस के अन्दर कोई बच्चा नहीं रहे जो स्कूल नहीं जाये, लड़का और लड़की दोनों, यह हमने निश्चय किया है। (ताली) और उसके बाद भी स्कूल के बाद भी, जो पढ़ाई है वो भी काफ़ी लोगों को मिले और यह नहीं है कि कोई आदमी अपनी पढ़ाई...कोई लड़का या लड़की तेज़ है और वो पढ़ नहीं सकता, इसलिए कि उसके पास खर्चा देने को नहीं है, यह बात ग़लत है। हर तेज़ बच्चे को...मैं एकदम से तो नहीं कह सकता कि हिन्दुस्तान में चालीस करोड़ में सबके लिए कॉलेज में जगह हो जाये। यह तो फ़िज़ूल बात है। लेकिन कोई तेज़ बच्चा हो जो स्कूल से मालूम हो, पढ़ाई हो तो उसको पैसा हो या न हो, उसका प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए कि पूरी तौर से पढ़ सके। समाज बदलेगी।

अब इस बदलने के सिलसिले में हम चाहते हैं कि भारत सेवक समाज का एक हिस्सा हो कि ठीक तरफ़ उसको झुकाये। और तेज़ करे उसके बदलने को। नहीं तो ऊपर से बदल जाती है और नीचे से नहीं बदलती तो ऊपर डाँवाडोल हो जाता है। कुछ लोगों ने कहा यह, यह विद्यार्थियों की निस्वत कि आजकल कुछ झगड़ा-फ़साद करते हैं, डिसिप्लिन नहीं, नियम नहीं। यह बात ठीक है और उसको भी आप बैठ कर ख़ाली बुरा-भला कहें, उससे कोई फ़ायदा नहीं होता। क्यों यह होता है? इसलिए कि बदलती हुई समाज है। वो उखड़ गये एक जगह से, उखड़ गये, दूसरी जगह पहुँचे नहीं, बीच में अटक गये, कभी-न-कभी पहुँचेंगे। जहाँ घर में पैदा हुए उसका रिवाज उनको पसन्द नहीं रहा, थोड़ा-बहुत पढ़ कर...बहुत पढ़ते तो और भी बात है। थोड़ा-सा पढ़ कर आदमी का दिमाग़ अक्सर उखड़ जाता है और फिर पढ़ने की ज़रूरत होती है उसको जमाने के लिए...तो यह अधूरा पढ़ कर वो अपनी पुरानी बातों से तो नाराज़ हो गये, असन्तुष्ट हो गये, नयी बातें उन्होंने सीखीं नहीं कोई। यह कठिनाई हो गयी। और यह यहाँ भारत की ख़ाली नहीं, दुनिया की बात है आजकल यह। ख़ैर, हमें तो अपने देश से मतलब। तो इन बातों में हम कम-से-कम एक काम करें कि हम लोगों का ध्यान दिलायें काम करने की तरफ़ और माकूल काम करने की तरफ़। बहस करने वाले बहस करें, किताब पढ़ने वाले किताब पढ़ें, वो सब ठीक है, लेकिन काम करने की तरफ़ हम ध्यान दिलायें तो अलावा इसके कि एक देश का लाभ होता है उस काम से, उस व्यक्ति का लाभ होता है जो कि इस वक़्त बहका-बहका फिरता है। तो हर तरफ़ से फ़ायदा होता है और काम करने से आदमी ज़्यादा सीखता है, बनिस्वत महज़ एक बेकार बैठने से या कुछ थोड़ा-बहुत पढ़ा है, उससे। तो हर तरफ़ से आजकल कि एक तो देश में बहुत ही आवश्यक है यह बड़े-बड़े काम करना। और बड़े काम ज़मी हो सकते हैं। जब लाखों-करोड़ों आदमी अपने-अपने गाँव में, शहर में करें। सरकारी तौर से नहीं हो सकता है।

लेकिन इसके अलावा दूसरा पहलू मैं आपको बताता हूँ कि बदलती हुई दुनिया में काम

करना एक दवा है जो आपको सँभाले रखेगी। नहीं तो आप असन्तुष्ट होंगे, परेशान होंगे, आप अपने मन में बीमार होंगे; गुस्सा होगा, आजकल हो क्या रहा है? हाँ, एक हरेक लोगों की, निन्दा करने की, नाराज़गी का इज़हार करने की, हरेक की आदत है। यह खराब है, वो खराब है। खराबी तो है ही, दुनिया में खराबी भरी हुई है। हमारे देश में है मैंने माना, लेकिन बस वो कोसोंगे लोगों को, गाली देंगे, खराबी करेंगे। एक हवा हो गयी है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि जो आदमी, एक आदमी, पुरुष-स्त्री जिसका मन महज़ एक कोसने का हो जाता है, वो मुरझा जाता है। उसके कोसने का असर औरों पे पड़े चाहे नहीं, उसके ऊपर पड़ जाता है। सिकुड़ने लगता है। आदमी, कोई आदमी, या कोई देश बढ़ता है [तो] कोस-कोस के नहीं बढ़ता है। बढ़ता है और कामों से, दिल खोल कर, बड़े दिल से। तो ये बातें। तो इसके और जो इलाज हैं वो तो हैं, लेकिन सबमें बड़ा इलाज है, मैंने आपसे कहा, दवा है, काम करना। हम सब लोग...आपको भी तज़ुर्बा हो बहुतों को, मैं अपना आपको बताता हूँ कि अगर बहुत काम में फँसा होना न होता मेरे लिए, आज से नहीं बहुत ज़माने से तो मालूम नहीं मेरा क्या होता? क्योंकि जहाँ परेशानी आती है तो और भी काम करना पड़ता है, ज़ोरों से और काम के ज़रिये से कोई जवाब ढूँढ़ना होता है अपने सवालों का और बैठ कर कोई आदमी एक हवा में बैठ कर सोचे वो नहीं काम चलता। वो एक मिनट में हो जाये, नहीं होता। तो इसलिए हर सूरत में यह करना है।

तीसरे यह कि हमारे देश में, मुझे अफ़सोस होता है कहते हुए, हम लोग आलसी हैं मुकाबले और देशों के...हाँ, यह मैं आपको और देश बता सकता हूँ जो हमसे भी और अधिक आलसी हैं, वो भी बात है। हम तो एक बीच में हैं। तो...लेकिन आप देखेंगे कि जितने देशों ने तरक्की की है आजकल की दुनिया के हिसाब से, चाहे वो अमरीका हो, चाहे वो अंग्रेज़ों का देश हो, फ़्रांस हो, जर्मनी हो, रूस हो, जापान हो, जितनों को आप देखें, बड़े मेहनती लोग हैं। बड़े ज़ोर से काम करने वाले हैं। खेल, कुछ भी, ज़ोर से करते हैं अपने समय पर। लेकिन मेहनती लोग हैं, परिश्रमी लोग हैं और परिश्रम से उन्होंने अपने देश को बढ़ाया और जो कुछ न्याय किया हो, चाहे अन्याय किया हो, लेकिन दोनों के पीछे बड़ी मेहनत और परिश्रम है, आलसी नहीं हैं और आश्चर्य की बात, यह मैंने आपसे कहा कि कहाँ-कहाँ ऐसे देश, जर्मनी और जापान जो कि बारह बरस हुए तबाह हो गये थे, लड़ाई में सारे उनके शहर टूट गये थे, मकान नहीं रहे रहने को, कारखाने टूट गये, आज खड़े हैं और दुनिया के अब्बल देशों में; फिर उन्होंने बना लिये अपने बड़े-बड़े शहर, नगर। कैसे बनाये? कोई सरकार ने आ कर लोग भेजे बनाने को? हाँ, सरकार ने मदद की, लेकिन लोगों ने अपने परिश्रम से हर जगह कुछ-न-कुछ किया, करने लगे। खड़ा कर दिया उन्होंने दस बरस में, नये बड़े-बड़े शहर बन गये।

हम अपने गाँव को बनाने को चलते हैं। इस तरह से सोचो कि साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव भारत में हैं और सरकार एक उसकी योजना बनाये, साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव की तो न सरकार के पास [...] इतने इंजीनियर हों, न और लोग हों सीखे हुए, न पैसा हो, हिसाब लगा लीजिए। पैसा इतना हो जाये, अरबों, ताकि पता नहीं पैसा कहीं नज़र नहीं आये, आज नहीं पचास बरस हों इतना पैसा नज़र नहीं आये। उसी काम को आप...गाँव के काम को लोग गाँव वाले उठायें।



गाँव वाले उठायेंगे। हाँ, उनको सहायता मिलेगी और तरफ़ से सरकारी सहायता जो भी। लेकिन गाँव वाले कहें अपने गाँव को बनायेंगे तो वो फिर काम बँट जाता है, साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँवों का, उन लोगों में और सारे गाँव बदल जायें। साल-दो साल, तीन-चार-पाँच बरस के अन्दर सब नक्कशा बदल जाये। तो यह, यह विचार फैलाना, खुद करना, खुद बदलना, खुद उसमें अभिमान हो अपने गाँव में...वहाँ विलायत में और मुल्कों में अक्सर जो नगर होते हैं, छोटे खास तौर से, कोशिश करते हैं वहाँ के होने वाले अपने-अपने नगर की तरक्क़ी की। वो संस्थाएँ बनाते हैं, सोसाइटीज़ बनाते हैं, उसका अक्सर नाम होता है, कोई भी नगर होता है, फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि यही हम...कौन-सी जगह है भीलवाड़ा, यहाँ वैसी बने तो एक संस्था होगी भीलवाड़ा के मित्रों की संस्था। इस तरह के नाम बहुत हैं। स्विट्ज़रलैंड में, जर्मनी में, शहर के रहने वाले कुछ लोग वो एक उनकी संस्था होती है कि हम इस शहर के दोस्त मिला करते हैं कि हमारे शहर की तरक्क़ी हो। सरकारी नहीं होती। यह ग़ैर सरकारी होती है। कैसे तरक्क़ी हो? विचार करते हैं और नयी-नयी बातें निकालते हैं। पैसा ख़र्चते हैं, क्योंकि उनको अभिमान है अपने शहर का; दूसरे शहर से हम आगे हैं। वो आगे बढ़ते जाते हैं, हम आगे रहेंगे। ख़ैर, जो कुछ हो...तो सब वो ऐसी हवा पैदा करना हमारे काम से, यह मैं चाहता हूँ कि बजाय कि कुछ छोटे-मोटे काम तो होते ही हैं; करिये आप, जहाँ आप कर सकते हैं, मैं रोकना नहीं चाहता।

अच्छा, दो-एक बातें और कहता हूँ मैं आपसे। एक तो यह कि एक सवाल अक्सर उठता है कि क्या रिश्ता भारत सेवक समाज का हो गवर्नमेंट से, मिनिस्टर्स से, स्पीकर से, इन लोगों से? क्या रिश्ता हो? ख़ैर, एक रिश्ता तो आपने क़ायम किया कि मुझे इसका अध्यक्ष [सभापति] बनाया, नन्दाजी को चेयरमैन बनाया। यह रिश्ता क़ायम किया। यह आपके ग़ौर करने की बात है कि यह रिश्ता ठीक है कि नहीं। लेकिन ख़ैर, बिलफ़ेल उसे आप छोड़ दें। मेरी राय में...जहाँ तक काम करने वाले हैं, संयोजक वग़ैरह...यह है, उनको कभी नहीं होना चाहिए कोई गवर्नमेंट का मिनिस्टर या चेयरमैन या स्पीकर। किसी सूरत से नहीं होना चाहिए। बिलकुल बुनियादी तौर से ग़लत बात है और हमारे क़ायदे के उसूलों से ग़लत बात है। हाँ, वो लोग सदस्य हो सकते हैं, हरेक हो सकता है, इसमें कोई बात नहीं है, चाहे सरकारी मुलाज़िम हो, चाहे मिनिस्टर हो। सदस्य हो, क्योंकि उसमें तो सदस्य के माने क्या हैं? सदस्य के माने हैं काम करो जा कर, फावड़ा ले कर खोदो जा के। कोई कर सकता है, लेकिन ऐसी जगह रखना ठीक नहीं, क्योंकि उसमें एक हमारे यहाँ एक बड़ी आसानी से लोगों पर असर पड़ जाते [हैं] बहुत। अभी तक अंग्रेज़ ज़माना गया नहीं हमारे दिमाग़ से, मन से। तो असर पड़ जाता है। सरकारी अफ़सर इसमें है तो सरकारी रंग आ जाता है। हालाँकि एक आज़ाद मुल्क में वो बात, वो बात होनी नहीं चाहिए अफ़सर में और इसमें। वो पुराने फ़र्ज़ जो थे, वो नहीं होने चाहिए। ख़ैर तो उसी के साथ यह नहीं समझिए कि मैं किसी मिनिस्टर को या हाईकोर्ट के जज को बाहर रखना चाहता हूँ, मेरा मतलब नहीं है। लेकिन मैं तो चाहूँगा भारत सेवक समाज चल सके बग़ैर किसी अधिकारी के तो चल सके तो वो चले। लेकिन कुछ-न-कुछ इन्तज़ाम करना

थोड़ा-सा होता ही है। संयोजक रखे हमने, कमेटियाँ बना दीं सलाहकार की। किसी-न-किसी को रखना पड़ता है। तो उनको समझ के चुनना चाहिए और कोई अधिकारी या मिनिस्टर या इस किस्म के नहीं हों, क्योंकि इससे... वो अच्छे आदमी भी हों इसका ग़लत असर लोगों पर पड़ेगा, ग़लतफ़हमी होगी।

अच्छा, एक और सवाल उठता है कि आपका सम्बन्ध, ताल्लुक कम्प्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट से क्या हो? यह बहुत आवश्यक सवाल है, क्योंकि कम्प्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट का काम बहुत कुछ वही काम है जो आपका; या आपका काम बहुत कुछ वही हो सकता है जो उनका। तो फिर ज़ाहिर है, उस काम को मिलना चाहिए। एक-दूसरे की मुखालफ़त नहीं होना चाहिए। एक दूसरे की सहायता और मदद होनी चाहिए। मैं ज़्यादा नहीं जानता, लेकिन इस बात को हमेशा याद रखिए, इस समय हिन्दुस्तान में सबमें बड़ी बात मेरी राय में, सबमें बड़ी बात कम्प्यूनिटी जो ब्लॉक्स फैले हैं, वे हैं। मैं जानता हूँ उसमें खराबियाँ हैं, कमज़ोरी है, सब जानता हूँ, लेकिन फिर भी मैं कहता हूँ सबमें बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी बात हमारे देहात के लिए ये कम्प्यूनिटी ब्लॉक्स हैं। इसको हमें अच्छा करना है, बढ़ाना है और इसमें इसलिए भारत सेवक समाज का सम्बन्ध उनसे हो। कैसा हो, मैं नहीं कह सकता। न कोई लिखा-पढ़ी की ज़रूरत है, लेकिन क़रीब का होना चाहिए, उसकी मदद करने के लिए। अब कितने काम हैं जो हम कर सकते हैं बग़ैर रुपये के। लेकिन हमारे काम हमेशा रुके रहते हैं रुपये की कमी की वजह से।

मैं आपको एक इस सिलसिले में एक कहानी सुनाऊँ। कहानी नहीं, वाक़यात है। एक अमेरिकन औरत की है या अंग्रेज़ की, मुझे याद नहीं। अमेरिकन शायद थी, ठीक से मुझे याद नहीं और वो एक मिशनरी ख़ानदान की थी। उसको शौक़ हुआ हिन्दुस्तान आने का और उस समय उसका भाई यहाँ था। कह सुन के किसी तरह से उसको इज़ाज़त मिल गयी आने की; आयी; थोड़े ही दिन बाद उसमें और वो जो भाई था और जो लोग मिशनरी थे, उनमें कुछ अनबन हो गयी, क्योंकि वो क़ायदे-क़ानून से रहते थे, जैसे कि साहब लोग रहते हैं। वो दूसरे ढंग की औरत थी। वो जा के गाँव में पड़ रही जा के कि वहीं गाँव के लोगों की सेवा करने आयी हूँ कि तुम्हारे बँगले में रहूँ यहाँ आ के। ख़ैर, गयी। ये बात चली, कोई साल भर चली; कुछ उनके परिवार से उसका झगड़ा हुआ, ये हुआ। उसके परिवार वालों ने यहाँ तक हमसे कहा, यानी गवर्नमेंट से कहा, इसको आप अमरीका ज़बरदस्ती वापस भेज दीजिए। उसी के परिवार वालों ने कहा और जब उसके परिवार वालों ने कहा तो जिस प्रदेश को कहा गया, उसकी सरकार ने कहा यही लोग चाहते हैं तो निकालो, कौन रहने की ज़रूरत है इसको। तो मेरे पास उसका एक ख़त आया, उस औरत का, जवान औरत का। कुछ उसके ख़त में कुछ बात मेरे दिमाग़ में अटक गयी। तो मैंने उसको मिलने के लिए बुलाया। उसको हुकुम हो गया, यहाँ से जाने का बाहर। बुलाया मैंने उसे और मैं जो उससे मिला तो मैंने देखा ये उस किस्म के लोग हैं जो अगर गाँधीजी यहाँ होते तो यक़ीनन गाँधीजी के साथ बँध गये थे [होते] उनके साथ। यानी कुछ लोग जिनको दुनिया की फ़िकर नहीं, अपनी फ़िकर नहीं, जो कि एक इस किस्म का जुनून और पागल[पन] होता है, जो कि ऊँचे दर्जे का, छोटे लोगों में नहीं होता। ख़ैर,



खैर, मैंने कहा कि नहीं, कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है इसको भेजने की, उसको इजाज़त दे दी रहने की यहाँ।

अब मैं आपको बताता हूँ उसके काम करने का ढंग। हम शुरू करते हैं बड़े-बड़े सरकारी क्रायदे-क्रानून कि गाँव में या शहर में चिल्ड्रेन्स क्लिनिक करेंगे और बच्चों और बच्चों का क्या कहलाता है—बालवाड़ी, क्रेचेस कहिए, लम्बे-चौड़े लफ़्ज़ हैं, पैसा जमा करो, मकान बनाओ। उसका दस्तूर एक है। उसने मुझसे कहा, मुझे तो कोई ज़रूरत नहीं, मैं तो गाँव जाती हूँ, एक पेड़ के नीचे बैठ जाती हूँ, गाँव के बच्चों को बुलाती हूँ और पहला काम यह करती हूँ, साबुन-पानी ले कर सभी को नहलाती हूँ। नहलाती हूँ और रोज़ उनको बुलाती हूँ, उनसे बात करती हूँ। मेरा तो एक पैसा भी खर्च नहीं होता। हाँ, हल्के-हल्के गाँव वाले मुझे एक कोठरी दे दें, अच्छी बात है। लेकिन शुरू में मुझे पेड़ की ज़रूरत है, कुछ नहीं और पेड़ों की कमी नहीं है। और उनका चिल्ड्रेन्स क्लिनिक...डॉक्टर थी, डॉक्टरी जानती थी, क्लिनिक पेड़ के नीचे शुरू कर देती थी, बग़ैर एक पैसा खर्च...नहा-धुला के। अब देखिए, दिमाग़ है एक काम करने का, बग़ैर सोचे और जो ज़रूरी काम है, फ़ौरन उसने नहलाया-धुलाया ज़रा-सा, बच्चे अच्छे होने लगे उसी वक़्त। देखो क्या है? थोड़ी-बहुत दवा दी किसी को और उसने दरख़्त के नीचे बैठना शुरू कर दिया। उसने माँगा तक नहीं किसी से, देओ मकान को या कुछ देओ। मैं शुरू कर देती हूँ। गाँव वालों ने देखा तो गाँव वालों ने पसन्द किया। उन्होंने एक घर में उसको कोठरी दी, इस तरह बढ़ने लगा। तो हल्के-हल्के कुछ बनाया गया इस तरह तो उसको...मैंने आपको मिसाल दी कितने काम हो सकते हैं। हर वक़्त पैसे की माँग, पैसे की माँग, ग़लत है, पैसा, पैसा। आखिर में पैसे की वजह से कोई असली काम रुका नहीं है, आदमी की वजह से रुके हैं।

अच्छा मैंने आपका वक़्त लिया, अपना भी वक़्त लिया। छोटे कार्यों में, बड़े कामों में, छोटे कामों में आपको बताता हूँ, एक काम जो मुझे बहुत पसन्द आया है, हालाँकि मैंने उसे देखा नहीं। देहली में वहाँ की भारत सेवक समाज ने क्या कहते हैं नाइट शेल्टर बनाये (सारे देश में बनाया) खैर, यह बहुत अच्छी चीज़ है, लेकिन सारे देश के माने हैं शहरों में, इण्डस्ट्रियल टाउन में, बड़े-बड़े शहरों में हैं। यह बड़ी तकलीफ़ की चीज़ है कि लोग सड़कों पर पड़ें हों जिनको कहीं साया भी नहीं है बैठने-उठने का, बड़े दुख की बात है। खैर, वो तो उनके घर-वर होने चाहिएँ, उसमें समय लगता है, लेकिन कम-से-कम एक आदमी को रात को आराम से लेटने की जगह तो कहीं हो कुछ शहरों में। यों इत्फ़ाक़ है हमारा देश गर्म देश है, गर्मी होती है तो साल में पाँच-छै महीने तक कुछ ज़रूरत नहीं कोई मकान की, बाहर भी सो सकते हैं, यह तो और बात है। लेकिन एक मजबूरी से बाहर पड़ा रहे, खासकर सर्दी में, यह बहुत तकलीफ़देह चीज़ है। इसका इन्तज़ाम बहुत पेचीदा नहीं है, बहुत खर्च का नहीं है। यह तो हर जगह हो जाना चाहिए। और भारत सेवक समाज...मुझे खुशी हुई सुन कर कि यह बात फैली है और भारत सेवक समाज...उसको खास अपना ले इस बात को हर जगह, हर शहर में तो अच्छी एक चीज़ है जिसको आप समझ लें कि रात को आप उनको रात को सोने की जगह दें, कम्बल

वगैरह, सर्दी वगैरह हो कुछ। महज ज़मीन नहीं, कुछ ओढ़ने-वोढ़ने का, और कुछ नाश्ता सुबह। आप जाँच करें कितना कमाते हैं कि नहीं? खैर, वो और बात है; तो वो तो बात रह गयी। अभी यह पीछे से मुझे आवाज़ आयी थी कि यही नाइट शेल्टर में कल्चरल प्रोग्राम होते हैं, भजन-वजन होते हैं। मैं भड़क उठा इसको सुन के; वो ढोलक बजायें, जो चाहे करें, लेकिन अगर आप ज़बरदस्ती मेरे गले में कल्चर ढूँढ़ने की कोशिश करें, मुझे तो बहुत बुरा लगेगा और कुछ लोग समझते हैं कि बड़ा भला कर रहे हैं उनका। जो खुद करें, ठीक है, खुद करें, लेकिन आप...एक थके-माँदे आदमी आये...आप कहें अब कल्चर पियो। (हँसी)

तो बस साहब, आपको शुक्रिया, आपने इतनी खामोशी से एक घण्टे मेरा बयान सुन लिया।

जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Comrades,

I have been listening to your proceedings for nearly three hours and the reports that have come in from the various provinces. I have formed some impressions, good as well as bad. One is that the work of the Bharat Sewak Samaj is expanding in various parts of India and the scope of their tasks is also widening. Another is that in some parts of the country more work is being done and at others it is less. I had an idea that this was so.

Now, I did not like the manner in which the reports were read here. It did not benefit anyone in any way; neither did it benefit me. There were a few glimpses here and there, but the whole thing was lifeless. Instead if pamphlets had been distributed, you could have easily read them. We have been told that ten-mile long roads have been built or fifty acres of land were ploughed or something else. All this does not amount to very much. So, one thing was your manner. But I should say that it would have been a good thing for the conveners or whoever they were from each State to tell us something about themselves but there is no point in enumerating all the little jobs that have been done in each state. It has had quite the opposite effect on me. It would have been better if instead of reading out a list of the various small tasks that have been done in each state, the conveners had shown us how the Bharat Sewak Samaj is going about achieving its goals or how the people's attention is being drawn to it, etc.

At the same time, it will be better if in each one of your conferences, you take up one or two special problems for consideration. I am not bothered whether there is a resolution about them or not. For instance, suppose you wish to take up the question of cooperation. You can discuss it at length and the problems that confront you can be thrashed out. Such discussions throw new light on the



problems. I am suggesting this for your consideration for your future conferences.

Now the Bharat Sewak Samaj is not an institution which should be propelled or pushed forward by force, or by whipping it if you'll excuse my saying so. We do not want this to happen because the essential sense and meaning would be lost. The real purpose of this organisation is to teach the people to be self-reliant and have self-confidence. This cannot be done with a whip. It is a good thing to perform all kinds of tasks. But at the same time, if your energy is diffused, your work becomes superficial and lacks depth and grip. In one sense, whatever you take up for the purpose of social welfare is bound to do some good. But if you go in for too many activities of social reform which so many other institutions also take up, it may be good up to a point, but your activities will tend to lack colour. I do not want the work of the Bharat Sewak Samaj to be colourless. I am not putting any obstacles in your way. You can do whatever you wish. But I find that there is a danger of the work being so diffuse that it becomes totally colourless, So I do not want the Bharat Sewak Samaj to be a narrow social reform organisation, at least not in the general sense in which it is understood. There are no doubt good souls in these organisations but they have not made much of an impact on the world till now. So what is to be done? You must concentrate your efforts in one direction. When the Bharat Sewak Samaj was first formed, the idea was that it should spread all over India rapidly and that it must undertake some useful activity. That idea did not succeed, though it is not surprising that this happened. Then it gradually struck roots and I thought it was better so than to make a flash and then fizzle out. Now it is gradually spreading and has put down very firm roots. But I do still wish that there should be depth to its activities. I cannot go into the details of how this can be done. However, I have an idea that people seem to feel that they have done something extraordinary by doing small little jobs. Those can be done by anyone. Where then is the need for a big organisation?

So, what is to be done? I cannot pin-point and tell you how it should be done. It depends on the good workers who create an atmosphere of cooperation and hard work and who can shake up not only small villages but whole districts to their foundations. Laws cannot make people work. I want you to think seriously about this because as far as possible, an atmosphere of self-help and self-reliance needs to be created. When ten people do something, a hundred people will do it by seeing them do it and gradually it will spread. So your work should be given a proper direction. There are any numbers of tasks waiting to be done.

Many years ago, when I was in Cambridge, I remember a social reformer from Maharashtra who came out there and gave a talk to the assembled Indian

students (I was also among them), on the question of widow-remarriage. Most of us were impressed and agreed with him. Then he pulled out pamphlets and asked the boys to take an oath that they will only marry widows. (Laughter) Now, I do not know if anyone signed that document or not, at least I did not. (Laughter) But I firmly believe that widows should have full right under the law to marry again. It is an act of injustice and suppression on the part of society to prevent them from doing so. But I could not understand anyone being told that he should get married only to a widow. Often this is the way of our social reformers and so their impact is reduced.

I do not want that our Bharat Sewak Samaj workers should acquire such habits. Now, Gandhiji was a different kind of a social reformer who used to take up small issues, at least in comparison to what the social reformers do. But he used to create a revolution with it. For instance, many of our great men have raised their voice against casteism in the past, especially during the last sixty years or so. Various organisations were established like the Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj and what not. Gandhiji laid great stress on this. He gave the untouchables the name of Harijans and worked incessantly for their upliftment. He showed the country what it really meant. He showed us that apart from the fact that it is a grave injustice; the country cannot be really free if one section of society is suppressed. He said that the Hindu society will continue to fall till we rectify this. This was not a complicated matter. But gradually, it made a profound impression. I often used to ask him why he did not come out openly against the caste system. He would say that what I failed to understand was that once the problem of untouchability is solved, the entire caste system will automatically break up. It cannot continue to exist. But if he were to start giving long lectures, the attention of the people will shift from the essential matter in hand.

So, it is in this sense that I want to tell you that isolated tasks here and there might certainly be of some use. But I do not feel that they will put down roots. If an atmosphere is created that people should do something, then what should they do. They can do much if they try, but how should they do it? Because, on the one hand, the Bharat Sewak Samaj is not an organisation which is bound by many restrictions or rules and regulations. It is a good thing that you can decide and do your work anywhere you like. But there is an advantage in this, and also a disadvantage. An organised society has the freedom only to move along certain clearly defined lines, but it does not have the freedom to spread out.

But again it has the strength to grow. Bharat Sewak Samaj, is not an organised body like that, nor do we want it to be. But there should be other things which should enable it to spread fast, without being organised; otherwise it will be neither here nor there. So, I want you to think about all this, instead of listening to long list of tasks which have been done here and there which can



be learnt from printed pamphlets. It is only by discussions that your views and thoughts will shed some light on problems. because the tasks before the country are enormous which cannot be done unless all of us have a clear idea of what India is all about.

Just now an elderly gentleman came to me and said that there can be no hope for India unless we revert to a past which existed five or ten thousand years ago. I listened to him for some time and then said that I can understand that we must cherish the high principles and ideals which have moulded the mind and heart and soul of India for thousands of years. I feel that they are very sound principles for the entire world. But I find it difficult to believe that we must go back five or ten thousand years. For one thing, as far as it is known on the basis of calculations, the population of India was in lakhs and not in crores in the ancient times. It was very little. Now it is in crores and is increasing all the time. It is almost forty crores whereas it was only in lakhs then. You cannot say that the excess population should be annihilated so that it is brought down to some lakhs, in five or ten years. (Laughter) So you cannot turn back the pages of history. You read about the condition of the country in those times and Ram Rajya and what not and there is no doubt about it that things were good then. But you must remember that the population being small, there was no dearth of land and jungles and everyone had as much as he could cultivate. That makes all the difference. Today, with the increasing population, there is enormous pressure on land. There was no such problem earlier. Moreover, while the basic principles remain the same, the world has changed and our society with it. The problems which confront us today did not exist thousands of years ago and fresh problems will keep coming up. We have to prepare ourselves for the new problems which crop up with the changing times, while maintaining our old roots which go back thousands of years. We must not lose our moorings but at the same time we must live in the present and not in the past, in the days which have become part of history now. Just as trees shed their leaves and get new shoots with the changing seasons, a society also has to don a new garb, otherwise the roots become lifeless. So both these things are equally important. So, the complex problems of the modern era cannot be solved by the Bharat Sewak Samaj. Though, a person can and does try, and so can you as an organisation. But it is possible that you may get bogged down in futile debates and arguments. Keep arguments out of the Bharat Sewak Samaj and do not divide the organisation into various groups. That is why we have said that we do not wish to tie ourselves to any political party though all of us are political beings, very much so.

Nearly a hundred years ago, the railways came to India which had a profound impact on society. These were revolutionary changes which gradually spread

to the whole country. Now, of course, everyone travels by train. The appearance of the railways was a revolutionary event in more ways than one, especially in the social structure, because people of all sections of society travel together on trains. There cannot be a separate train for the untouchables. So the railways wrought a great revolution in the caste system. Or, take industries, for instance. Nobody is bothered about castes there. Everybody works together. In urban life, these things have no meaning. In the villages there are separate wells for the untouchables. This is how external conditions are bringing about changes in society. Nowadays, let me tell you, the greatest revolution is the spread of school and college education. In the last five or ten years, children coming from such families have started going to schools and colleges where their fathers and forefathers had never been to a school. So, a new wave is spreading in such households through their children. This has its own advantages and disadvantages. The bad thing about it is that after acquiring a little bit of education, the children do not wish to follow their fathers' profession. They say they want to become clerks; they'll take up employment in Delhi or Jaipur which is wrong. New avenues of work must certainly open. But they must learn to follow their old professions with greater skill. It is not at all proper that people should abandon the villages for cities in search of jobs. The educated people must try to improve and uplift their villages. This is how India can progress. However, education is a revolutionary thing for boys and even more for girls.

As far as I know, one lakh boys and thirty thousand girls have become graduates in the country last year. This is what I have heard. I am not talking about the girls who are reading in the schools. They must be millions. Thirty thousand girls have become graduates. Women can bring about revolutionary changes in the home and society compared to men. When the woman emerges from her house to work outside or to be educated, she brings about a revolution within her household, in its thinking and working. By revolution, I do not mean something which tears everything apart. I mean something that gradually changes the society. Anyhow, all these things are happening and many of you may not have paid attention to them. When a silent, peaceful revolution is taking place, you have to speak with a voice which is compatible with the work on hand; otherwise nobody will hear you and you will feel frustrated. But the fault will be yours. What we say has to blend with the atmosphere of the times. Otherwise it will go unheeded. In India, however, you find a blend of the past, present and future, existing together. We are living in the 20th century but the past of over two thousand years also exists side by side. We travel by air, motor, elephant, on everything. We use the mode of travel which existed five thousand years ago as well as the latest mode which is available, that is, by air. So, in this



sense, you will find the past and the present existing side by side. Our thinking is also a mixture of the past and the present. Well, these are interesting tales which I can go on telling you for hours because my mind is constantly searching to find out what is happening, What I should do and what I should tell the others to do. It is not merely a lesson learnt by rote. One has to constantly keep one's fingers on each and every pulse, one's own and of the others and of the nation. What's the matter? What's the ailment? What's the fever like? To try and understand this. Those who do not understand this and keep repeating lessons learnt by rote fail to make an impact or make very little impact. It is a pretty difficult matter, especially because, as I said, there are so many kinds of thoughts at the same time in India, so many pulses which throb within it.

So I have merely given you a hint so that you may think about the complex world of today. There are many isms like communism, socialism, capitalism, Gandhism and great debates are held which is all right, but the basic thing is that the theories and concepts that you argue about are changing. The social structure that you argue about is constantly changing and so the basis of your argument has shifted. Well, you might ask how these things concern the Bharat Sewak Samaj. That would be interesting for I myself do not know what the connection is. (Laughter) But there is a link because whatever you do, wherever you do, if you try to bring to bear a proper understanding of the world and India upon your work, the impact will be better. It is obvious that if you work blindly, it will be less useful. So there is a definite relation between the two.

So, India is changing very rapidly, on the one hand and on the other, if you go to the villages, most of them remain as they were thousands of years ago. There has been no change whatsoever. There is no doubt about it that the villages should change faster and somehow get out of the rut into which they have fallen. Once again I shall repeat that the biggest instrument of change is education. We are making an effort to see that there should be no child above the age of six or seven who does not go to school, boy or girl. (Applause) Higher education should also be available to a large majority so that no boy or girl may be deprived of an opportunity because of the lack of funds or whatever it is. That would be very wrong. I do not say that immediately there should be a place for all the forty crores in India in the colleges for that would be absurd, but I feel that all intelligent boys and girls must be able to get higher education, whether they are rich or poor. So, the society will change.

Now, in this context we want the Bharat Sewak Samaj to play a role in giving a proper direction and increase the speed with which the changes are taking place. If the change is uneven, it will be out of balance. Some people feel that there is no discipline among the students which is perfectly true. But there is no point in merely criticising them. We must try to find out why it is

happening. They have been uprooted in a changing society and have yet to find their moorings which they will find sooner or later. Education has turned them against the old customs and traditions which prevail in their homes and they have yet to learn something new to replace the old values. This is the difficulty. This is true not only of India but of the whole world. Anyhow, we are concerned with our own country and we can at least try to draw the people's attention towards doing the right kind of work. Reading books and holding debates are all very well. But their energies must be channelised into doing some useful work too, for apart from the good it will do to the country, it will help the individual who is rudderless at the moment. Man learns more by doing sane work instead of sitting idle. All kinds of new tasks are before us today which can be done only with the cooperation of the millions of people in the country. They cannot be done by the government alone.

Apart from this let me tell you of another angle. Work is something which will help you to keep your balance in a changing world. Otherwise, there will be frustration and mental anguish and anger, as it is happening today. It is true that most people are in the bad habit of criticising everything. The world is full of short-comings and so is India. But if people do nothing but criticise, the atmosphere gets vitiated. I feel that the man or woman who gets into the habit of criticising all the time shrinks in mind, wilts within his mind, and whether his criticisms have an effect on others or not, he himself is definitely affected and begins to shrink. No individual or nation can progress by criticising but by becoming large-hearted. So, apart from everything else, the remedy for all these ills is work, hard work. Most of you must have had this experience. I can tell you from my own that if I had not been engrossed in my work all these years, I do not know what would have become of me. The more one faces difficulties, the harder one has to work and to try to find a solution to problems. Sitting idle and thinking in the air can provide no answers. So we must do this anyhow.

Thirdly, I regret to say that the people in India are extremely lazy compared to the other countries. I can cite examples of some other countries where people are even lazier. But that is different. You will find that in the countries which are considered advanced today, whether it is the United States, England, France, Germany, the Soviet Union or Japan, people are extremely hardworking. They are capable of playing as well at the proper time. But they work very hard which has led to tremendous progress. It is a different matter whether they have progressed by the right means or the wrong, but it has been backed by hard work in both cases. As I told you, it is amazing that just twelve years ago, Germany and Japan were devastated by the World War, and their cities were razed to the ground, people were rendered homeless and their industries had ground to a halt. Yet today they are once more on their feet and extremely



prosperous and are counted among the foremost countries of the world. How was it done? Their governments may have helped a little, but it is the people themselves who have worked hard and put their countries back on their feet within ten years or so.

Today we are engaged in the task of uplifting India's villages. There are five and a half lakh villages in India and the government does not have the resources in money or trained personnel nor will it have them for years to come. So it can be done only if the villagers themselves take up these tasks and do them with a little help from the government. If the work is shared it will be done faster and all the villages can be transformed in no time at all. The entire picture will change within the next few years. So, we must encourage the idea of self help and self reliance. In the west, you find that the people of small towns work very hard for their progress. You find that they form societies, like for instance since we are in Bhilwara, the Bhilwara friendship society or something else. The same thing happens in Germany and Switzerland and elsewhere and the people work together for the common good of their city. All this is unofficial. They think of new ideas for development and collect money to implement them because they are proud of their own towns. There is a healthy spirit of competitiveness among the small towns. Well, whatever it is, it is necessary to create this kind of atmosphere in which the large national tasks can be undertaken successfully. At the same time, you can carry on with the small tasks on hand too. I do not wish to stop you.

All right, I would like to mention a couple of things. One is that the question that often arises is what the relationship between the Bharat Sewak Samaj and the government and the ministers and the Speaker ought to be. You have established a relationship by electing me as the President and Nandaji the Chairman. It has to be seen whether this is a good thing or not. Anyhow, I feel that this should be given up. In my opinion, as far as possible, the office bearers should not be elected under any circumstances from among the members of the government because it is fundamentally wrong. Even from the point of view of our principles, it is wrong. They can be allowed to become members, for anyone can do so. Becoming a member means doing some active work in the field. Everybody, including ministers, is welcome to do so. But it is not proper to keep them in places of office. We have not yet got over the British rule and tend to give an official complexion to everything. Such a thing should not happen in a free country. At the same time, please do not think that I wish to keep the ministers or High Court judges out. But I want that the Bharat Sewak Samaj should function without any officials at all. However, we do need some office-bearers and so we have a secretary and a committee of advisers. They should be selected carefully and not from among officials and ministers because even

if they are good persons, it creates a wrong notion in the minds of the people.

It is a crucial question as to what your relationship with community development should be because the tasks under these schemes are more or less similar to what you are trying to do. So, then it is obvious that the work should be done together and not in opposition to one another. There should be mutual cooperation and help. Please remember that at the moment in my opinion, the biggest thing that is happening in India is the spread of community blocks. I know that there are weaknesses and shortcomings in them and yet I will say that it is the most revolutionary thing that is happening in the rural areas. We must expand and improve them and therefore it would be a good thing for the Bharat Sewak Samaj to be associated with them. How it is to be done, I cannot say nor is it necessary to put it down in writing. But there should be a close association between the two. There is any number of things which we can do but are unable to because of lack of funds.

I would like to tell you about an incident in this connection, relating to an American or British. I do not remember exactly from where. She came from a missionary family and wanted to come to India, because her brother was here. Soon he was able to get her the permission to come. She came, but very soon there was a quarrel between her and her brother and his fellow missionaries, because they lived like gentlemen, observing great formality, while she was different. She lived in the villages to serve the people instead of living in bungalows. Well, anyhow, she went in and the quarrel dragged on for over a year. Her family went to the extent of threatening her that she would be forcibly sent back to America. The government also decided not to let her remain if her family did not want her to stay. She wrote me a letter which somehow stuck in my mind. I invited her to meet me. She had been given extradition orders. When I met her I realised that she belonged to that category of human beings who Gandhiji would have been immediately drawn to if he had met her. She was the kind of person who has no thought for herself or the world but had a sort of obsession which is found only in great persons. Well, anyhow, I said that she should be permitted to remain.

I have told you this because of her method of working. We tend to start with long-winded official rules and regulations that there shall be a children's clinic in a village or city, or a crèche and what not. Money is spent on buildings. But this American lady told me that she sits under a tree and, calling all the children together, gives them a bath with soap and water. She talked to them every day. She spent nothing. By and by, the villagers themselves would offer her a place. But she started under a tree and since she knew medicine, she held a children's clinic without spending a penny. Now look at the effectiveness of such a method. She did not go around asking anyone for a house or anything.



The villagers liked what she did and gave her a place to stay. Gradually, this was built up into something. I am merely giving you an example of the number of things that can be done without money. It is wrong to make constant demands about money. Ultimately, no task remains undone due to lack of funds but it does due to human beings.

All right, I have taken up too much of your time I would like to tell you about something that I liked, though I have not seen it yet. The Bharat Sewak Samaj has put up night shelters in Delhi (it has been done all over the country). They have been put up in all the big industrial towns which is a very good thing. It is very bad that people should have to sleep on the pavements, with no shelter or roof over their heads. It will take time to build houses. But it is a good thing at least to provide some space for them to sleep at night. Fortunately, ours is a warm country and so five or six months in a year can be spent outdoors. But it is terrible that people should be forced to sleep out especially in winter. This particular arrangement is neither expensive nor complicated, and to do it is a good thing and you can take it up. Blankets should be provided and some arrangements for tea and breakfast could be made. You can make enquiries about what they earn. Oh, there is one more thing. Just now somebody pointed out from the back that there are cultural programmes (bhajans, etc) in the night shelters. I am amazed because it is not a good thing to ram culture down anyone's throat by force. Some people seem to think they are doing good work. Let those who want such things have them. But it is a bit too much to ask a man who is tired after work that he should now have a draught of culture. (Laughter)

Now, I thank you for listening to my speech quietly, for over an hour.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

### 130. At Bombay Bal Bhavan: Slum Children's Education<sup>22</sup>

#### Nehru Stresses Need Recreation for Slum Children

Bombay, Monday-9 March.

The need for adequate recreational facilities for children living in slum areas were stressed here by Mr. Nehru who laid foundation stone for a children's museum-cum-recreation centre at Bal Bhavan this evening.

The PM was obviously pleased to associate himself with the function and was in turn given a fitting ovation by the children present.

He pointed out the dismal surroundings in which children were allowed to grow. The number of 'slum pockets' in the city, he added were many.

Mr. Nehru said: "Adults were welcome to provide recreational facilities for children. But in any such move they should take into account the 'child's angle' " and would do well to find out whether their efforts were appreciated by children or not.

Earlier Mr. N. K. Tirpude, Minister for Social Welfare, welcomed the PM.

Mr. D.R. Pradhan, Secretary to the Labour and Social Welfare Department, proposed a vote of thanks.

### 131. Malaria Conference: Inauguration Address<sup>23</sup>

Mr. Chairman,<sup>24</sup> ladies and gentlemen,

May I congratulate the Chairman, to begin with, on his exceedingly businesslike opening of this Conference.<sup>25</sup> That I take it is evidence of how you are approaching this subject, that is in a workmanlike way. Sometimes I get a little alarmed at the number of conferences we hold not only here but all over the

22. Report of speech at Bombay, 9 March 1959. From the *Bombay Chronicle*, 10 March 1959.

On the same occasion, Nehru spoke about the artificial development of Hindi, see item 112.

23. Speech while inaugurating the Third Asian Malaria Conference, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 16 March 1959. From PIB files.

24. D.P. Karmarkar, Union Health Minister.

25. Twenty-two members of the World Health Organisation from South East Asia and Western Pacific regions attended the six-day conference which discussed the administrative, financial, legislative and health educative aspects of the malaria eradication programme.



world and I find that a very large number of our specialist officers and others are constantly wandering about various parts of the world attending conferences. There is no doubt that is good and there is no doubt that the international airlines are largely running because of these conferences, probably they would not have enough passengers. But it does mean that those countries who have not got an abundance of specialists dealing with problems are rather hard hit by their absence for continuing periods. Therefore, to some extent, I have become a little chary of conferences although quite inevitably we have to have them and participate in them and profit by them.

But these remarks certainly do not and cannot reply to this present third conference on malaria eradication or as the Chairman said, first conference on malaria eradication, the previous ones being on control. And I take it that the work you are going to do here is going to be as workmanlike as the Chairman's address, dealing with the problem and not spending time, well over all kinds of details which are not relevant but which are meant to fill time.

It is obvious that of the many fell diseases that we have to face in the world and more specially in the somewhat underdeveloped parts of the world, malaria is one of the worst, in some ways the worst I should say. The others, worse than it of course, more painful, more terrible, more fatal if you like that; but perhaps the way this affects and enfeebles a population, malaria kills a number but enfeebles far more, is really, it seems to me, almost worse than sudden death in a large number of cases. I would rather have sudden deaths than fading out of the vital energies of the people.

Now, you know, so I understand and it has been established by evidence and experience that malaria can be totally eradicated. It has in fact been eradicated from fairly considerable areas. Therefore, it follows obviously that every effort should be made to bring this about and as the Chairman pointed out there is a grave danger of going slowly lest the enemy might get accustomed to your weapons and then it will not be easy to master it. And in this, as in other matters which affect us in underdeveloped countries, pace and the speed of advance become all important. Of course, the other forces working which come in the way and if you do not go fast enough the other forces go faster and you do not go at all. While you are making a great effort, in fact you are standing still. Therefore, you have to make greater effort in order to overcome them. I entirely agree with what has been said that a big concentrated planned effort should be made to eradicate malaria. After all, various serious diseases have been eradicated from large parts of Europe, America and elsewhere, very uncommon now there. There is no reason why the same thing should not be done here. I wonder if it will be possible for someone, some eminent person, eminent both in historical knowledge and in the knowledge of malaria to join

the two together and write a history of the world and say how far it has been affected by malaria, how major events have turned on malaria, how civilisations gradually seem to go down because of malaria and all that. It would be a fascinating subject. It is said that when Alexandar, called the Great, came to India twenty-two to twenty-three thousand years ago, he did not have an easy time but what merely made him or made his army almost collapse was malaria in the Indus region and he just had to go back but with a very enfeebled army. I give you this one instance of how history is affected—of course, it has always been affected by such concurrences and it is quite possible that in many of these regions of Asia, may be elsewhere, malaria has been a more powerful determinant in the course of human history than people imagine.

I wish you success in your labours and entirely concur that those labours should be concentrated and speedy. Thank you.

#### **132. To Social Welfare Boards Conference: Inauguration Address<sup>26</sup>**

Madam Chairman<sup>27</sup> and friends,

We have just been listening to a very businesslike speech from the Chairman, a speech full of points of importance, full of reference to problems that confront you and without much verbiage. I should like to congratulate the Chairman on the speech in which she has tried to compress in half an hour things which might have been said in a much longer period and naturally had to read it with great rapidity.

Ever since the starting of the Social Welfare Board,<sup>28</sup> I have naturally been in touch with it and with its activities not in the detailed way in which you are in touch, but because I have considered it as a subject of great importance and I have been much impressed by its work. It has often been criticised, and even if I may say so perhaps rightly criticised, in regard to some activities or the manner of undertaking them. We in this country, all of us, have a peculiar aptitude for criticising, which in a way, is a good thing. Now I am not criticising the aptitude to criticise. (Laughter) It is a good thing because we grow

26. Inaugurating the fifth annual conference of the Chairmen of the State Social Welfare Boards, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 18 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in PIB files.

27. Durgabhai Desmukh.

28. Established in 1953 for promoting welfare for women and children through voluntary organisations.



complacent and that is a very bad thing for any organisation or government to grow complacent. As a matter of fact, nobody can easily grow complacent when faced with the tremendous problems of India. But while I welcome criticism, while I think we should profit by all this criticism, we should try to see the picture as a whole and not some little odd corner of it which we think ought to be improved, because it is only when we see that entire picture that we can form some idea of the achievement that we are having. I am glad that the Planning Commission and this Board have therefore attached importance to constant attempts at evaluation of the work that has been done and audits of achievement and work study groups to see, again what is being done because sometimes it may be that you may feel that this is somewhat of an encumbrance and a nuisance always to be examined and inspected but I think it is necessary and desirable to keep us all to the mark.

Now, apart from seeing some odd bits of this enormous work that this Board has been doing all over India, if you look at the whole picture, I think that the predominant reaction is of very good work, being done in a field which was not entirely a virgin field, of course, we will always have social workers in India doing good work, but nevertheless it was an uncoordinated field where large ideas were left untouched, sometimes chiefly in cities, some work was done and rural areas were not touched. I have this predominant impression of not only good work being done by this Social Service Board and its state branches but of a certain ferment of social, not merely reform but social revolution being set in motion.

We talk of various types of revolutions, political, economic, social, they are all really parts of a comprehensive process but the most basic revolution of all is the social revolution which comes close from other revolutions. The political revolution removes many obstacles, many fetters. The economic revolution removes still more fetters. But the basic revolution is the social. And indeed you come back unless the social revolution takes place, the economic and the political suffer. It cannot go ahead very far. And if you think in terms of social revolution, it of course includes every one, man and woman, but much more so it pertains to women because women everywhere, but more specially in India because of our traditions and habits of living, are the foundations of social life. If the woman does not change or progress, then social life remains static, unchanging more or less because to some extent of course it does change. And one of the most interesting and far reaching changes that I think is coming over India today is among the women of India. It has gone a fair distance in regard to what might be called, well, women in cities and towns, it has gone to a slight extent to the rural parts of our country also. Once it spreads adequately in the villages, then this social revolution is in full swing, bringing tremendous

results. Even in our political movement for freedom when women in India joined it in considerable numbers at Gandhiji's appeal that gave the living sparks to that movement. It made it far more powerful than if merely the men in India had participated. Therefore, from any long distance point of view, or short distance for the matter of that, it is of the utmost importance how we can deal with this problem, more specially among the women of India and the children. From that point of view, this Social Service Board is not only doing good work in the sense of social reform, but doing even more basically important work in the sense of pushing ahead social revolution in India.

Now, of course, this process started long ago and is a continuing process; sometimes it goes faster, sometimes slower. There was a tendency an inevitable and natural tendency, for it to be rather confined to what might be called, well, the educated section among the women of our country. That was natural. And they also worked more or less among themselves which was natural to begin with but which does not produce much result, because real results come when you approach the mass of the population which requires this kind of ferment most of all and help most of all, and change most of all. Now I cannot judge with any exactitude how far the work of the Social Service Board has affected rural India. I see and our Chairman has been telling us of the work done, of the numerous projects, schemes, plans, etc., So I have no doubt it is effective. But I cannot say to what extent it is doing that. Anyhow, this will increase; all I would like to say is this, that more and more attention should be paid to that aspect, that is rural India. That is the first point I would like to make. Then in this connection also comes the question of education. The Chairman has told us that special attention should be paid to the education of girls and women. Well, I suppose all of us agree to that. I have no doubt it should be paid, and it is true also that there is a certain lag in the progress of girls' education in India; and yet, looking at it from another point of view, it is pleasing and surprising to see how it has progressed. From the point of view of total numbers in India, it has not progressed. It is far behind, but from the point of view of the numbers that are being produced, it is a fair achievement, and again I look upon that too. From this point of view, of the basic changes that have been set in motion in our social fabric, coming through the process of girls', women's education, because that is a basic process of all. These processes are also helped by, well, technological advancement, careers opening out and all that.

Now, there is some discussion in the Chairman's speech, about the future of this Social Service Board and she refers to a demand frequently made for a Ministry of Social Culture, what is it? Social Welfare, yes, or a Department. I have in the past few years sometimes received deputations urging me to constitute such a Ministry pointing out the importance of this subject. Now it



was not necessary for the importance to be pointed out to me because I consider it of the highest importance. The question was what was the best way of dealing with this and I have had considerable doubt in thinking that a governmental ministry would be the most efficient way of dealing with this problem. Apart from the fact, that many aspects of it are spread out in the present ministries, they may be collected together, but even so, they would overlap. But that was not the real reason, the real reason being that a ministry would function in a much more rigid manner than some other type of organisation. Also because this type of work, above all, other types of work, requires the voluntary worker's approach, the non-official approach, and the Chairman has balanced these things in her speech very well. Or you want a certain, well, a certain rigidity if you like, of governmental methods, otherwise you work loosely, but at the same time with a great deal of flexibility. Take a case like we had to do with a vast number of refugees from Pakistan, displaced persons. And a huge apparatus was built up. I have always wondered if it would not have been better to have dealt with that problem more on the non-official level than the official. To some extent it was because it was a human problem, it was not merely a problem of giving doles and grants and rehabilitation and all that. It was dealt too much in this, well, governmental way, and not the human aspect of it. I don't say it was entirely dealt that way, and it was a difficult problem of course, the vast numbers of people. Anyhow I still think that social welfare can be carried out more successfully in a flexible way, in the voluntary approach way, in the non-official way, with of course official help, official guidance and as large monies are involved, official inspection, audits, etc.

The Chairman has, finally I think, made one or two suggestions as to whether this should be a registered society or something else. I do not quite know, I am quite prepared to say what it should be. I do feel that broadly speaking the manner of approach thus far, the voluntary workers, non-official workers, flexibility and all that, should be maintained with a close connection of course with the governmental apparatus and full cooperation between the two.

Now, there is such a large number of problems to which reference has been made in the Chairman's speech and I am not very competent to deal with them. But two or three I would like to say, one is that I have welcomed the coordination of the activities of the Social Welfare Board with the community development movement because both cover vast areas of this country, nearly the whole of it, and both have really, fundamentally, the same objective in view, different aspects of it, and it would be unfortunate if they pulled in different directions or worked independently of each other. They should be closely coordinated, their activities added, the Social Welfare Board looking after much more the peculiar work of social welfare within the larger work of community development.

Now, we are engaged in panchayats, cooperatives building up panchayats, cooperatives, etc. I think that the Social Welfare Board should also, not directly anyhow, in some other form, take interest in this. What I say, is this, that social welfare, isolated from life's problems, the type of social welfare, let us say, which they set up that they call the orphanages—I hate the word—or set up something else like this, a “Widows Homes”, and all that “ may be all right, well it may be all right, but does not appeal to me in the slightest. This is just odd bits, a few people chosen to be looked after because they are helpless. Train them by all means, have training institutions, but for the heaven's sake, drop these words like “orphanages” and the like, they were “badges”, as if they are badges of a criminal tribe. The child grows up. The child grows thinking there is nobody to look after me, no parents, nobody. That is a bad thing. I am surprised that the thing should be carried on. But if you somehow deal with the active problems of life, in the village, in the city, and your welfare is connected with that, then you are part of a widespread broad movement and not odd institutions doing odd bits of odd good work. That may be necessary here and there. But that, if I may say so, is the approach, is the rather superior approach of the well-to-do towards the less well-to-do. That may be necessary occasionally, but I feel that the approach should be rather to fit these people in, with the wider problems that the attempt to solve the problems of the country in a wider way. You work in the villages, well, interest yourself in the panchayat there, see that women understand it, women go into it. It will be difficult to begin with, but some will. Or the cooperative.

Now, great stress has been laid on cooperatives, service cooperatives, and I think that the cooperative should be a big field for the training women. Take the training of women for that purpose, some of them, and put them into it. Don't let the men in the villages imagine that women can be kept out of it.

Then the Chairman referred to how to utilise a large number of women teachers in the country. I think that is important. Women teachers, and they are bound to grow, if they can be set to work in social welfare, etc., in rural areas, you immediately get a tremendous accession of strength. Remember teachers are bound to grow and grow at a very fast pace. I haven't calculated how many teachers are going to be there ultimately in India, but as education spreads, primary and compulsory education, secondary education, you will have many, many hundreds, lakhs and lakhs of teachers all of them, even though there are lakhs, but the whole lot become a crore. I should not be surprised, all kinds of teachers, professors, secondary, primary, university all that tremendous number of people more or less trained, why should their training not be oriented in addition to other things to this social welfare, especially those who go into this, those who work in villages as lakhs and lakhs are going to do. The difficulty



about all such movement is you set up separate service and it grows because the needs are great and your administrative apparatus grows in spite of the fact that there are many voluntary workers, the paid workers grow, official elements grow, the clerks grow, everybody grows, bureaucracy grows and expenditure grows, and so you get oppressed by this. The need is there, but somehow in trying to fulfill a need, we get more tied up with the growth of administration and the growth of expenditure. Well, and the problem is now in a country like India, situated as we are, we can do things cheaply and yet well.

We cannot, we have got slightly into the habit naturally of copying Western models sometimes, not always. And I have yet failed to understand what good it does, whether it does much good to send people to be trained in Western countries to do social welfare work in India. It is beyond me how a person going to America or England for training for social welfare work in India, what good that does? Of course, it does some good, but it also does a great deal of harm too, harm in the sense, that conditions are totally different there. There is no such thing as an Indian village in America so far as I know. Now what is the good of a person being brought up in a highly developed country where conditions are entirely different, and brought back, except to make that person fail, completely frustrated and incapable of doing anything here unless that person gradually adapts himself or herself to this. I think it is absolutely and completely wrong [...] I don't say it is merely a waste of money, it is fundamentally wrong to do it. It is harmful to send people to foreign countries for this purpose; senior people of course, it is a different matter. A senior worker may go to see methods and other things, see what he can learn, but for a trainee to be sent abroad to learn social welfare seems to me really quite absurd. I suggested to many people, who had been abroad and some of them came to see me, I said much rather spend a year at Sevagram or some other institution in India. You will learn much more that way. You may not be able to use particular methods or gadgets which are used in the United States, but you will learn about the Indian being here which is the most important thing of all in social welfare. You may have a good social worker who is completely illiterate and yet is near perfect and you may have very highly educated persons who are completely useless and ineffective. So the approach has to be more from that human point of view and the conditions in India than just some kind of mechanical training derived under different conditions elsewhere.

Well, I have ventured merely to cross the t's and dot the i's here and there to what the Chairman has said. I should like to pay my tribute to the enthusiasm and the ability with which she has carried on this organisation and more particularly the drive she has put into it. Thank you.

### 133. To Baij Nath Kapur: Villages have Priority over Notables<sup>29</sup>

March 18, 1959

Dear Baij Nath,

Your letter of 14 March. I had hoped to come to Allahabad for at least two or three days, but, unfortunately, this is not possible now. I hope to arrive there on the morning of the 6th. That morning will be taken up by the Hospital functions. In the afternoon, I hope to go to some of the villages in the District. I am inclined to think that there need not be a public meeting in the city. I would rather spend most of my time in the villages. On the 7th April, I shall have to return by the afternoon, and so I shall have the morning available. If, however, you think a public meeting necessary, this may be fixed.<sup>30</sup>

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri is kindly arranging my programme, and you should refer to him.

I do not see the point of my meeting separately prominent citizens, industrialists, etc. My time is limited, and it should be given chiefly to the villages on this occasion.

Also, I cannot go out to dinner, lunch or tea with anyone during my brief stay. I shall be out nearly the whole day and when I come back late in the evening, I want to rest a little.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 134. To N.G. Ranga: Malaise in Cooperative Departments<sup>31</sup>

March 22, 1959

My dear Ranga,

Your letter of the 16th March enclosing the Judgment delivered by the Punjab High Court against the winding up order issued by the Deputy Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Delhi. I am surprised to learn the facts as stated therein. I am enquiring further into this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. Letter to the President, City Congress Committee, Allahabad.

30. Nehru visited the villages of his constituency and spoke about community development, cooperation, and agricultural production. See SWJN/SS/48/items 1-7.

31. Letter.



### **135. To K. Ram: Cooperative Departments<sup>32</sup>**

This reveals an astonishing state of affairs, and more than justifies the criticisms I have made of our Cooperative Departments. Will you please immediately write to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi<sup>33</sup> and ask him to enquire into this matter and report to me?

2. If the facts stated are correct, the Deputy Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Delhi, has acted wrongly and incompetently and deserve some action against him. It is surprising that when we are all talking about the encouragement of cooperation, officials connected with Cooperative Societies should function in this irresponsible way and actually come in the way of such development.

3. The Chief Commissioner at least should realise what our policy is in regard to Cooperative Societies and should issue instructions to the Registrar's Office. Indeed, I think the time has come for the present laws to be completely changed and the present Registrars of Cooperative Societies to be found some other work.

### **136. To Vishnu Sahay: Cooperators to Discuss Nagpur Congress Resolutions<sup>34</sup>**

The Congress President appointed a Committee recently to consider the resolution of the Nagpur Congress on cooperatives. Among the members of this Committee were Professor D.R. Gadgil, Shri Vaikunth L. Mehta and a number of others. The Committee met for two days in Delhi. (I did not participate in those meetings).

2. Professor Gadgil has sent a note on the subject to the Congress President, which she has passed on to me. I enclose a copy of this note.<sup>35</sup> I suggest that you circulate this to the Members of the Cabinet. We shall be considering this question of cooperatives at the next meeting of the Cabinet on Sunday.

3. In circulating this note, you might say as follows:

“At the request of the Prime Minister, a note by Professor D.R.Gadgil on the implementation of the Nagpur Congress Resolution on

32. Note, 22 March 1959.

33. A.D. Pandit.

34. Note, 27 March 1959.

35. See Appendix 25.

Cooperatives is being circulated to Members of the Cabinet. This note was drafted by Professor Gadgil after considerable discussion in a Committee appointed by the Congress President.”<sup>36</sup>

### 137. In the Lok Sabha: Co-operative Farming<sup>37</sup>

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I should like to express my gratification at the fact that the hon. Member has brought this resolution before this House.<sup>38</sup> I should like to express also my peculiar satisfaction that this subject of co-operation and co-operative farming has met, to a small extent, with rather aggressive and virulent opposition from some people, some Members in this House and some people outside, because it would have been a pity if a move of this kind should have been quietly and unthinkingly accepted without considering all the consequences of it. Therefore, the person most to be congratulated is the hon. Member who is not here....

Shri U.C. Patnaik: I am here.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I was not referring to the hon. Member Shri Patnaik, but to another hon. Member who is not here, and who had opposed this idea with a wealth of rhetorical vituperation which is perhaps unparalleled in this House.<sup>39</sup>

I welcome this because we want this subject to be understood, to be treated as a live subject as it is, and not accepted as many things are willy nilly and then allowed to be passed by.

I must confess, though, that I have not been quite able to understand still, in spite of the strength of language used sometimes on the other side, the rationale or the logic or the reasonableness or the science of the opposition to this. I can understand of course, an unreasoned passion, prejudice, a difficulty to

36. Nehru wrote a similar letter to V. T. Krishnamachari on the same day and suggested inviting D.R. Gadgil and Vaikunth Mehta to the NDC meeting.

37. 28 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVIII, cols 8394-8413.

38. U.C. Patnaik, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Ganjam, Orissa, had moved the resolution on 13 March 1959 that the question of introducing cooperative farming be given top priority in the programme of land reforms and agricultural development in the country.

39. Probably M.R. Masani, who seems to have been absent at this moment, who was famous for his rhetorical flourishes and to whom Nehru refers later in the speech.



comprehend something which you are not used to, apprehension, fear of everything new. That, of course, one always has to meet with whenever there is any kind of step forward, but the attempt to argue and reason about this has not been understood by me because in spite of every effort I have not followed that argument.

What are we after? You can put it in any way you like. We are after, well, broadly speaking, raising the standards of our people, increasing our production, organising or reorganising our agrarian economy, so that it can yield better results and bring better results for the people indulging in it and for the country. We are after having higher forms of social organisation; we are after having a social organisation which helps in realising the social objectives that we have in view. There are so many ways of approaching this question. These are positive approaches. Let us examine the negative approach, and it is only the negative approach that applies to hon. Members who oppose this idea.

The negative approach is: do not do it, it is dangerous, people will not like it, there will be trouble; and sometimes, it is even said that it will lessen, lower production. Well, of course, if any step that we take lessens production, not suddenly but basically, then it is a wrong step. It is not a matter for argument. If anything is done which basically lowers our production, yield per acre, it is a wrong step, because, obviously, we are aiming at higher production, and one reason, among others, why we commend the cooperative method is to increase production. If one wants to argue on that subject, one should argue on the basis of facts, figures, etc., and present a scientific argument. There is no good my making a statement, and an hon. Member contradicting that statement.

Nevertheless, I want this House to consider for a minute the negative aspects of it. If we do not do it, then what do we do about our agrarian economy and agriculture—that is, if we leave it in the small tiny patches, tiny holdings, the poor farmers struggling hard to eke out a poor subsistence, some a little better, some a little worse, but all really on a level of just eking out their subsistence; a bad harvest comes and they are knocked on the head.

Now, it is conceivable that with a great deal of help from the State, or otherwise, the yield might go up a little—by better seeds, better this, better that, slightly better techniques, although hon. Member Shri Vajpayee does not seem to like any better techniques because that might be mechanisation. If you use a better plough, it may be mechanisation. I do not know at what stage mechanisation comes in.

Shri Vajpayee: I am opposed to tractors, to the use of tractors.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I see. I do not know if the hon. Member is opposed to a big tractor or a small tractor, or all tractors. "Tractor" is a vague word. There

are tractors almost as big as half the size of this House; there are tractors as small as a tiny car—just an overgrown plough is a tractor.

So I am not entering into that argument. But it is worth considering what all this leads to. What is the negative aspect? Leaving things as they are, I submit, leads to the inevitable conclusion that you want to petrify the poverty of the peasants and the poverty of this country. I say there is no escape from that conclusion, leaving things as they are. Of course, it may be that this process may take a little longer for them to go under, but most of them live at the verge.

Therefore, the first thing that we have to decide is that we cannot leave things as they are. Or, if you like to put it this way, we are just not going to admit or accept the fact of Indian poverty continuing or the poverty of our agricultural classes continuing. And if Shri Masani's views are accepted, whatever may happen to the cities or industries—they may advance or not—one thing is certain, that the Indian peasant remains poor and becomes poorer and poorer, with his small patch of land, and he just never gets out of this morass of poverty.

Now that is a conclusion which, I am quite certain nobody will thinkingly accept; they may unthinkingly—some hon. Members apparently do—but thinkingly they will not accept, because we all want progress.

Now, therefore, the negative aspect has to be ruled out. The positive aspect has to be put there, the positive aspect of increasing our food production, of reforming; our agrarian economy and all that. How? Now, I do not mean to say that there is only one particular way of doing it—I mean one rigid way—although the broad approach may be more or less the same.

Also consider this. While we may compare conditions in Russia or China or Yugoslavia or Poland or America and we should profit by them—I see absolutely no reason why we should not profit by something that has been done in America or China or Russia or Poland or Yugoslavia—I just do not understand this kind of apprehension and fear that we may do something that has been done in China and that may lead us to perdition. I do not accept the basic philosophy, if I may use the word, of China at present; it is up to them to do what they like, and it is up to me to do what I like as I do not accept the basic philosophy of any other countries. But I do accept the fact that if a country does something well, I should profit by it and learn from it and copy it, if necessary, whether it is America or China or Russia or Poland or any other country.

But having said that, it is also equally important to remember that anything that we do should fit in with conditions in India. We have to evolve our own policies, profiting by the experience of the rest of the world. Again, in evolving our policies, there is a major consideration, that is, however good some kind of social progress might be, ultimately social progress comes from certain objective



conditions existing in that area, in that country where we are doing that. The best of theoretical approaches will not fit in if the objective conditions are not ready for it. All these factors have to be borne in mind.

Now, I have not a shadow of doubt—I say so with respect to those who may disagree with me—that cooperatives are the right approach that cooperative farming is the right objective to aim at. The only criticism that might be a valid criticism—I do not say it is—is, how far our objective conditions in all the parts of India are suited for that at the present moment? Might be. Or one may say—and rightly say—"You cannot have this kind of thing which requires a good deal of training, without any trained persons to do it; you cannot simply pass a law and expect things to happen." Now, these are right approaches and right criticisms which we can answer or remedy or do away with by training people or by creating those objective conditions. That is a different matter. That is the scientific approach to the problem. It is not good enough just to say that cooperative farming or cooperatives are unsuited or something new or something against the genius of the Indian people, something against the lack of genius of the Indian farmer—call it whatever you like—and, therefore, you must not have them. That, of course, has no meaning. That is an unscientific approach. And, if you accept that, you accept remaining sunk in poverty all the time because you can never go ahead without doing something new.

On the other hand, it would not be correct to say that cooperative farming is good and, therefore, have it everywhere tomorrow, because, that, I think, is difficult. I agree with Shri Patnaik that it would not be practicable for me to say something which I cannot do. In doing that I have to prepare the ground; I have to prepare the people's minds; I have to win them over.

And, there is the question—I think Shri Vajpayee referred to it with some force of voluntariness or not. That too is an odd question. It is an odd question so long as our Constitution, as it is today, remains in this country. If the Constitution is broken down and changed, I do not know what will happen. I cannot guarantee then. But, so long as the Constitution is here,—a democratic Constitution,"these fears and apprehensions are unfounded. But, I would go further than that. It is difficult—I would say almost impossible in Indian conditions, certainly impossible, elsewhere it is hardly possible—to bring about this kind of change-over over a wide country by methods of compulsion. You cannot. You can pass a law in a sense; but you have to get people to work that law and get people in hundreds and millions to work that law. Otherwise, you do not succeed even if you are prepared to have a measure of compulsion.

And yet it seems to me quite absurd to say that one farmer can hold up the whole village and can prevent that whole village from going ahead. I do not accept that position. I want to make it perfectly clear. If you accept that position

there will be no law passed by this Parliament or by a village panchayat or by the village cooperative; it is impossible. If the village cooperative wants to do something and one man says, 'No, I veto it', the village cooperative becomes helpless. No cooperative can function like that; no panchayat can function like that; no legislature can function. Democracy does not mean that each person can hold up the rest of the community. So, fundamentally, this thing can only come by a widespread general acceptance of it, some enthusiastic acceptance of it, if you like, rather passive acceptance, but acceptance.

Then, again Shri Vajpayee talked about pressures being exercised and among them, I believe, he mentioned: Oh, you stop water and this and that, I want to make it perfectly clear that if we consider a policy a right policy, we shall give every incentive in favour of that policy. Not a question of pressure. Yes, it would be a wrong pressure to cut off water. I do not mean that kind of thing; but, of course, other incentives just as today we give or try to give incentives to the good farmer who grows more and give prizes or awards and take him for Bharat darshan or a tour all round, whatever you like. That is a different matter. We give him incentives. For a right policy we have to do it. Are we to give incentives for sloth, for the lazy farmer, the bad farmer, the backward farmer or to a person who just refuses to change even though the world may change? Surely, we are going to give incentives.

Shri P.R. Patel:<sup>40</sup> Will it not be discrimination if some preference is given to one type of farmer?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It will be discrimination. We will exercise this discrimination every time for better work. Discrimination is given to the better worker by better wages. He produces more and we give him better wages. Discrimination is allowed to the better farmer because, of course, he produces more. That is a type of incentive that you do always give. In fact, I should like that type of discrimination somehow to be applied to all our factories and farms and plants and even government services. But, it is difficult in government service because in government service everything goes by time-scale and time-scale rather suppresses.

I put it to this House that we had rather slightly lost ourselves in thinking about these questions, if I may say so, in a rather wrong way. I say so with all respect. What has Yugoslavia done? What has some other country done? We ask whether this is democracy or not. Of course, we should profit by what

40. MJP, Lok Sabha MP from Mehsana, Bombay.



Yugoslavia, Russia, China or America or England or Germany has done. That is a different matter. We are trying to measure these questions by yardsticks which really may be useful occasionally, but which have no great relevance today. We ought to consider the conditions in India. We have to consider how to achieve our objective. What is the best way? When I say conditions in India, it means not only the agricultural conditions but the people of India too—the farmer and everything comes into the picture. I have no doubt theoretically—let us take the theoretical part of it—co-operation, co-operative working is good in every single department of human activity, except perhaps high artistic effort vocationally and that is a different thing. Even there cooperation is good. But I can understand the individual creative artist. You cannot produce a book by cooperation. The individual writer writes a book or a poem or whatever it may be. Leaving such artistic activity, in every other activity, co-operation is the better method. There can be no doubt about it in theory. You may raise difficulties that in practice people may not accept it. Let us meet that point. But it is a better way of life and in fact it is an inevitable way of life when you live in crowded communities. It is all right that in a sparsely populated country, people have large farms living apart from each other. If you go to the Vedic age, when there was much more land than the people presumably the land tenure system was then suited to that time when there was vast land and forest area in a relatively small population. You cannot create conditions of the Vedic age in terms of the population in India today. It was one hundred times less or more than one hundred times less than today and it grows apace. The problem has changed. Because the problem has changed you cannot, even for that reason, apply the old methods of dealing with it. There is no other way. I say with some confidence that there is no other way except the cooperative way. Now, cooperation can be of many types. There are the service cooperatives and they too can be of many types. There is the joint cultivation type and they too are of several types.

Now again, there was the old idea of the separate farm. There is nothing bad in it but it is good enough only when the people are few and the land is much. Or else, you conceive of the landlord system or the jagirdari system where a person has a big farm and can profit by it and large numbers are held as serfs in that farm. If you reject that, as you must, the alternative is, if you have too many people and too little land to give each of them an adequate quantity of land, what are you to do?—a little square or patch of land to each individual living a terribly hard life and getting hardly anything at the end of it and the population increasing and making that problem more and more difficult? There is no solution that way. That is accepted.

The solution lies only in two ways. One is cooperation and ultimately cooperative farming and the second is drawing people away from the land into

industries—whether that industry is big, middle or small is another matter. A fact which is rather unique in the history of our country and which no doubt many hon. Members of this House know is the ratio of agricultural and urban population in India and how it has varied. In every country of Europe, so far as I know, in most of the industrialised countries of Europe throughout the nineteenth century, the urban population went up. By 'urban' I mean, particularly, the population engaged in industry. It went up and up. The agricultural population went down somewhere to 50:50, 60:40 somewhere, somewhere 40:60 and so on. In America, of course, the agricultural population is much less. Proportionately, India is one of the very few countries—I do not know the figures relating to other countries—where throughout the nineteenth century and right up to a part of the twentieth century the rural population went up and up at the cost of the urban population, where in spite of the fact that great cities like Calcutta and Bombay were built up the total urban population went down and down.

What does that mean? Lack of opportunities of work, lack of industrial activities, and everybody for lack of that falling back on the land and becoming a burden on the land. The land was not empty. The land was full, and more and more people came. That is the basic cause of India's poverty, the burden on land. So we have to take away people and give them occupation. By 'taking away' I do not mean bring them to Calcutta or Bombay and leave them there, but have industrial activities there, whether it be small industry, big industry, cottage industry, whatever you like. That is one aspect of it.

The other aspect is the cooperative approach to land problem. I submit, Sir, this is the logical, scientific and reasonable approach to it. Further, apart from that, it helps you in the other objective you have; that is to say, we have to raise primarily the production from land. Now, it goes without much argument—surely, it should be obvious—that, given other things being equal, with better technique, with better methods, production is more. That is the lesson all over the world that you can learn from it. To say that primitive tools or bad technique will give you more seems to be on the face of it contradictory.

Now, better techniques cannot be utilised on small patches of land. It is difficult. It is possible for a big farmer with a very big farm of hundreds and hundreds of acres to use better techniques. When you are not having that, you have to come back to small farms, small holdings. You cannot utilise better techniques there. I am not for a moment talking about tractors. Not that I am opposed to tractors, but I do not think that tractors in present conditions in India can be used on a mass scale. It may be used and it should be used. I am not thinking of tractors, but I am thinking, nevertheless, in terms of better tools and better techniques. They cannot be utilised on small patches of land. First of



all, the small, poor agriculturist has no resources at all. Secondly, he has no mental training background to do it. He just can't do it. Therefore, in order to use these techniques you have to have larger areas.

For my part, I do not want the area to be too large for other reasons not connected with this, although a larger area will give more production. I have no doubt, for instance, if I may say so, that a State farm of 1000 acres, 10,000 acres or 20,000 acres will yield good results.

Shri P.R. Patel: In Rajasthan they failed.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In Rajasthan? I am grateful to the hon. Member for reminding me. In Rajasthan the most wonderful results are being achieved today—amazing results. I am going to see it in the next week. In about four days time I am visiting that place.<sup>41</sup> They only had 5000 acres, and the crops there, I am told by people who have seen them, are just astonishing. A normally 4 h ft. high crop is 10 ft. high there.

Shri P.R. Patel: This information was given in the Assembly there.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Crops do not grow in the Assembly, crops grow in the fields.

But I say, I do not recommend that. I am not recommending that, except that, I think, we should have state farms—few or more is a different matter. We are not suggesting that as the normal pattern of agricultural economy, not because it does not produce more but because there are other human factors involved and many things which we do not accept. But I do think where possible, without disturbance to the people there, state farms can be created; they should be created—a few such farms—for a variety of reasons, for greater experimentation and greater production which will come to the states, I cannot say as a reserve, but to meet a contingency. But that is by the way. We are aiming at an agrarian economy by having small farms cooperatively organised on the village basis, because, I would rather that the area was not too big, for, I do not think cooperation functions successfully if it is too big. Cooperation is essentially the idea of a big family becoming bigger and bigger.

And here, may I, with all respect, put an aspect before this House, and especially before the hon. Member Shri Vajpayee? What is a large Hindu family

41. Clearly, the Suratgarh Farm of the State Farms Corporations of India Limited, which he visited on 1 April.

except a cooperative? A large Hindu family indulging in joint cultivation, what is it except a cooperative for that area? It is. It functions now. Just enlarge that idea of joint farming and make the whole village into a family. It is just a slight enlargement of that idea. There is nothing novel about it; nothing very revolutionary about it.

I do not want that to go beyond a village or two villages if you like, because, otherwise, that very intimate factor is lost, the knowledge of each other. Strangers come in and people do not know one another. Then two things may happen. One is, the official may come in there and I want, as far as possible, not to have official intrusion. Secondly, a few clever people in that group of big villages may become bosses there and may exploit others. Of course, there is always that danger in every democratic institution. But there it is. But in a small village where people know each other, the sense of knowledge of almost family relationship is still there. Therefore, they know who the knaves are and who the good people are. More or less they can pull together and quarrel together and still carry on. This is the idea. That is, a village, or may be two villages, if one village is too small a unit will form a cooperative unit, and these units, forming ten to 12 units, will become a union of cooperatives for economic purposes and for various things. A small unit may not be capable of producing results or may not be wholly viable. But the union is viable. It can help them. That is the approach to this question, and if they can undertake joint cultivation, well and good. They can do so tomorrow, well and good. But I do not ask them to do so, because I realise, good as joint cultivation is, you grow into it. It cannot be imposed. You have to learn it and learn the psychology of it, and learn the practice of it.

So far as practice is concerned, I think it is of the utmost importance that from now onwards we should train people, large numbers of people. It will never succeed unless they are trained cooperators; and training means, the Central Government and the State Governments and the Community Development movement, all should undertake this task in its various stages and degrees. First, there should be some—not too many, but a fairly limited number—high-class, trained people who are really experts in it, and whom we train. We may have special classes, in our agricultural colleges, rural institutes and other places. That is to say, every state should have a handful of people, with complete knowledge and experience. The next stage is, people of a good deal of experience, not with that much standard, but still. The next stage is of course the panchs and the sarpanchs who should be given some training in it by the cooperatives, by the community development movement, etc., so, that there should be a large base of some training, a little higher base of more adequate training and the top with really very high-class training. That is essential.



The other part which, I said, is the psychological part, grows and will grow if they start in two ways. If they start with service cooperatives and work it, and work it to a success, the next step is the smaller step for them. It is not I who decide or Parliament that decides. The service cooperative decides. They decide it; I do not come into the picture at all. If they want some help from us, we should try to give it. They will decide it ultimately by their own experience in the service cooperatives as well as by seeing how they are functioning in the joint cultivation areas. The farmer goes more by example than by theory. These are the stages that I see.

I accept, I am convinced that for a variety of reasons joint cultivation is desirable for greater production, greater cohesion and a progressive removal of class distinctions. It is an important thing. This is the psychological part of it. You change gradually, not suddenly, the whole social fabric of the village in that way. A cooperative functioning like this, a panchayat and all these village organisations, should build up the real democratic basis of our society. Whether you look at it from this larger framework of going towards a social structure which is more in consonance with the ideals which you are aiming at, more in consonance with real democracy as well as a more productive structure and gradually leading up to raising the peasantry and the farmers to a higher level of life, whichever way you look at it, it is desirable. My saying so does not mean that it is simple and easy. It means each step following the other; it means hard work, millions of people being approached. It means also not too rigid an approach. A broad outlook may be clear enough, but in its application, it should not be rigid.

I am not an expert, but in a huge country like India, I do not like any rigid approach which must apply to every bit of India. Sometimes the approach you may make to a wheat-growing area may not be the same as the approach to a rice-growing area. Conditions are different and the approach will have to be adapted to the conditions. Let not the approach be too rigid. It should be flexible and, inevitably, there will have to be stages. The first stage, broadly speaking, is the service co-operatives, multi-service cooperatives. There too, I do not wish to be rigid about it. The next stage is joint cultivation societies, not suddenly overnight all over the country; gradually, the service co-operatives will become joint cultivation societies. There will be a period when you can see both functioning and there will be better experience.

In theory, I would submit to the House, there can be no doubt that joint cultivation is better, more profitable and better from the social point of view, from the point of view of greater production and bringing higher techniques. A fair amount of land that is often wasted today in boundaries and other things can be cultivated and that raises the income of that area.

Of course, the House will remember that we have said that the ownership of the land will continue. Some people say that this is either a ruse or even if we mean it, we will not be able to stick by it. I do not know; how can I say about the future? This concept of ownership is a peculiar concept which has changed throughout the ages. The House knows Acharya Vinoba Bhave thinks there should be no ownership of land at all. There it is; I respect it and I should be very happy indeed if that was so. But I do not think it can be so today. I do not reject it at all, but I do not think it is feasible today and therefore, I do not press for it. But this idea of ownership itself is an incorporeal thing, almost an invisible thing. Suppose there is a very big zamindari and a limited liability company with shares. The man owns 10 per cent of the land. But he cannot say "this particular bit of land is mine." He owns 10 per cent of the larger area; the ownership is solid enough. He gets the dividends, or whatever it is. So, ownership remains and ownership tends to become that. Today land, of course, is only terribly important in countries which are industrially backward. It is somewhat important everywhere, but it is more important in industrially backward communities. But wherever industry goes ahead ownership becomes scrips and shares, ownership becomes credit, an invisible thing. A man with credit can raise almost any amount to start industries, do this and that and sometimes to bamboozle people; but that is a different matter. The whole concept of ownership is changing and yet we are sticking to ownership by sitting on a square yard of land and being proud that "this square yard is mine and nobody can take it." Even there it goes, as communal life goes—not "communal" in the Indian sense of the word, limited sense. In the cities there used to be roads privately owned, bridges privately owned, all kinds of things. Now a road has become a public, municipal property, a bridge has become municipal or public property, public utilities and so on. Railways and so many things have become public property. The idea of private ownership changes and the public and the individual benefit by it. So, this changing society changes its ideals about these basic forms of ownership. That will happen. One should not be afraid of it. In fact, one should welcome that, provided it leads to the objectives that we are aiming at.

Of course, all this that I have said just now has really no relation to this petty, limited problem of cultivation or joint cultivation. That is a limited problem and that can be justified, quite apart from other social approaches. I have said this because I find a certain note, even on those who approve of this a certain note sometimes of apology, sometimes of apprehension "Oh, let us experiment, let us see what happens." I just don't understand it. Experiment what with? We have been experimenting on land for the last 20,000 years or 10,000 or whatever the period may be. Land is a place where experiments have been taking place more than on anything else; modern industry is a new thing. Land has been



experimented upon by everyone for thousands of years. And does anybody imagine that the starting of cooperatives or joint cultivation is a dangerous experiment which may lead to all kinds of harmful consequences? I just don't understand this business. Of course, we have experimented with various forms; all social forms are experimented, experimented in the sense from one to a higher form. The object is that we should not remain where we remain and, worse still, to go down. Well, it is experimenting in the wrong direction.

So, I submit that in whatever way you look at this problem, you are driven to this conclusion that our future lies in a cooperative approach, I would add, a cooperative approach not in the land only but in the industry also. For the moment, we are dealing with land. The cooperative approach has to be prepared for, worked for, trained for. We start, if we go by stages, rapid stages I hope, but nevertheless, stages. And that is why I would myself venture to support the amendment put forward by my colleague Dr. Ram Subhag Singh.<sup>42</sup> Not that I have any objection to the main Resolution. Only I want to make it a practical approach. I should like the main Resolution if it could be effected as rapidly as possible. I shall welcome it. But, for the moment, a practical approach is given in Dr. Ram Subhag Singh's resolution.

One thing more. Shri Patnaik said something about a parliamentary committee or commission being appointed to study this question.<sup>43</sup> I do not know; I do not myself understand how that will be profitable at this stage. Maybe, at some stage it will be useful. We are studying it in all manner of fields—the Planning Commission studies it, the All India Congress Committee has got rather high power sub-committees studying it and, in a sense, the cooperative movement, of course, is studying it. And many Members of Parliament have their own committees, Party committees and others. Certainly, let us study it in that informal way. But I do not think it will be any good for a formal committee to study it and try to find out as to what has happened and, if

42. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Buxar, Bihar, Ram Subhag Singh had moved the following amendment on 28 March: "This House recommends that during the next three years every possible effort should be made to organise service cooperatives all over the country and to develop the spirit of cooperation in general so that cooperative farms may be set up voluntarily by the people concerned wherever conditions are mature."

43. U.C. Patnaik had proposed a small parliamentary committee, assisted by technical experts, to suggest measures to expedite the process.

I may refer to Shri Patnaik's speech, what Mr. Darling said some time ago.<sup>44</sup> It is totally immaterial as to what Darling said or did not say or did or did not do—Darling's work is of the past which is of no interest to me—or what faults we committed in the past. Of course, we have committed faults during the British time and during the subsequent time. The past is all right where it is. Let it remain there. We have to do with the present and more so with the future.

Shri Sinhasan Singh:<sup>45</sup> About ceiling, whether land on which cooperation is to begin will be carved out from bigger landholders? About ceilings, he has himself given in the Second Planning Commission's Report that certain types of land will be exempted from ceilings, that is, plantations, big farms, sugarcane companies farms and all these farms will be exempted.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not quite understood the hon. Member's question except that I have heard the word 'ceiling' several times.

Shri Sinhasan Singh: The Report of the Second Planning Commission has exempted certain lands from ceilings. They are big orchards, farms, sugarcane farms etc.<sup>46</sup>

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer that at length here. I accept entirely the proposal to have ceilings on land. In fact, all this is rather correlated. Ceiling, cooperatives, state trading are all correlated and should be looked at as a common picture. State trading will be completely successful with cooperatives. Without that, it will succeed in some measure but not that completely.

The hon. Member referred to the Second Plan and to some exemptions of ceiling. I cannot say yes or no to a question like that. There may be some exemptions. One has to examine them. The exemption may change from time to time. The whole idea of exemption give there was that we were so anxious

44. Malcolm Darling, Consultant to the Planning Commission, and former Cooperative Registrar of Punjab State, had submitted a report in 1957 on cooperative farming. See also SWJN/SS/41/pp. 50 and 175. Ram Subhag Singh observed that the report contained "very stringent criticism of our cooperative capacity" and that Darling had not been optimistic about agricultural credit, deriving the problem from British times.

45. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gorakhpur, UP.

46. The Second Five Year Plan exempted from ceiling certain categories of land which had, for example, composite enterprises of industry and agriculture, specialised operations like cattle breeding, plantations, efficient farms which should not be broken up, compact orchards, or culturable wastelands.



so that food production might not suffer and we did not wish to touch real good farms which were producing a lot for the time being. It is a temporary phase.

Shri U.C. Patnaik: May I know from the hon. Prime Minister as to what are his reactions to the proposal made by some hon. Members in their amendments that side by side with service cooperatives in Government lands, reclaimed lands and bhoodan lands higher types of cooperative farming be tried urgently and immediately?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. Wherever they can be tried they should be tried. Undoubtedly, in new lands reclaimed we might try it. In bhoodan lands certainly it should be tried. In fact, wherever possible, it should be tried.

Shri U.C. Patnaik: As the hon. Prime Minister has commended amendment No. 7, may I draw his attention to another amendment which incorporates the same thing with some additional suggestions, namely, the amendment by Shri Radha Charan Sharma<sup>47</sup> and Shri Pahadia<sup>48</sup> and another hon. friend. The first paragraph is the same as that of amendment No. 7 but it has added a few other valuable suggestions which are now accepted by the hon. Prime Minister. What are his reactions to amendment No. 10? I would personally agree to that amendment because it has some additional concrete suggestion.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just read amendment No. 10. There are some parts in it to which I would not like to commit myself. For instance, the part about training adequate cadres of officials is all right; start cooperative farms in Gramdan villages "I think it should be a right thing but it is not for me to say, it is for Acharya Vinoba to say as to what is going to happen to Gramdan villages; it is not right for me; Dandakaranya is a very special place for refugees and to say start cooperatives there, well there are jungles there; there is no land and it will not be feasible. Therefore, as drafted, I am afraid, I cannot accept it although in the main I agree with it.

47. (1915-2003); lawyer and Congressman; imprisoned during the 1942 movement; Chief Whip and Member, Madhya Bharat Legislative Assembly, 1945; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62.

48. Jagannath Pahadia (b. 1932); Rajasthan Congressman, and MLA, 1980-89, 1990-92 and 2003-2008; Chief Minister, Rajasthan, 1980-81; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1965-71; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62, 1967-77, and 1980-84; Union Deputy Minister, 1967-69, 1970-71; Union Minister of State, January-June 1980; Governor, Bihar, 1989-90, and Haryana, from 2009.

### 138. To Indira Gandhi: Training for Development<sup>49</sup>

I have enquired about the American group called World Neighbours.<sup>50</sup> You will see the note about it attached.

2. I think you might send a reply to the letter you received from Stanley Burke. You might thank him for his letter and say that you would welcome cooperation in any development programme in India. So far as the American group of World Neighbours is concerned, you are informed that it is doing some work on a rather small scale in three or four parts of India. This consists of cooperative spinning and weaving and literacy, agricultural extension, livestock breeding, etc.

3. As for such work being done in cooperation with the Community Development programme, this would have to be settled with the Community Development Ministry of the Government of India. You feel sure that they would welcome the idea of cooperation. Much would depend on how this is to be worked out. In Mr. Burke's letter no definite proposals are made. Perhaps if he could make some suggestions, these could be considered.

### 139. To S. M. Banerjee: Committees Cause Confusion<sup>51</sup>

March 30, 1959

Dear Shri Banerjee<sup>52</sup>

Thank you for your letter of March 28. I am happy to feel that you appreciate what I said on cooperative farming.

I am not against the formation of a committee with representatives of various parties to consider this subject. What I objected to was a kind of official committee to enquire into the various aspects of this subject and presumably to tour all over India. That I think would have been not only unnecessary but in some respects not desirable. The matter has been considered at various levels by expert committee and others. A parliamentary committee, more especially the one which has various parties represented, would have probably added to the confusion.

49. Note, 28 March 1959.

50. Started by Dr. John L. Peters in 1951, World Neighbours became a development agency, training people in thirteen countries to be self-reliant and manage their own programmes.

51. Letter. File No. 17(263)/57-59-PMS.

52. (1919-1987); trade unionist, served in ordnance factories, 1942-56; led various strikes; Independent, Lok Sabha MP, 1957-77.



But there can be no objection to MPs of various parties meeting together from time to time to consider this question and discussing it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Industry

**140. To B.P. Chaliha: Assam Refinery and Rumanian Experts<sup>53</sup>**

March 4, 1959

My dear Chaliha,

I have just received your telegram in which you say that the Rumanian experts and others coming for the Assam Refinery should visit various other sites also. I do not quite understand what other sites you are referring to. But we have very carefully considered in Cabinet this question of site again in all its aspects, including technical and economic. In fact, the economic considerations are the dominant ones. The Cabinet confirmed the previous decisions. The other proposals which have been put forward seem to us full of difficulties, economic and other, and involving a considerable delay in the production of oil. This delay will be very costly and will also be rather disheartening.

I am sending your telegram and a copy of my reply to you to Keshava Deva Malaviya.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

53. Letter to the Chief Minister of Assam. File No.17 (290)/58-69-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

#### 141. To Manubhai M. Shah: Raw Film Project <sup>54</sup>

March 5, 1959

My dear Manubhai,

Your letter of March 3 about the raw film project. I agree with you that you should start negotiations in other countries also. You might first inform the East German representatives that in view of the great delays and difficulties which we have had to face, you propose to enquire from other countries.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 142. To All India Manufacturers' Organisation: Inauguration Address<sup>55</sup>

Mr President<sup>56</sup> and friends,

First of all may I congratulate you on this hall?<sup>57</sup> It is true that some little while ago I ventured to criticise this great city and its city fathers for the absence of some amenities which every city should have. And one of these was a public hall, the lack of a public hall.<sup>58</sup> To a large extent this present very attractive hall fulfils that deficiency and therefore to those who have organised it, had it built and to those who use that, I offer my congratulations.

You have just asked me to unveil this portrait of Shri Visveswarayya.<sup>59</sup> I was asking friends this morning if he had come here from Bangalore to attend this Conference, because, it is very difficult to prevent him from doing this kindness. Only a short while ago I was in Bangalore in connection with some kind of scientific congresses,<sup>60</sup> and he insisted on attending every meeting, every banquet, every function, that was held in that connection. Anyhow, it is a

54. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Industry.

55. Inauguration address to the 19th Annual Conference of the All India Manufacturers' Organisation, Bombay, 11 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in JN Papers, NMML.

56. N.D. Sahukar, Chairman, presided.

57. Birla Matushri Sabhagar, Marine Lines, Bombay.

58. See SWJN/SS/41/pp.196-197.

59. M. Visvesvaraya's portrait, gifted by B.D. Somani, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

60. On 4 February 1959 for golden jubilee celebrations of the Indian Institute of Science. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 537-544.



privilege to be associated with him, and for you to have him as your Founder-President, it is something not only of which you should be proud of but which will always give you inspiration.

Now Mr. President, towards the end of your address you said something about the Third Five Year Plan and how it may be given to those of our generation to see India prosperous and healthy in every way.<sup>61</sup> Well, that is the objective, I hope, of all that we do in various domains of industry and some of us in other domains. Because the whole object of these five year plans, etc., is to achieve that end, and I should like to express my broad agreement with what you have said about the achievements made during the last few years or so and those that are made. You can well appreciate that I am not likely to underrate the difficulties we have to face today or may have to face tomorrow because one cannot indulge in these matters in wishful thinking. One has to face these situations and difficulties and troubles from day to day. Nevertheless, there is the danger of the day to day difficulties, somewhat blinding us or preventing us from seeing the larger picture in perspective. I think, therefore, it is a good thing for us to try to see this larger picture and to look at things in perspective. Because the average person in whatever line of activity he may engage himself, is naturally concerned more with that particular line of activity and more or less that particular moment of planning and spread himself out in a somewhat historic sense over a larger period and also over a larger number of activities. The vast number of activities that constitute the life of a nation is not a particularly easy matter. And yet it is for that purpose that we are supposed to plan and if that planning forgets that larger perspective and thinks only of narrower ways and narrower spheres of activity, then it has failed in its purpose. Planning naturally relies upon the experience gained by others, by itself, on the facts which it collects, statistics, etc. And yet we live in an age when the past precedent does not always help. It is always helpful to some extent but not to an extent it might have been previously because of the very rapid changes that are taking place. So why we rely on that past? We have to look forward to a future which is taking shape and which is not wholly governed by the past. It surprises me to see how even in the course of the last few years, dozen years or so, thinking whether it is political or economic or social. How all these branches of thinking have undergone changes? Many a thing that is said by the most conservative of people would have been called revolutionary a dozen years ago. Many a thing that a believer in the capitalist organisation of society says

61. N.D. Sahukar had recommended the following priorities for the Third Five Year Plan: (i) food production; (ii) machine tools industry; (iii) technical education in planning. He also welcomed the stress on the small-scale sector.

today would have been called a "Red Revolution" a dozen years ago. It is quite extraordinary our thinking changes and while our thinking is changing because it has to adapt itself to changing conditions yet we hardly realise that we have changed and we utter the same words and sometimes same phrases as we used to do which may not be quite relevant today.

It is patent that from the point of view of what science and technology give us, we can calculate almost to a mathematical degree all that we can get, all that we need, all that we can produce the food or the other necessities of life, and that in fact that the world produces quite enough or can produce quite enough for all the needs of mankind, at any rate, in the foreseeable future. I do not know what might happen if, overwhelmed by the population increasing at a rate which prevents anything else being done. I am not talking of India but of the whole world. So science offers a solution of all the normal material problems, provided science is used for that purpose, and provided that there is a measure of cooperation in the world to achieve that purpose.

For the first time in human history it can be said, it could not be said previously, that there was not enough to go round. Today there can be enough to go round if there is just goodwill and cooperation. At the same time, as difficulties arise, more of a political character, political conflicts and the like, which prevents what is being done in the full measure, that can be done in full measure. One hopes that those difficulties will be removed. And yet there is always that fear, and those difficulties may lead to widespread conflicts which might put an end to all the hopes one has for mankind.

We live in this world. Meanwhile, we see day after day the most amazing advances made by science; and gradually, something that was full of excitement and adventure itself, by sheer repetition becomes confined to some corner of a newspaper, a year ago it had huge banner headlines. So we get used to this changing world, not fully perhaps realising the way it is being undermined, that is to say, our conceptions of material life are being undermined by what science is doing. We have to find a balance between what we have today and its conditions of life that we meet today, and the new one that are coming in. Now we plan for that. And we plan for it naturally that with our limited conception, trying to widen it as much as we can. We argue about it in our political fields, parties and the rest. And even while we argue, a feeling comes upon us that the foundation of the argument may have gone, that is, conditions may have changed so much as to make the old argument rather out of place, out of date to some extent at least. That is, what is happening continuously.

If you look back, historically speaking, even say the last hundred or two hundred years, you will find how curious it is that while on the one hand it is out of the mind of men—cut after all the wonderful advances in science or



anything else come—and at the same time the mind of man itself lags behind. Events that happen in the world, curious contradictions, which means individual minds go ahead but the mass mind lags behind. That happens in the world. We live in this age of science and technology.

You, ladies and gentlemen, take advantage of science and technology every day of your lives. Yet I wonder how many of you have the least bit of scientific sensibility. You take them for granted. You take your cars for granted, for example. Perhaps, if something goes wrong you are helpless, you have to find out some expert to put your automobile in order. Or if your electric light goes, you have to find an expert, not even an ordinary mechanic. In other words, although we take advantage of many of the things of science we are completely behind in our scientific training or application or thinking, of which we have to take advantage. In the small things of life which we are used to, from our childhood, how much more so among big things in this world of our electronics and jet aircraft and atomic energy, how much behind we are! So our thinking keeps us back, and even what is called our revolutionary thinking of some people, some groups, that is thinking which sought and preached “Red Revolution”, becomes singularly out of date and behind the times, although, we may talk big in the odd way. It is odd that some of those who consider themselves very forward in bringing about a revolution constantly refer to something that happened a hundred years ago. Well, surely the world has changed in the last hundred years. That fact alone should put them a query—are we so frightfully forward revolutionary? If we speak in terms of a hundred years ago, the world undoubtedly has changed in this period and is changing. I am merely mentioning this, how we make ourselves prisoners by words and phrases which once had relevance and progressively ceased to have the same meaning.

You, Sir, in your address referred to the first importance of food. I do not think anyone in India can disagree with that proposition. Agricultural production is of the first importance in India. Of all agricultural production, the production of food grains must be given top place. There can be no doubt about it. Almost everything depends upon that. Now I do believe that the problems of India can only be solved by industrial growth. The poverty of India, the unemployment of India, etc., can only be removed by industrial advance. Therefore, industrial advance becomes basic and important. But I come back. That industrial advance can only take place by agricultural advance. So we move in this kind of a circle. But I think that there has come, perhaps, rather late, this fundamental conviction amongst almost everybody in India about the importance of the food position and the agricultural position. I also think that the work that has been done in the last few years in regard to agriculture and more especially food,

perhaps some of it has been wasted as it is not bringing fruit. But by and large, it is now bringing fruit. It is taking effect and I am pretty sure in my mind that the rate of growth of food production in future will be marked. When I say the rate of growth, I mean the increase of production per acre; I am not talking of additional land coming in. That, of course, possibly may be done. But the essential thing is the increase per acre. If that goes up, it makes a vast difference all over the country and I think that is going up and will go up progressively. And that is a hopeful sign. Well, I won't go into it as to why it is going up. There is nothing revolutionary about anything that is being done. It is going up because of a variety of reasons—among them being a little more efficient administration and a greater interest and more concentrated interest being paid by Governments and organisations to this, that is, better seeds, better contour bundings, fertilizers, better manure and all those relatively small things and somewhat better implements too. But taking them all together will make a lot of difference. Of course, you will remember that the very fact of our backwardness in food production indicates that there is a great deal of room for advance, that is, if we produce, let us say, ten or twelve maunds of wheat per acre when other countries produce twenty-five to thirty or forty maunds. Well, there is plenty of room for us to grow, and with a little effort, we should cover that ground. And so, broadly speaking, I should say that the food situation, in spite of present difficulties, is moving relatively fast in a good direction, apart from the present good harvest. The one slight fear I have is that because of good harvest, people may become complacent again as we did three or four years ago. That would be an extreme folly. We have to peg away at this and not only to stabilise it completely but provide for all possible contingencies. In doing that remember this, that if we aim at a big addition to food production, if we labour for too great an addition, that is, greater than any calculation tells us to have in the next seven or ten years, that too will not be very wise; because it means that we are spending large sums of money for something, which if we may attain, may become a burden to us for a moment and diverting that money from other avenues of advance.

Next point you raised, Sir, was about machine tools or machine building industry. Now it is patent that if industry is to progress, it can only do so if the machines are built in India. We have been far too slack about it. As I say we, I include everybody, Government, industry and everything. For a hundred years you go on getting machines from abroad not caring to concentrate on making them. You know the example of Japan, where, they hardly ever got machinery twice from abroad—they got it and made it and the next one was made by themselves. We are following the easier path in India and we suffer for it today. And therefore, it becomes essential to have the machine building industry, to



set up the machine building plants, set up here even though they are costly and difficult business. It becomes essential that if we have, to have as we must have, an iron and steel plant, that we should try to produce them here in India, if not hundred per cent immediately, at least sixty or eighty per cent or even more.

You referred also to the Geological Survey—I agree with you—and to technical education. Again I am in full agreement with what you said.<sup>62</sup> But I would say this. So far as technical education is concerned, I think we are making good progress or rather we have made arrangements for good progress to be made all over the country and we are trying to base this not on a vague idea of progress but on a fairly accurate calculations as to the number of technical men, scientists, technicians, engineers of all types that are likely to be needed for the plans, etc., that we may have for the Third Plan. I wonder how many of you have seen these manpower studies that our Planning Commission has produced and is producing. They are fascinating and they give a great picture of our needs in technical trained manpower than anything else can, not just a vague idea. If you want engineers, if you want a plant, they go precisely. If you want a big plant, they will tell you exactly what kind of people you require there, including dish washers, if necessary, at the end of it, just because it works methodically. That is the type of work that is being done by our Perspective Planning Division. Yes, Perspective Division of the Planning Commission at Delhi is of the highest importance because, planning is after all perspective planning. There is no other planning. You must have a view twenty years ahead, fifteen years ahead, and work up to it. Naturally, not a rigid view—you change it according to the circumstances—but a view that you are working to, that you have to work up to a certain population, potential or actual. You cannot plan just for more food, for more shoes or more textiles. You have to have some idea of what population you have to provide for. If we have to proceed to draw up a Third Five Year Plan, we have to think of the end period of the Third Plan, say seven years from now, and think of what the population of India is likely to be seven years from now. That is what we are providing for in our planning, the aim of the Third Plan. Whatever that population may be, you provide for it, you try to provide for it. You must remember that, first of all, food is the first absolute necessity, first article. Other necessary articles, well, it is clothing or housing, education, health, all those are governed by our population figure at the end of that period. Then you come back. You come back and see in providing for that population, let us say, whatever it may be—say textiles, how much do you require? How can you produce that, produce the machines that will produce

62. N.D. Sahukar had recommended a tenfold expansion of geological exploration.

that? You come back to machine building. What kind of scientific apparatus? How can you have technically trained men for that? So, you work backwards and forwards for specific physical targets.

There was an argument sometime ago whether planning should be financial or physical? It is a rather ridiculous argument. Planning is always physical, in terms of physical needs, but is also always governed by resources. You cannot plan in the air. You plan for the physical needs of the population. You are limited in that planning by your resources, naturally, you cannot plan. But physical targets are the real thing in planning although the others are conditional factors and you have to plan again, because one thing needs the other. As I have pointed out, you go backward and forward and in the ultimate analysis it depends on the quality of the people you have got—their working capacity, their intellectual capacity, their integrity, their determination to achieve, that is the basic factor. Money is important but it is secondary. It is the people that the training of people and their determination to achieve something that counts ultimately.

Now you said something about resources, about the rural sector and all that. I am not going into that. But I am just giving you an instance which is partly in support of this. As you said, Mr. President, there is no doubt that various schemes that we have put through, canals, waterways, etc., because of these river valley schemes have increased the productive capacity of land greatly in those areas. No doubt about it. That is why you put them in. Now when we go in and put a betterment tax on the land thus effected, there is a protest made, and not only protest made but political parties encourage this protest and in fact organise agitations against such betterment levies,<sup>63</sup> as in the Punjab at the present moment. Well, I suppose the political party's chief function is, if it is in opposition, to oppose. But when those political parties talk loudly in terms of five year plan and the support they are going to give and cooperate and then in practice coming in the way all the time. There is some contradiction between these two approaches. It is patent that if we spent hundreds of crores of rupees on bettering agricultural conditions, we must realise something from those bettered conditions, otherwise we remain where we are. In fact, we do not remain there. We go back. And yet these things are taken up. I am just giving you a single example, I will give you many more. While cooperation is promised, in actual fact, not only political parties but groups or others who are affected looking after their own narrow interest and not over wider field, far from cooperating, they withdraw into their shells.

I might mention that in your address you said something about giganticism. When I said our people and our Governments are beginning to think too much

63. See item 1, p. 6, fn 9.



in terms of very big schemes, they should think in terms of small schemes. Well, afterwards when I go, let us say of laying the foundation stone of some big schemes, you said again, "a gigantic scheme! Why do you go to the big schemes?" The fact of the matter is that one has to march all along the line. We must have gigantic schemes. Suppose we have, as we are having, building, a machine-making factory or a plant, which is a gigantic scheme. I can't have the capacity to make a big iron and steel plant, unless I have a big plant to make that plant. We have to have gigantic schemes. Nevertheless, it is true that keeping that in view one begins to think too much on big lines when it is possible to do with smaller schemes. And in fact, preferably, I should like the approach to be that a big gigantic scheme only when it is proved essential, where it can be. Where you can have smaller schemes, take the smaller schemes. Then there is, apart from the practical aspects of this, which are important, there is the psychological aspect. At any rate, it appeals to me. One of the biggest recent conflicts in modern life is between the tendency for concentration, concentration of everything—concentration of power, of money, of economic power, political power, of too much centralisation. I object to concentration of power, wherever I can avoid and prevent it. I do not like concentration of power in the hands of private industry, monopolies of power. I think it is harmful, fatal for society. That is my chief objection to, what is called private enterprise. I am not against private enterprise at all. But where it leads to too much concentration, it is dangerous for society. It may even be bad in the public hands if you like, but not to that extent, it can never be to that extent. So I am against this. I think even political power should be, as far as possible, decentralized—certainly economic power of all kinds. But the whole trend of modern life and activity is to centralise them. So we have to find the balance between the two. We cannot have weak Governments, decentralisation all round, the Government will fade away and we will be overcome by adverse forces. So one of the big problems of modern life is this problem of how, on the one hand, the necessity of centralisation, on the other, the equal necessity of decentralisation. How to balance the two? Because freedom lies in decentralisation, broadly speaking. So in fact, the rule should be that where the big scheme is essential, well, you must have it. But try and try to have small schemes as much as possible. And of course, however many big schemes you may have, the need for middle and small industry is obvious. It is a colossal need—a colossal room for it.<sup>64</sup> In fact,

64. In his presidential address, N. D. Sahukar had complained that "no one except the promoter cares very much for medium-scale industries" and demanded that Government should clearly define medium-scale industries and support them fully. See *The Hindustan Times*, 12 March 1959.

it is a big scheme that normally leads children and grand children of small industries that is spread out.

Just one thing more and then I have finished. We draw these plans, five year plans and the like, and they have economic objectives. Sometimes political objectives are affected. But certainly they have and should have social objectives. You can't separate some kind of economic outlook from the social objectives of a society or of a country. And today social objectives become more and more important, you cannot ignore them. Then it is not like that whether you like them or not. You cannot ignore the thinking of the world, thinking of that everyone recognises, so the necessity for social justice. Even that is becoming rather old fashioned, if I may say so. The word, the ideal is not old fashioned but repetition of it. That is, the social justice is not now considered to be adequate in a kind of "goody goody" sense that you are good to your employers.

That is no longer adequate. And so you see idea is changed and we have to keep pace with them or keep ahead with them and of the basic idea of today is "Equality of opportunity for human beings". I do not say equality for everybody because people are not essentially equal. They differ in abilities, this and that. But equality opportunity for every person—that is a basic idea of the age and we must work to that end. It takes time and we have to function with this vast population of nearly four hundred million. And we cannot think in taking away one group and making a little progress or giving the employment to a few hundred thousand persons. We have always to think in terms of those of nearly four hundred million people and think of them, not only in every capacity as producers as consumers, as people when we have to educate and as people who educate us. Because all this traffic has to be two way traffic. Not some people at the top telling them what to do. And then again I have referred in the recent addresses of mine of several occasions—even the deeper issues—call them what you like, moral, spiritual, ethical if you like, there is something rather apart from purely religious in the narrow sense, and I do feel that we should keep that aspect in view lest fundamentally we go astray.

Thank you.



### **143. To N.R. Pillai: Supporting FICCI for Afro-Asian Economic Conference<sup>65</sup>**

Two or three days ago, the new President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry<sup>66</sup> came to see me. He spoke to me about holding an Afro-Asian Economic Conference in India next year. This was in continuation of the conference held at Cairo.<sup>67</sup>

2. His chief concern was that we should assure him of some financial help.

3. Thus far we have heard of these conferences held under entirely different auspices. Now that the sponsors are the Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry, I think it will be a good thing if this is held in Delhi. Indeed, we can hardly get out of it. I think also that we should help them to some extent, though to what extent I cannot suggest. Could you kindly consult the Finance Ministry about it?

### **144. To Jagjivan Ram: Railway Workshops Too Expensive<sup>68</sup>**

March 17, 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I enclose papers about the Amritsar Workshop. I am doing so because it was at my instance that these workshops were transferred to the Railways. The Punjab Government did not want to do so. Now as a result of this, the Punjab Government is asked to pay rupees sixteen lakhs more for various articles being made for Bhakra-Nangal. I presume that if they had kept the Workshops themselves, they would have been spared this extra charge except, perhaps, for some minor additions on account of the rise in the price of stores.

This raises two questions at least. One is our taking these Workshops on almost false pretences and that surely is not a good thing. The second is that the Railways do everything in a much more expensive way than others. I have often complained of the P.W.D. for their various charges for supervision, etc.,

65. Note, 16 March 1959.

66. Madanmohan R. Ruia.

67. The Economic Conference for Afro-Asian Countries was held at Cairo from 8 to 11 December 1958.

68. Letter to the Union Minister of Railways. File No. 17(68)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

adding to the cost of buildings. Now I am coming to realise that the Railways are at least as bad, if not worse. I think that this whole structure of the Railways doing works will have to be examined. We just cannot get along if everything is priced so high and all kinds of overhead charges are added on to everything that it made.

More especially, I just cannot understand the two charges mentioned in Shah Nawaz Khan's<sup>69</sup> letter about the increase due to supervision charges and the increase due to the valuation of the buildings. As for the second matter, this is a separate thing which may be dealt with by you separately.

I am interested in this particular case as I was concerned with it. But I am equally interested in the expensive way that the Railways carry out their works.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 145. To K.D. Malaviya: Locating a Pipe Fabricating Mill<sup>70</sup>

The Cabinet has approved of the proposal to establish a pipe fabricating mill and further agreed that the Hindustan Steel Limited should proceed with the negotiations. Only the location and the management were not decided, and it was suggested that these points should be examined and the management were not decided, and it was suggested that these points should be examined and a fresh paper prepared.

2. It is not quite clear to me why for administrative or other reasons, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission should directly deal with this matter. It may be better perhaps. The matter can be considered afresh in the Cabinet when the location and the management questions are considered. I cannot change the Cabinet's decision myself.

3. I agree that negotiations should go on without waiting for the other matters to be settled.

4. The Cabinet has suggested that these should be expedited.

69. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Meerut, UP.

70. Note, 18 March 1959.



## 146. To Louis Mountbatten: Oil Prospecting in India<sup>71</sup>

March 21, 1900

[My dear Dickie,]

Some days ago, I wrote to you a letter acknowledging your letter of the 5th February.<sup>72</sup> I promised then to write further on the subject of oil in India. Forgive me for the delay in writing about this matter. Apart from heavy work, we have been involved in certain discussions about the oil position in India. These discussions are not over and will, no doubt, continue for a considerable time.

We have had the advantage of discussing the oil position in India with some outstanding experts from the United States as well as British experts and Germans, Russians and Italians, as you know, we have the Assam Oil Company to deal with, and they are subsidiaries of the Burma Shell group. We meet them frequently. We have three refineries also run by various International oil combines.

Some years ago we knew nothing about oil except what one had read in books. The position is somewhat different now. We have not only gained a good deal of experience in our dealings with those oil combines, but have also set up our own machinery for exploration and exploitation, with the help of foreign experts. We have built up an efficient Oil Commission<sup>73</sup> where a large number of bright young men (and women) have been trained, and they are doing good work. In fact, some of the biggest American experts who came here spoke highly of the work being done by these people in our Oil Commission.

Having added to our knowledge about the way the big oil combines work, we have found that repeatedly we have been out-manoeuvred and very unfair terms have been extracted from us because of our ignorance. Indeed, later when our knowledge grew, we brought this matter to the notice of those oil concerns and they had to agree even to some change in the contract previously made, although this did not go very far. You will know that there has been some outcry in various parts of the world against these big oil combines and the way they work. As a result of this outcry, these oil companies have been compelled to give a greater share of the profits to the country they work in.

71. Letter. K. D. Malaviya Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

72. See SWJN/SS/46/p. 662.

73. Established in 1955, the Oil and Natural Gas Directorate was raised to the status of a Commission in 1956.

We made a contract some years ago with one of the big American combines for exploration of oil.<sup>74</sup> No success has attended their efforts yet and we have spent a good deal of money as our share of the loss incurred. Much later we found, to our surprise, that our liabilities were even greater than we had imagined.

On the other hand, the work we took in hand ourselves, with the help of foreign experts (Russian and Rumanian) yielded unusual results in a relatively short time. This might have been pure luck, but inevitably this tipped the balance in favour of the State undertaking this type of work. We are now sure of oil in a part of Assam and in Cambay in Gujarat in Western India. We do not yet know the quantity of oil that might be obtained. This cannot be proved without further drillings which we are undertaking now. I cannot speak with any certainty, but it appears to be highly likely that we shall find a good deal of oil in those particular regions. There are some other broad regions where there is a likelihood of big oilfields being discovered.

Some delays occurred because we did not have enough drills. We are getting some more very soon. Even so, we have worked with greater speed than the big oil companies. Why this is so I cannot say. It might be that we were more eager and anxious for results. Indeed, some of our newly trained young men are so full of enthusiasm that it does one good to meet them. One important development has been that while the foreign companies practically never trained our people, now we have got hundreds of them being trained and doing good work.

I might say that we have had no special aid from the Soviet Union in this matter. We have bought some drills from them, the payment to be spread out over a number of years. That is all the help we have got.

We cannot be certain about the future. But we certainly hope to be able to produce enough oil in the next five years to meet our own requirements and possibly even to export a little.

I have mentioned all this to indicate to you what the present position is and this naturally governs our thinking. That thinking has been conditioned partly by the raw deals we have had from the big oil companies, partly by the general reputation these oil companies have got of creating monopolies and profiting by them, partly by the partial success which we have attained by working directly in exploration and exploitation. One result of this partial success has been to bring down the oil companies to a lower level of argument. Having realised that we can do the job ourselves, they cannot easily hold us to ransom. If we succeed in producing oil in adequate quantities in the course of the next three

74. GOI had entered into collaboration with the Standard Vacuum Oil Company of USA.



years or perhaps less, this will give us enough money for further exploration and development. In fact, the business will become self-financing. This is not by any means wishful thinking, though, of course, there is always an element of uncertainty about it.

Having said all this, I shall refer to the other side of the picture which has been fully dealt with in the note you have sent me. Even if we succeed in getting adequate quantities of oil and in getting enough profit out of it for further advance, our needs for capital are very great. Why then should we tie up the income from oil and not be able to use it for the purpose? Therefore, it might be advantageous to get private capital for this purpose so that our general resources would grow for those other purposes also. There is certainly something in this argument as our demands are very great. Therefore, we do not rule out this possibility. Much will depend upon the kind of terms we get, that is, private enterprise will not be debarred. But, in any event, we shall certainly continue State enterprise in oil exploration and exploitation in the fields we have chosen already and perhaps in some other fields too. But India is a big country and it might be possible to have both. This is what you have suggested at the conclusion of the note you have sent me. We shall keep this in mind, but it is true that our inclination is to spread State enterprise in this field as much as possible. That is also the broad policy which we have laid down.

You refer to the dangers of an ever increasing dependence on the Communist Bloc. There can hardly be that danger because our dependence on other countries is now and will be in the future far greater. Thus far the so-called aid we have received from the Soviet Union is for particular industries and we have been completely satisfied with the work they have done. The aid really means long-term credit at relatively low rates of interest. I have found that the Russians pay particular attention to training our own young men. To some extent, this is being done by others also now.

You refer in your letter to the Managing Director of the Shell Group, H. Wilkinson, coming to India.<sup>75</sup> I shall certainly meet him if he comes here. We have open minds and naturally wish to take advantage of every opportunity to further the process of industrialisation in India.

[Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru]

75. H. Wilkinson (1903-1986); British oil executive; held senior positions in the Shell Group; UK Government Petroleum Representative in Washington, 1941-45, retired in 1964.

**147. To K.D. Malaviya: Buying Oil India Shares<sup>76</sup>**

March 23, 1959

My dear Malaviya,

Your letter of March 23.<sup>77</sup> I agree with you that you should write to the Chief Minister of Assam and tell him that we have carefully considered his proposal and feel that it is not feasible or desirable in the present circumstances. You may give him some of the reasons for this. Tell him that the proposal was considered both by the Planning Commission and the Government. So far as the Government of India are concerned, we have decided to provide the necessary funds. The Assam Government have no spare funds, and if they can find some spare funds, it will be far better to utilise them in other development schemes in Assam. So far as the oil is concerned, the Assam Government will, of course, get the royalties and other benefits from it.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**148. To V. T. Krishnamachari: Building Roads to End Cement Glut<sup>78</sup>**

March 31, 1959

My dear V. T.,

There is, I believe, a glut in cement now, and I am told that many cement factories are not even working fully. I suppose this is partly due to the lack of iron. When there is a little more iron available, the cement would also be used for our roads? We could speed up the road programme and use up the available cement. We may not be able to get it so easily later.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

76. Letter. File No.17 (290)/58-69-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

77. Malaviya had enclosed a note objecting to the Assam Government's proposal to buy shares of Oil India Private Limited.

78. Letter. File No. 17(190)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.



(d) Labour

**149. To G.B. Pant: Domestic Workers<sup>79</sup>**

I had a deputation from the Domestic Workers' Union two or three days ago.<sup>80</sup> They gave me the attached papers.<sup>81</sup>

2. It seems to me that these domestic servants deserve help and some legislation to protect their minimum rights.<sup>82</sup> In some States of India, especially Bombay, there is such legislation. I would very much like something of that kind to be undertaken by us.<sup>83</sup>

(e) Food and Agriculture

**150. To Basiswar Sen: Finances for Laboratory at Almora<sup>84</sup>**

March 3, 1959

My dear Boshi,

I was delighted to meet you in Lucknow<sup>85</sup> and to learn of your latest success. I think this has great possibilities and I hope that you will get full cooperation of the Food & Agriculture Ministry in this matter.

79. Note, 16 March 1959.

80. A large number of domestic servants in Delhi struck work on 19 March in sympathy with the 21-day old hunger strike by Sham Singh, General Secretary of the All India Domestic Servants Union, outside Parliament House, demanding legislation "to save the 80 lakh neglected domestic servants from their corrupt employers".

81. Abid Ali, the Deputy Minister of Labour, informed the Lok Sabha on 19 March, of their demands: eight hours working day, weekly holiday, free medical treatment with pay, servants quarters, one month's severance pay, one month's annual paid leave, holidays for festivals, bonus, and so on.

82. Abid Ali said that State Governments did not favour legislation lest it lead to large-scale retrenchment.

83. Gulzaril Nanda, Union Minister of Labour and Employment, assured the Lok Sabha on 19 March that something had to be done "by law or by social action" and that it was difficult "to bind down Parliament without any previous consideration of the matter." On 26 March he declared in the Lok Sabha: "We propose to explore the feasibility of any kind of regulation..."

84. Letter.

85. Nehru visited Lucknow on 1 and 2 March 1959. See also the next item.

### III. DEVELOPMENT

I am sending you a draft for rupees five thousand. This is not only a token of appreciation of the good work you have been doing, but a small sum to help you in this work. You will use it at your discretion.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 151. To A.P. Jain: Finances for Laboratory at Almora<sup>86</sup>

March 3, 1959

My dear Ajit,

Boshi Sen has been doing good work in his laboratory in Almora. The latest example of this was shown to us in Lucknow recently when we were there, and I was glad to find that you wanted to take full advantage of this. I hope you will be able to help him in every way. I learn that he is always rather hard up and his work suffers because of lack of finances. This should not happen because the work he does, is of national importance. I hope you will be able to help him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

86. Letter to the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture. File No. 31(70)/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.



## 152. To G.B. Pant: Food Prices in Madhya Pradesh<sup>87</sup>

20th March, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I gave you a letter from Kailas Nath Katju about wheat prices.<sup>88</sup> He telephoned to me last night on the same subject. He was evidently worried and said that his Ministers and others were equally worried. Lest we may come to a final decision

### You Said It

By LAXMAN



*I say, I'm really feeling hungry, you know!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 2 MARCH 1959)

87. Letter. File No. 31(25)/56-54-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

88. K.N. Katju was worried about both high and low food prices. In his letter of 18 March he protested that the minimum wheat price of Rs 13-8-0 was "wholly inadequate in Madhya Pradesh" for the producers. He estimated a deficit in production of about 75,000 tons for 1958-1959 while it was already 3,21,000 tons in 1957-1958. The current wheat price according to him was Rs 16 to 19 per maund. Accordingly, the Madhya Pradesh Farmers' Forum, inaugurated by Punjabrao Deshmukh, Union Minister of State for Agriculture, demanded on 28 February a minimum price of Rs 16 to 19 per maund, and other farmers' organizations made similar demands. The Congress party organisation had demanded Rs 20. Katju suggested the compromise figure of Rs 15, at best four or eight annas less. At all events, the ban on wheat exports outside the state should be retained to prevent a price rise.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*I came to return the sugar, the tea and the rice  
I borrowed—could I take them back, please, till next month?*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 4 MARCH 1959)

before giving them a hearing, I told him that we would like him to come here to have a talk about this matter.

Apart from this food matter, I am rather concerned at what appears to be a steadily deteriorating situation in Madhya Pradesh, both in regard to the Government and the Congress.<sup>89</sup> There is an element of slow disintegration with no guiding hand. We should at least give thought to these matters.<sup>90</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

89. See item 45.

90. Nehru informed A. P. Jain on the same day that Katju and his Ministers were greatly worried and wanted to meet them before wheat prices were finalised.



**153. To A.P. Jain: Cooperatives and Bureaucracy<sup>91</sup>**

March 25, 1959

My dear Ajit,

A few days ago I met a deputation from the District Farmers Forum of Muzaffarnagar. I enclose a memorandum they gave me.

I am much troubled by the fact that cooperative societies everywhere are coming up against our old system. I receive numerous letters asking me when the laws governing cooperatives will be changed. The other day I had a curious case from the Punjab which I referred to the Punjab Government.

These Muzaffarnagar people complained of the way honorary workers were thrust by the U.P. Government on cooperatives and the honorary secretaries provided came in the way of work and there was a great deal of corruption and bribery.

They mentioned the name of one Raghuraj Swarup of Muzaffarnagar, who apparently bosses everything in Cooperation and Warehousing and does a lot of harm.

I do think that we must get a move on about proper cooperative laws.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I am sending Sampurnanand.<sup>92</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru.

**154. To Sampurnanand: Cooperatives and Bureaucracy<sup>93</sup>**

March 25, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I had a visit from a deputation of the members of the District farmers Forum of Muzaffarnagar a few days ago. They complained of various matters. But one thing I should like to draw your attention to is their complaint about cooperatives. They said that while we are laying great stress on the development of cooperatives, the law governing them is all the time coming in the way. Also that all kinds of officials and honorary secretaries were thrust down upon them, making it impossible for the cooperative to function as a cooperative. Further there was a great deal of corruption and bribery in them.

91. Letter. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

92. See the next item.

93. Letter. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

I do feel that all our policy about cooperatives will not make a head way unless we change our present laws relating to them and further lessen official intervention in them very greatly. A cooperative must necessarily be left to the members without official intrusion.

The Muzaffarnagar people mentioned to me the case of one Raghuraj Swarup of Muzaffarnagar who, according to them, bossed everything—cooperatives and warehousing, with the most unfortunate results.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 155. To A.P. Jain: Implementing Nagpur Resolution<sup>94</sup>

March 30, 1959

My dear Ajit,

Dhebarbhai has drawn my attention to a part of the Nagpur Resolution on Agrarian Pattern. This runs as follows:

“6. Every effort should be made to bring the uncultivated and waste land into cultivation. The Central Government should appoint a committee to devise suitable measures for the cultivation of this land.”<sup>95</sup>

We should try to give effect to the Congress Resolution. What do you propose to do about it?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

94. Letter.

95. For full resolution, see SWJN/SS/46/pp. 173-174.



(f) Education

**156. Olympic Games<sup>96</sup>**

Excellence in games and athletics does not merely mean getting some prizes, but is intimately connected with the physical well-being of the nation. If we set high standards, a few reach the highest standard, but the others also raise themselves on the physical level.

We have to progress in India on many fronts, indeed all of them, and more or less simultaneously. There can be no doubt that our physical standards are low. They are low not only because an under-developed country tends to have low standards, but also because of lack of opportunity and training. World standards are set today by the Olympic Games, and these affect all the other standards. I think that it is important that we should develop our Olympic Games and that the public should take interest in them and contribute to them.

I hope, therefore, that the Council of the Indian Olympic Association will receive this generous cooperation from our public.

**157. To Nardev Shastri Vedtirth: Visiting Gurukul Kangri<sup>97</sup>**

मार्च 6, 1959

प्रिय नरदेवजी,<sup>98</sup>

आपका 20 फ़रवरी का पत्र मिला। यह बात सही है कि गुरुकुल जाना स्वीकार किया इसलिए कि मुझे आपसे फिर से मिलने का अवसर मिले। बहुत दिन हो गये आपसे मिले। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि 13 अप्रैल को वहाँ मैं आऊँ, लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि बिल्कुल पक्की तौर से मेरा कुछ कहना कठिन होता है। मालूम नहीं क्या बात उठ आये उस समय तक। मैं आशा

96. Appeal for the Olympic Flag Week, 6 March 1959. File No.9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

At the request of the President of Indian Olympic Association, Yadavendra Singh, Nehru issued this appeal for the Olympic Flag Week, 1 to 7 March 1959.

97. Letter to Nardev Shastri Vedtirth, Chancellor, Gurukul Kangri University, Jwalapur, Hardwar.

98. Nardev Shastri (1880-1962); born Narsingh (Narasimha) Rao in Shedam village in Hyderabad; educated in Poona and Lahore; took the degrees "Shastri" from Punjab University and "Vedtirth" from Calcutta University; pursued an academic career from 1907 at the Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar eventually becoming the Chancellor or Kulapati; participated in the freedom movement; UP MLA, 1952-57.

करता हूँ कि मैं वहाँ 13 अप्रैल को आ सकूँ। आप समाचार-पत्रों में लिखवा सकते हैं कि मैं आने का यत्न करूँगा।<sup>99</sup>

आपका  
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

March 6, 1959

Dear Nardevji,<sup>100</sup>

I have received your letter dated February 20. It is true that I accepted the invitation to visit the Gurukul so that I may get an opportunity to meet you. It has been a long time since I met you last. I hope that I am able to come there on April 13, but as you know I can never say anything with certainty. One never knows what may occur till then. I hope that I can come there on 13th April. You may announce it in the press that I will try to be there.<sup>101</sup>

Yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

### 158. To D.V. Subba Sastry: Free Education<sup>102</sup>

March 19, 1959

Dear Shri Sastry,

I have your letter of the 17th March. The report you refer to of the speech I delivered in Bombay is obviously not correct. What I had said was that our ideal should be to give free education in the primary and secondary stages and to give scholarships for future studies for deserving students.<sup>103</sup> When that ideal can be obtained fully, I cannot say at present. Certainly, it will not be

99. Nehru went to Hardwar on 13 April 1959.

100. See fn 98 in this section.

101. See fn 99 in this section.

102. Letter to D.V. Subba Sastry, MLC, Andhra Pradesh (Teachers).

103. Nehru addressed a public meeting in Bombay on 9 March; he spoke at the Marathi Library on 10 March and laid the foundation stone of the IIT at Powai, see items 8, 113 and 176.



wholly feasible in the Third Plan. Meanwhile, free and compulsory education will gradually increase from the bottom up.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **159. To K.L. Shrimali and Humayun Kabir: Acquiring India Office Archives<sup>104</sup>**

Some years ago, Maulana Azad raised the question of the Library of the old India Office in London. There was some correspondence with the U.K. Government. They refused to part with it. I remember a detailed note being sent then to the U.K. Government by the Education Ministry. I do not know what happened afterwards.

2. At first, the U.K. Government had, I believe, raised a plea that Pakistan was also concerned. That, of course, we admitted. Later, they refused to part with the Library. I suppose it is difficult for us at this stage to make the U.K. Government change its opinion or give up this very valuable Library, but I see no reason why we should agree to this. We should at least keep our claim fully alive and go on pressing it till such time as some other decision can be taken.

3. I do not know which Ministry is dealing with this matter— the Education Ministry or the Ministry of S.R. and C.A. Probably, it is the latter Ministry. Anyhow, I am sending copies of this note to both the Ministers and would like to have their comments.

### **160. To Humayun Kabir: Demanding India Office Archives<sup>105</sup>**

I do not think there is very much force in the argument you have put to the Speaker. It seems to me that by our remaining silent, we are practically giving up our claim to the India Office Library. I doubt if the Labour Government will make any difference in regard to this matter, but our submitting or remaining passive about it will certainly make a great difference.

104. Note to K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister of Education, and Humayun Kabir, Minister of SR and CA, 21 March 1959. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

105. Note, 23 March 1959.

2. Also when we have already sent a formal note, I do not understand why you say that we have not been entering into formal negotiation.

3. I think, therefore, that we should send formal communications to them, and continue to send them in spite of their categorical refusal. I remember the formal note we sent on one occasion. This was a long document and presented a careful argument. It is no good the UK Government saying "no" to an argument. They have to reply to it.

#### **161. To K.L. Shrimali: Boy Scouts and Girl Guides<sup>106</sup>**

Soon after Independence, a great effort was made to bring together the three Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements which existed in India then. This effort ultimately succeeded and, in November 1950, the Boy Scouts Association and the Hindustan Scouts Association merged in an all-India body called the Bharat Scouts and Guides. Later, the All India Girl Guides Association was also merged with the Bharat Scouts and Guides.<sup>107</sup> Government has been helping this.

2. I now find that some little time ago, another Association was started, called the All India Boy Scouts Association. Some confusion is caused by these two Association and, in fact, I have myself got rather mixed up about this matter, not realising that they were two Associations. It is manifestly not desirable to have this rivalry. Some time ago, I met a deputation from the Bharat Scouts and Guides Association, and they pointed out to me the embarrassment caused to them by the fact of there being another such Association, which also tried to cultivate international contacts.

3. I think that something should be done to put an end to this rivalry, which can only be wasteful on our energy. In any event, both the Central and the State Governments should officially recognise one body only. I should like you to look into this matter and write to me what is proposed to be done about it.

106. Note, 25 March 1959.

107. The All India Girls Guides Association was founded in 1916. It merged with Bharat Scouts and Guides in 1951.



162. To K.L. Shrimali: Spiritual Values in Education<sup>108</sup>

March 28, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

Your letter of the 27th March about asking Shri Sri Prakasaji to become Chairman of a Committee to consider the question of teaching moral and spiritual values in educational institutions. I do not know if you have already consulted the Home Minister. I am, therefore, sending your letter to him. The President's sanction will also, of course, have to be taken.

## You Said It

By LAXMAN



*..... Annihilation of desires, self-abnegation and  
the relentless pursuit of spiritual values will lead to the salvation of the soul.*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 31 MARCH 1959)

I have no objection to Sri Prakasaji being the Chairman provided that this does not mean his travelling about from Bombay.<sup>109</sup> And there is another aspect of the matter to which no doubt you have given consideration. The formation of such a Committee will have to be carefully thought out. Presumably, it will

108. Letter. File No.40(178)/59-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

109. Sri Prakasa was Governor of Bombay at this time.

carefully include all religious groups in India or, at any rate, the principal ones. How exactly to form a Committee with all these people in it is not clear to me.<sup>110</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 163. Youth Carnival: Inauguration Address<sup>111</sup>

### NEHRU URGES SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

NEW DELHI, March 29.

Prime Minister Nehru yesterday asked the youth of the country not to run after security in life but learn to incur risks, both physically and mentally.

Pandit Nehru, who was inaugurating a carnival organised by the Youth Hostels Association of India here, said that Indians were "by and large a stay-at-home people" desirous of too much of security. This mentality of security and looking for safe jobs, he said, was not a good mentality. "It is the mentality, not of the young, but of the old and the aged."

Pandit Nehru stressed the need for a spirit of adventure among young people and said that they must go out to mountains, unexplored areas and other difficult terrains. That would help them get out of physical and mental ruts.

The youth of India today, he said, was so afraid of tackling difficulties that they tore up question papers in examinations because they were too difficult for them. "Then why have examinations at all?" he asked.

In order to revitalise the life of the youth, Pandit Nehru said it was absolutely essential that they were taught to take risks.

"One favourite pastime in some of the cities these days is going up and down in processions." They would better go to the mountains and do it there. While that would give them the satisfaction of having taken out a procession they will also profit in many other ways, he said.

110. The Committee on Religious and Moral Instruction was appointed by the Ministry of Education on 17 August 1959 with Sri Prakasa as Chairman, G. C. Chatterjee, A.A.A. Fyzee as members, and P. N. Kirpal as Secretary. The Committee was to make recommendations on including moral instruction in the curriculum.

111. PTI report of speech inaugurating a youth carnival, New Delhi, 28 March 1959. From the *National Herald*, 30 March 1959.



Pandit Nehru asked organisations like the Youth Hostels Association to “catch them young” and inculcate the much needed spirit of adventure in them.

The Prime Minister referred to the “Bharat Darshan” tours under which people in parties of hundreds went round the country and said: “It is an extraordinarily good development. Almost every second or third day I have batches of persons numbering about two hundred to a thousand coming to my house.” It was good sign, he said.

Pandit Nehru turned down a suggestion made by Mrs. Humayun Kabir,<sup>112</sup> president of the Youth Hostels Association. In her welcome speech earlier, that the Association should be helped by the Government. “It must make good itself without the least Government help,” he said.

“The moment it leans on the Government its soul is lost,” he added.

Giving a resume of the activities of the youth hostels movement, Mrs Kabir said that it was an international organization of young men which provided the meeting ground for people from various countries.

## 164. To Prithvi Singh: Physical Culture Institute<sup>113</sup>

मार्च 29, 1959

प्रिय पृथ्वीसिंहजी,

आपका 27 तारीख का पत्र मुझे मिला, और उसके साथ के कागज़ भी देखे। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो आपकी योजना है वह अच्छी है और उससे काफ़ी फ़ायदा हो सकता है, क्योंकि सरदार प्रतापसिंह कैरों ने उसको स्वीकार कर लिया है, तब इसके शुरू करने में कोई कठिनाई नहीं होनी चाहिए, और जल्दी-से-जल्दी यह काम उठाया जा सकता है।

असल में ऐसी योजनाओं की कागज़ों से जाँच नहीं हो सकती। जो लोग उनको चलाते हैं, उनको अच्छा कर सकते हैं या बुरा। मुझे आप पर भरोसा है। इसलिए मुझे यक़ीन है कि वह अच्छी तरह चलेगी।

आपने लिखा है कि देश के और हिस्सों से भी लोग उसमें शरीक होने चाहिएँ। अगर यह हो सकता है तो अच्छा होगा। मैं उसके कागज़ डॉ. श्रीमाली को भेज रहा हूँ। हर सूत्र में

112. Mrs Shanti Kabir.

113. Letter.

आपको पंजाब से काम शुरू कर देना चाहिए। यही एक बड़ा काम होगा। बाद में उसमें और लोग भी शरीक हो सकते हैं।<sup>114</sup>

आपका  
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

March 29, 1959

Dear Prithvi Singh ji,

I received your letter of the 27th and along with it the attached documents. I feel that the scheme that you have proposed is good and much benefit can be derived from it. Since Sardar Partap Singh Kairon has approved of it, there should not be any problem in starting it and the work can begin as soon as possible.

Actually, such schemes cannot be evaluated on the basis of documents. Only those who put them into practice can run them properly or in a haphazard manner. I have confidence in you, therefore, I believe it will run properly.

You have written that people from other parts of the country should also participate in it. If this is possible it would be good. I am sending the papers to Dr. Shrimali. In any case, you should start work in Punjab. It will be a big endeavour. Later other people can join in.<sup>115</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

114. Nehru wrote to K.L. Shrimali on the same day that apart from "rather flamboyant language used, I think it is a good idea and it might produce results. I have, therefore, told Prithvi Singh to go ahead. He has suggested that some people from the rest of India should also join this centre or camp. This is for you to consider. It might be worthwhile to do so or, at any rate, give it a trial. Or, you might see the working of this camp for a while and then decide." See also SWJN/SS/44/p. 482.

115. See fn 114 in this section.



## 165. To K.L. Shrimali: Ensuring Discipline in Universities<sup>116</sup>

March 30, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

Your letter of March 26 with which you have sent me letters from C.D. Deshmukh and N. K. Sidhanta.<sup>117</sup> I entirely agree with what they have written and what you say. This is indeed a most distressing symptom. I agree also that this has deeper roots than merely academic ones.

### You Said It

By LAXMAN



*Borrowed it from the museum. In case the boys find the paper stiff !*

(FROM TIMES OF INDIA, 27 MARCH 1959)

116. Letter. File No. 40(178)/59-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

117. N. K. Sidhanta, the Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University, had written to C. D. Deshmukh, the UGC Chairman, on 22 March 1959 that some students turned violent because they did not like questions in the chemistry examination. So, Deshmukh wrote to Shrimali on 24 March that "indiscipline and criminality amongst students has little, if any, connection with academic reasons, and reflects the steadily deteriorating sense of law and orderliness in the body politic. That the law-abiding majority is a conniving spectator, if not an unconvinced abettor, is not to be wondered at. But they get increasingly demoralised by the failure of the political authorities to take stern measures and their tendency often to sympathise with the students rather than the University authorities."

### III. DEVELOPMENT

It is worth remembering, however, that this tendency to hooliganism and juvenile delinquency is not merely an Indian phenomenon. In various forms it has appeared in many European countries. We produce our own version of it. Of course we should give our full support to the university authorities in dealing with it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 166. To Anthony S. de Mello: Sports Facilities<sup>118</sup>

March 31, 1959

Dear Mr. de Mello,<sup>119</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 19th March, 1959. You wrote to me about this project of a stadium in Delhi some time ago, and I sent you a reply. You do not refer to that reply at all and I wonder if you received it.

I am certainly interested in the development of sports in India, and I think that a really big stadium, suitable for olympiads, would be an acquisition in Delhi. But, reading through the papers you have sent me and the constant reference to me and to a Nehru Era, has an unfortunate effect upon me. Even previously when you wrote to me, I told you that I would not be agreeable to my name being used in this connection. I know that my name has been used elsewhere against my wishes. There is no reason why this kind of thing should be perpetuated. I have laid great stress everywhere that the names of people who are alive, should not be used in such ways.

A Master Plan for Delhi has been in preparation for the last year or two.<sup>120</sup> It is likely to be ready in June. Nothing that does not fit into that Plan, is going to be agreed to. I do not know how your proposal for a big stadium city can fit in with it. Also, I am not clear as to whether a stadium next to Rajghat would be at all appropriate.

118. Letter.

119. Anthony Stanislaus de Mello (1900-1961); Indian cricket administrator, secretary, BCCI, 1928-29 and 1937-38; and its president, 1946-47 and 1950-51; founder secretary, CCI, 1937; organising secretary, first Asian Games, 1951; involved in the building of Brabourne Stadium and Vallabhbhai Patel Stadium in Bombay, and the National Sports Club of India, Delhi.

120. A Master Plan was approved in 1962.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Your proposal to raise large sums of money in the United States for this purpose and in my name, also does not appeal to me. This kind of begging-bowl business in these countries is not at all attractive. As a matter of fact, we are trying to raise very large sums of money as credits and loans for our major plans.

I like your enthusiasm, but I have written to you frankly as I feel about this matter.

I am sending your letter and papers to the Education Minister who deals with sports etc.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 167. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Help to Backward States<sup>121</sup>

March 31, 1959

My dear V.T.,

I am sending you a letter from our Education Minister, Dr. Shrimali. This matter of giving additional assistance for educational purpose to backward States, was considered by the Cabinet on more than one occasion, and we were clearly of opinion that this help should be given to them. I do not, therefore, understand why the Planning Commission is reluctant to agree to this, more especially when no additional funds have been asked for. Will you please let me know?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

121. Letter. FileNo.17 (190)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

(g) Culture

**168. To Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir: Sahitya Akademi Prizes<sup>122</sup>**

3rd March 1959

My dear Musafirji,

I have your letter of the 2nd March about the Sahitya Akademi prize.<sup>123</sup> Naturally, I am not competent to judge of books in Punjabi. We have to rely on the advice of those who are considered to be competent to do so. Ultimately the choice is made by the General Council of the Sahitya Akademi. That Council met and came to decisions which have been given effect to.<sup>124</sup>

Thus unless the Council itself meets again and considers this matter, it is not clear what can be done about it. Meanwhile, however, I am referring this to the Vice-President of the Akademi for such steps as may be possible now in regard to consulting opinion.<sup>125</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

122. Letter to the President, Punjab PCC, and Lok Sabha MP from Amritsar. File No. S.A.110/8, Sahitya Akademi Records. Also available in File No. 40(7)/59-63-PMS and JN Collection.

123. Gurmukh Singh Musafir, had written that for two successive years no Punjabi book had been awarded the Sahitya Akademi prize on the plea that none had been "considered as of outstanding merit" and stated that "it was a great slur on the Punjabi writers and their laudable achievements during these years." He mentioned a book entitled *Sassi-Hashim*, a "600-page high-level literary research and critical assessment of a popular Indian romance (Sassi Punnu), a great Sufi poet (Syed Hashim Shah) and a beloved Punjabi classic (Hasham's Sassi)" written by Professor Harnam Singh Shan of the Punjab University and published by the Punjabi Sahitya Akademi. Musafir sent his own copy of the book together with some opinions of the top-most critics and scholars for Nehru to read.

124. K.R. Kripalani, the Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi, wrote to S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice President of the Akademi, on 5 March 1959, that Harnam Singh Shan had been lobbying with political leaders to force the Sahitya Akademi to re-open the issue. Kripalani felt, Radhakrishnan and Nehru agreed, that doing so would set a bad precedent.

125. Kripalani wrote to Nehru on 8 February 1960 that, after Harnam Singh had met him in 1958, he had the "impertinence" to go to the Vice-President, S. Radhakrishnan "to canvass for the award." This had annoyed the Vice President, and the Executive Board decided unanimously in January 1959 that no award be given for Punjabi that year. This was reiterated in December 1959.



**169. To Humayun Kabir: The Three Akademies<sup>126</sup>**

March 6, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 6th March.<sup>127</sup> I shall certainly see Rahman's<sup>128</sup> model of the building for the three Akademies.

I think 'Rabindra Bhavan' is an appropriate name for this building.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**170. To Krishna Kripalani: Attending Soviet Writers' Congress<sup>129</sup>**

March 7, 1959

My dear Krishna,

I have received the following telegram from Moscow.

Honoured to ask Mr. Krishna Kripalani, Secretary Sahitya Akademi, be our guest Third Congress Soviet Writers opening Moscow March 30. All expenses two weeks stay passage to Moscow and back covered by USSR Writers' Union. Please confirm acceptance possible departure date. With all respect—Boris Polevoi Secretary Board USSR Writers Union Moscow.

I showed this to Dr. Radhakrishnan this evening and asked for his advice. He said that if the telegram had come from the Soviet Academy, we should certainly have accepted the invitation. But he was a little doubtful of this as the

126. Letter. File No.45(5) /57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

127. Kabir had written that Rahman's model of the building was ready for Nehru's final approval. He proposed to name it Rabindra Bhavan after Rabindranath Tagore.

128. Habib Rahman (1915-1995); senior architect, PWD, 1953-70, and chief architect of the CPWD, New Delhi, 1970-74; the buildings he designed include Dak Tar Bhavan (1954), the Posts and Telegraph building, the Auditor and General Comptroller's Office (1958), Rabindra Bhavan (1961), the World Health Organisation Building (1963), the multi-storey flats at Ramakrishnapuram (1965), the Curzon Road Hostel (1967), the Indraprastha Bhavan (1968), Patel Bhavan (1972).

129. Letter. File No. 40(7) /59-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and File No. SA 80 B, Part I, Secretary's Tour Abroad, Sahitya Akademi Records.

telegram had come from the Writers' Union.<sup>130</sup> You will remember the difficulties that the Indian Delegation had at the Tashkent Conference.<sup>131</sup>

Then the question arose as to whether it was at all convenient for you to go to Moscow in view of your proposed visit to the US. Therefore, we are first to find out whether a visit to Moscow will be feasible or not, and then to decide about its desirability. If the dates are suitable, it should not be difficult for you to go to the US via Moscow. If not, then the question of accepting it does not arise.<sup>132</sup>

You might consult Dr. Radhakrishnan and let me know.

I am leaving Delhi tomorrow morning, returning on the 11th evening.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 171. At AIFACS: On Architecture<sup>133</sup>

Mr. Chairman and friends,

I have come here for a brief while this morning just to wish those people who are attending this Seminar, and specially our younger architects, wish them success in the talks here and success meaning thereby a new fermentation taking place in the minds of this generation leading to more suitable, more well, types of architecture which are, which fit in with conditions today and yet are things of beauty.

130. A union of professional writers in the USSR, founded in 1932.

131. The Second Asian-African Writers' Conference was held in October 1958 in Tashkent. See also SWJN/SS/42/pp. 214-215.

132. Nehru's telegram sent to the embassy at Moscow on 18 March said: "Thank you for your message inviting our Secretary of Sahitya Akademi, Krishna Kripalani, to third Congress Soviet Writers. I have conveyed your message to him. He thanks you for it and would have gladly accepted it, but he regrets he is unable to do so on the dates you suggest as he is leaving India for a tour of South-East Asia, Japan and later America. It is not possible for him to upset these arrangements which have already been made."

133. Speech at the inauguration of a seminar and exhibition of architecture organised by the Lalit Kala Akademi at the All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society(AIFACS), New Delhi, 17 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

The exhibits included photographs and models, plans and maps. Among the American exhibits were photographs of the award winning works of the American Institute of Architects. In this exhibition, the future development of Delhi was presented in the form of a progression through the city by Gordon Cullen, an English architect. The exhibition was to remain open till 28 March.



Now, Mr. Humayun Kabir referred to the great temples of the South and Taj Mahal. Well, they are very beautiful and some of the temples of the South, however, repel me in spite of their beauty. I just cannot stand them, why I do not know, I cannot explain that, but they are oppressive, they suppress my spirit. They do not allow me to rise, to keep me down, dark corridors. I like the sun and air, not dark corridors, as far as I can.

However, architecture today can hardly be thought of well, broadly speaking, in terms of the Taj Mahal. The Taj Mahal is, of course, one of the most beautiful things anywhere and it is a delight to the eye and to the spirit to see it. It represented as all architecture represents to a large extent, the age in which it grew. You cannot isolate architecture from the age, from the social conditions, from the thinking, from the objectives and ideals, of that particular age. In an age, which is rapidly changing like our present age or like the last few generations in fact, since the industrial revolution came in, necessarily that had a powerful effect on agriculture—I am sorry, on architecture. I have too much agriculture in my mind. (Laughter)

Mr. Kabir referred to the static condition in regard to architecture in India in the last 200, 300 years. That really was a reflex of the static condition of the Indian mind, or Indian conditions; everything was static, not a question of architecture being static, here of course, that does not mean that a country can never be completely static, their bright individuals and bright movements but taking as a whole, India was static. In fact, India was static before that. In fact, without being very accurate or precise, architecturally considered, for the last few hundred years, India was static. And the great buildings which you admire really date back to a considerable time. And even before the British came here, we had become static. In fact, the British came because we were static. (Laughter) A society which ceases to change, ceases to go ahead necessarily becomes weak, and it is an extraordinary thing how that weakness comes out in all forms of creative activity. You see that weakness in our literature during this period, last 300-400 years, 500 years if you like. That again does not mean that big books were not written. Certainly, some very fine books were written, but broadly speaking, the Sanskrit language began to go to seed. It is a magnificent language, gradually it became more and more repetitive, long sentences, ornate, no life except except tingling songs and rhymes and all that. Take the early period of Sanskrit. It is a thing which strikes you in the head with its vigour and strength, its brevity and then it becomes this long, long-winded sentences, sometimes going over two pages one sentence with the verb at the end [...]

I think Milton once said in some book, that “show me the language of a people and even if I do not know anything about that people, I will tell you what they are, whether they are brave or timid or adventurous, creative or not.”

The language, of course, is the most subtle medium of people's thinking or thoughts.

So also architecture, all these creative arts, they really are not something outside yourself, they represent something that is inside us, either we have that inside or we have not. If we have not got, well, we produce some pale copy of whatever other people have done.

Now, therefore, architecture is influenced by a vast number of, not a vast but by a number of considerations. But apart from those considerations, architecture like all creative arts is influenced by, I may use a word which is, well, often used and misused, by the life forces of the people. If they have that vitality in them, it comes out in painting, in architecture, in poetry, in literature, in everything that they do in life itself. If they have not got it, then they are just pale copies of human beings without the vitality of the human beings and naturally they are the pale copies too. But that is basic. You cannot produce by any school course or college course, life forces in a people. That is there or not there, they may gradually grow.

But quite apart from the basic considerations, architecture depends—what does it depend upon—it certainly depends on climate, obviously it depends on functions, the type of functions the people living in those buildings or looking at them have to perform. It depends on the state of technological growth, that is to say, on the material you use, obviously, on the state of scientific and technological growth, and on other factors too. Climate, more or less, is a permanent factor though even there, as you know, to some extent, climate can be overcome, not to a very large extent, but internally inside a building, you condition it, you can overcome it. Always there has been an attempt to overcome the climate even in the olden days and various methods of overcoming it or well, minimising the effects of climate have always been there. You may have become more adept in doing it.

The other factors, I said, the function which a building is supposed to serve, obviously has to govern it, and a function that a building serves depends to a large extent, on the functions that a society is serving. There is often a lag between, as always in architectural designs or indeed the social framework, it lags behind the changes taking place in the technological field. There is an attempt to cover it. Mr. Humayun Kabir referred to the great Gothic Cathedrals, which are in many ways truly representative of the age in which they grew up. But in the early years of the Industrial Revolution, in an age when the steam engine came and railways came, and when railway stations had to be built, in later years the architects of the day tried to make some of the big railway stations, as if they were Gothic Cathedrals (laughter) which is perfectly ridiculous. It did not serve that function and see that things, they were not getting out of the



clutches of the past.

The past is good when it was the present, which you cannot bring it forward when the world has changed into a technological period and put up a Gothic Cathedral and call it a railway terminus. It is ridiculous. I gave that example because there is always a tendency to do that and there is likely to be more of that tendency in a country like India, where we hold fast to traditions than other countries, which are more here. Now, traditions are good and especially when the traditions are something unique and something elevating but no tradition which makes you a prison of your mind or body is ever good, however good that tradition may be, you should accept traditions, not be coerced into traditions, a free [mind] (applause) because every element of coercion, mental coercion, ultimately, I am quite sure, comes in the way of the development of the creative arts and virtues. Sometimes, coercion may be helpful in a small degree, after all you coerce a boy, you may send him to school and all that, it is a different matter. But broadly speaking, this kind of development of the individual suffers by that type of coercion traditional or other or modern.

Then the function governs, of course, function has to. But perhaps the most important governing factor then comes on technological advance on the material you use. Obviously, you are limited by your materials. If technology goes on opening out new avenues and gives you more and more materials or gives you more and more power to mould those materials and to use them, obviously all kinds of new avenues appear before you. And it is to use again those new materials in forms which you used when elasticity of the new material was not open to people, seems to me not quite right. It becomes trying to copy something, some form, some design which was suited to a particular material and which may be suited to that still but which is not suited to a new material well, it becomes out of place, disjointed. The main thing is, and I am glad that you have met here in the seminar, to look at all these aspects, changing aspects, with a mind that is open and adventurous and seeking and creative because today I do believe very good work is being done all over the world by creative architects. It is a delight to see plans and designs and pictures of this new work being done by architects all over the world.

At the same type of course, the other aspect of it, is rather painful to see pictures and designs of other works done by architects which seems to think that beauty can come only by mere size, which of course, it is not at all a correct notion. So, it is good to discuss these matters and it would be good if you are not, you are not afraid of innovations. Therefore, of course, you have to come across, a solid fort in front of you that is P.W.D. Departments, (applause) which has its own specifications, its own ways, you must do this thing and so you have simply to do this naturally that is inevitable I see it is not the fault of

the P.W.D. It is quite inevitable, when this kind of thing is done by any official department on a large scale. They have to have specifications they cannot let loose everybody to do what they like. The result may be exceedingly good occasionally and exceedingly bad and anyhow, the poor P.W.D. has to answer in Parliament. But even the P.W.D. can do two things. One is of course, to revise the antiquated rules and bring them up to date as one thing, (applause). I use the word antiquated in the sense that when they were drawn up, they dealt with not exactly the materials you use today or even if they dealt with them [it was] in a different sense, in a limited sense. Secondly, that it is not necessary always to aim at putting up, well, a normal building which will last a hundred years. It is not necessary at all. In fact, it will be far better that a building is knocked down after a few years and a better one is put up. (Applause) Anyhow, it is desirable, I think, for new rules and regulations to be framed. It surprises me for instance, why they still go on putting up enormously thick walls, when all over the world, these partitions are much thinner and stronger. In old days, of course, I have lived in a house in Uttar Pradesh built about a hundred years ago, walls were 13 feet thick, kutchha walls, it is extraordinary.

So, now, I have welcomed very greatly one great experiment in India which you know very well, Chandigarh. And many people argue about it, some like it, some dislike it. It is totally immaterial whether you like it or dislike it, it is the biggest thing in India of this kind. That is why I welcome it. (Applause) It is the biggest thing because it hits you on the head because it makes you think, you may squirm at the impact but it has made you think and imbibe you new ideas and the one thing that India requires in so many fields is being hit on the head so that you may think. (Laughter) I do not like every building in Chandigarh, I like some of them very much, I like the general conception of the township very much but what I like above all, is this creative approach, not being tied down to what has been done by our forefathers and the like, but thinking of it in new terms and trying to think in terms of light and air and ground and water and human beings, not in terms of rules and regulations laid down by our ancestors. Now, therefore, Chandigarh is of enormous importance regardless of whether something in it succeeds or whether it does not succeed. As a matter of fact, even now, many things in Chandigarh have become, have spread many ideas and spread in small ways, big ways, and Chandigarh, as you well know, is more famous in the world than most Indian towns or cities excepting the well known three or four, simply because it is a thing coming out, it is thing of power coming out a powerful mind, and if you want anything of power it must come out of the powerful mind, not a flat mind, or just a mind which is a mirror, not a very clear mirror reflecting somebody else's mind. (Applause)



There is no doubt that Le Corbusier<sup>134</sup> is a man of powerful and creative type of mind because he is that, he may become extravagant occasionally, he may produce extravagances occasionally but it is better to have that than to have a person with no mind at all. (Laughter) Mr. Winston Churchill once was accused of having a swelled head. What was his answer? He said "it is better to have a swelled head than no head at all". (Laughter)

So, I hope that your deliberations will not only profit by the experience of the past but rather think in terms of the present, the functions of today, the social functions of today what we have to do. We cannot obviously even if we had the capacity to build Taj Mahal now. It does not fit in with the society of today, you can make it or make something lovely to look at but just cannot do, if it does not fit in. It has to be full of functions, anything you build and full of beauty, as things that are useful are. All things that are useful which are not full of beauty, I do not mean by that, it may be horribly ugly but in the ultimate analysis a thing that fits in with these functions is beautiful, whether it is a human being or whether it is a house. Human beings today, for instance, a human being of a hundred years ago—well, I do not want to be personal, but I mean to say let us take somewhat princes or lords and ladies and the like. They performed some function a couple of hundred years ago, which fitted in with a society. Now, today their functions are—they float about, and unless and so long as they do not find some functions as individuals, will float about and gradually become more and more, what shall I say, ghost-like.

So in the same way you cannot have buildings, ghost-like buildings, because they resemble some past period. They have to fit in with the work and functions of today and have of course such features which may be called representatives of India's background also, but remember that this business of European or Indian or Iranian or American architecture has certainly some substances in it, but not so much as is made out. If the modern European building, you may call it European, it is a building coming out of industrialism, you may call it a building of the industrial age. If industrial age comes to India, it will bring something like that because you will have to fit it into our climate so that it is not European or Indian, but something fitting in with the general structure of society, technological advance, climate, function etc. And I suppose that will happen. The main thing today, a tremendous deal of building is taking place in India, an attempt should be made to give it a right direction, and to encourage creative minds to function with a measure of freedom, so that new types may come out, new designs, new types, new ideas, and out of that amalgam something new and good will emerge. (Applause)

134. French architect and Adviser to the Punjab Government on Chandigarh Capital Project.

## 172. To Humayun Kabir : Archaeological Artifacts Going Abroad<sup>135</sup>

March 19, 1959

My dear Humayun,

I enclose a letter in which a complaint is made to the effect that someone from the Berlin Museum has been collecting all kinds of archaeological material from a place called Chanderi.<sup>136</sup> Also that many of the statues there have their heads broken. I really do not understand this. Perhaps, you might ask your Archaeological Department to enquire soon.<sup>137</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 173. For K.R. Kripalani: Letter of Introduction<sup>138</sup>

Shri K. R. Kripalani is the Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi which is the literary academy of India. He is going on a tour of some countries of South-East Asia, Japan, the United States of America as well as some countries of Europe, to make direct contacts, on behalf of the Sahitya Akademi, with the literary academies or similar bodies and men of letters in the various countries. I shall be grateful if he is given opportunities to meet eminent men of letters in the countries he visits.

Shri K. R. Kripalani is also the Secretary of the All-India Tagore Centenary Committee.<sup>139</sup> Rabindranath Tagore's birth centenary will be celebrated all over

135. Letter.

136. The letter dated 10 March 1959 was from Takhtmal Jain, a Congressman from Madhya Pradesh, forwarding a letter from Nand Kishore, an advocate from Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh.

137. Nehru also wrote to Takhtmal Jain on 19 March 1959: "I cannot quite make out what he [Nand Kishore] has written to you. It seems to me very odd that that this kind of thing should happen. I am asking our Department of Archaeology to enquire. But this appears to me a matter for the Madhya Pradesh Government. You might ask Shri Nand Kishore to draw the attention of the Madhya Pradesh Government to this."

138. 23 March 1959.

139. Tagore Centenary Committee held its first meeting on 10 March 1958. See SWJN/SS/41/pp. 254-257.



India in May 1961. We hope that some celebration will also take place then in other countries where Tagore's writings have been appreciated.

Jawaharlal Nehru

President,  
Sahitya Akademi

**174. To K. C. Choudhuri: Funds for Tagore Jayanti<sup>140</sup>**

March 31, 1959

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

Thank you for your letter of March 29. I have read it as well as your note with interest. I am glad that you have written fully on this subject and taken a comprehensive view. Broadly speaking, I agree with it. I cannot naturally say with certainty how much funds might be available, that is, in that matter Shri C.D. Deshmukh will be able to speak with greater authority. I am glad you are seeing him.

The Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund<sup>141</sup> that we have started has thus far not produced any substantial results. That, of course, need not depress us because such funds can seldom be collected without an organised efforts, and we have not made that effort yet. I think that we should be able to collect a few lakhs of rupees.

I have learnt that Shrimati Subbulakshmi, the famous singer of Madras, has offered to give three music recitals in aid of the fund—one each in Calcutta, Delhi and Bombay. This is very generous of her. Her concerts are greatly looked forward to and result in large sum being collected.

I would, of course, like to meet you here. Unfortunately I am going away from Delhi tomorrow morning, returning day after,<sup>142</sup> and I am terribly busy after that with the National Development Council meeting and other engagements. I suggest that you might come and have lunch with me on the 4th April at 1-15 P.M.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Viswa-Bharati University. File No. 40(9)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

141. Started in December 1957 to raise monies for the celebration of Tagore's birth centenary. See SWJN/SS/40/pp. 245-247 and SWJN/SS/41/pp. 227 & 254-257.

142. To Suratgarh via Bikaner on 1 April 1959.

(h) Science and Technology

**175. In the Lok Sabha: Nuclear Science Training in the USA<sup>143</sup>**

Question: <sup>144</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) The Institutions in U.S.A. where Indian students are being trained in peaceful uses of Atomic Energy; and
- (b) The number of students being trained there?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):  
 (a) and (b). The Department of Atomic Energy has not given financial assistance to any student for training in U.S.A. in the peaceful uses of Atomic Energy. However, eleven scientists and engineers of the Atomic Energy Commission are at present receiving training in the peaceful uses of atomic energy in the following Institutions in U.S.A.:-

- (1) The International School of Nuclear Science and Engineering, Argonne National Laboratory, U.S.A.
- (2) Vanderbilt University, U.S.A.
- (3) The Shipping Port Atomic Power Station, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
- (4) Laboratories of the Geological Survey and Atomic Energy Commission, U.S.A. Information regarding other Indian students not sponsored by the Department of Atomic Energy and who may be studying in these or other similar institutions is not readily available.

143. Reply to questions, 3 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, cols 3930-3931.

144. By Congress MPs Ram Krishan Gupta and D. C. Sharma.



## 176. Bombay IIT: Science and Citizenship<sup>145</sup>

Shri Kasturbhai Lalji,<sup>146</sup> Shri Governor,<sup>147</sup> Shri Mukhitdinov,<sup>148</sup> Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

You have heard in the speeches just delivered a great deal about this Institute of Technology, its significance and importance in the scheme of things in India.<sup>149</sup> That does not require any further emphasis from me. But I am happy indeed to be present here on this occasion, when this very important step is being formally taken by us. I suppose that among the many things that are being done in India today, the establishment of these great institutes of technical training and knowledge, is perhaps the most important, not only for the present, but even more so for the future. I have no doubt that India will advance on the industrial field, she is well set on that. And she is bound to go ahead and go ahead pretty fast, I think, in spite of such difficulties as may come in our way.

But what I am particularly glad to notice now, now meaning the last, the last shall I say, a year or two or more, the greater stress being laid on good technical education, because it's easy enough; relatively easy to put up a factory or a plant. It is much more difficult and it takes much more time to train the human beings that will run that factory or put up another factory or plant. In fact, even in this age of tremendous machines it is ultimately the human being of training that counts. It is he who produces the plants and machines and the knowledge that lies behind them. And it is in the degree that we advance in that knowledge and training that we shall make progress and not merely by, if I may use the words "hiring people to put up hired machines."

We have to produce these ourselves. Before we can do so we have to go through these processes of training in very large numbers and lay a firm foundation for such progress to take place, more or less, automatically; that it should be a self-generating process. I think that something of that kind is happening in India today in spite of all the troubles that we go through and that the results of all this, will be apparent before very long; to some extent they are

145. Speech at the foundation laying ceremony of the Indian Institute of Technology, Powai, Bombay, 10 March 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

146. Kasturbhai Lalbhai (1894-1980); industrialist and banker from Gujarat; President, Ahmedabad Millowners' Association, 1933-35, FICCI, 1934-35, ATIRA from 1947; Director, RBI, 1937-49 and 1957-60; Chairman, IIT, 1955.

147. Sri Prakasa.

148. N.A. Mukhitdinov, member, Central Committee of the CPSU, and member of the Soviet delegation on a three-week goodwill visit to India beginning 24 February 1959.

149. This was the second of the IITs; the first was set up at Kharagpur in 1951.

apparent even now. So that the importance of this institute is great obviously.

The other day yesterday I spent several hours in visiting our Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay, later the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research in the new buildings that have been put up for it.<sup>150</sup> And wandering about these buildings and meeting large numbers of bright and eager young scientists there, I felt almost as if I was being transported to the future. The present seemed to fade away somewhat and the future became clearer for my eyes, the future of India, future of the world, if you like, because I saw that future being fashioned by these young men and women working there and of course, working in so many other places in India in the same way.

We are sometimes, perhaps a little forgetful of all this basic work that is being done in India by our own young country men and country women, wrapped up as we are, with problems of the day, political problems, especially, and the dust and fray of public life. And yet it is there, the base is being laid for the future of India. And surely the most important foundation of all is, in the education that we are giving to our people. Whether it is general education or specialised education and both are obviously highly important.

You can't have specialised education without widespread general education. And widespread general education, essential as it is, can't do without specialised education which is so essential to this age of ours today. So it is this, in the final analysis the most important thing of all, and it is because this Institute of Technology of which I have had the privilege of laying the foundation stone a few minutes ago; it is because this Institute serves that basic and fundamental cause that it becomes very significant and important and not merely just any institute that may grow up in any part of India.

Some people taunt me for laying too many foundation stones and they are quite right. I accept many of these invitations partly because it becomes a little difficult always to say "No", sometimes one has to say "Yes". Partly also because that becomes an occasion for me to meet people, my countrymen, in different parts of the country and to try to consciously or unconsciously to commune with their minds; to learn something, even though I am speaking and others are listening; still the process of learning continues; of receptivity. That is so in regard to any function or even just a public meeting that I may attend, where large numbers of people come. But that becomes specially so, on an occasion like this directed to a particular purpose. Because, then that purpose becomes predominant thing before us and before the country. Because I should like our country to think of that particular purpose which is represented by this Institute of Technology.

150. See item 8, p. 79, fn 79 and p. 93.



This is number two in the series, first one being at Kharagpur. This one very suitably has been established near the great city of Bombay which has such a fine record in various kinds of endeavour and progress in our country almost in any front of national activity. Whenever I come here I feel a certain heartening sensation at the good work that is being done in various departments of life here—Governmental public, industrial, whatever it may be. It is a city vibrant with life, looking ahead even though it may be sometimes tied up with the problems of the day. That is a spirit which I should like to see all over the country. Of course, I see it in many other places too. It is not confined to Bombay. Nevertheless, Bombay does represent it in a great measure; and it is always a happiness to come here and be heartened by seeing and feeling what is being done round about this City and State.

This particular function today is one of those which will stand out as Mr. Kabir said that when he grows old, he will remember it. No doubt he will remember it and many of us may remember it and when we see later this magnificent complex of structures here, housing earnest and able teachers, professors, students and all those labouring in the cause of science and technology and labouring to divert the knowledge they required thereby in the causes of peace and constructive effort, it would be a good sight and it will be a good memory that we who are present here had some little share in the beginnings of this great institution to be.

One aspect of this has been emphasised and I should like to lay stress on it also. That is, the measure of international cooperation that it represents, we have had a very interesting address from one of the leaders of the Soviet goodwill delegation, and we have listened to him with the respect due to a delegation from that great country which has made such tremendous advance in the field of science and technology. And any association in this field of that country is not only to be welcomed but eagerly looked forward to for a number of reasons. First of all, the fact that they have made such a great advance in these fields and have explored...new dimensions in space; but also as we have found in our past associations, in other ventures, scientific or technological kind and they have been many in India like that and they are still going on. One of the big ones being the Bhilai Steel Plant, we have found the association very fruitful not only in building up a structure or a plant but in building up individuals. Good scientists, good technical men, and they have always taken care to build up these people with the result that we achieve what we aim at sooner than we might otherwise do. I am particularly grateful and my Government is grateful to them for the help they have given and for their good wishes.

But as I said, this is essentially an international venture and the origin of it came from U.N.E.S.C.O.[...] Anyhow it is a very good thing for such ventures

to have these international auspices, and international help. In this troubled world of today, it brings a breath of fresh air to help this kind of approach and so not only do we think the U.N.E.S.C.O. for it but we particularly appreciate this breath of international fresh air of cooperation that has come on this occasion and for this venture.

We are working, labouring in India in many fields and there are multitude of activities going on. Of some we are very conscious and some perhaps are not so patent to most of us. But the fact is, after all, that the hundreds of millions of the Indian people are working and labouring consciously or unconsciously to build up the "New India" of which we have dreamt of. We have dreamt of it, and we have seen visions of it in the past and yet I may venture to say that it now appears to be almost within our grasp. It is no longer any distant ideal about which we are doubtful. It comes ever nearer to us and it is well within our grasp I think. When I say that, naturally I am talking in terms of a few years, not of today. It comes within our grasp, because even in the past difficult years, we have laid big and deep foundations for it in this country. And, I think if you examine this you will see how well laid and deep they are. And we are laying them today here or elsewhere also, whether it is a steel plant, whether it is other plants, whether it is in our educational system, whether it is our technical education, they are full of problems, tremendous difficult problems, and yet those problems gradually are solved. And as one is solved other problem appears, which of course, is the true sign of progress. The more problems, the more you are advancing towards some goal. So I think, it is not mere wishful thinking for me to say that the future of India that we think of and dream of, is well within our grasp.

It may be an ambitious statement to make, but why should we not be little ambitious too in our endeavour, in our thinking and our action? There is far too much, sometimes, lack of ambition and lack of that vigorous thought which leads to vigorous deeds and vigorous achievement. So here we have; here we participate on this important occasion, which becomes another symbol of this—our attempt to grasp at the future and prepare for that future. And in this way in a hundred places or a thousand places in India some small step or big step is being taken. This is a big step. But it is perhaps the tens of thousands of the small steps also which count. And so the people of India labour and weave the wharf and woof of the tapestry of the India of the future. It is, I imagine going to be a rich tapestry, a rich and varied one, as India even in her state of underdevelopment is a rich and varied country. We want that richness and that variety tied up; allied to modern science and technology. We want to lose neither aspect. We can't do without modern science and technology and we would not lose the richness and variety and depths of India which we have had.



How to combine the two? That is our problem and that is a problem which nobody can answer except life itself gradually unfold the answer which India may have for such problems. Meanwhile, we labour and we hope we labour with goodwill towards all in our country and outside. We labour in the external field for peace and goodwill among nations and men and internally we labour to build up this "Future India" and the "Future India" does not mean some concept, some geographical concept, but hundreds of millions of human beings living, breathing, working, suffering or sometimes enjoying themselves as human beings. And we want all these to accompany us in our journey forward.

As I was coming here today my friend and colleague, the Governor recited to me a village song from the U.P. I do not mean to say that he is an accomplished singer; at any rate, I do not know of it. But he recited to me a few lines of a village song from the U.P. in the village dialect more or less, which struck me in its simple language, yet conveying certain depths of meaning, which I have often found in our so-called uncultured and illiterate peasants a great deal. Because nothing can be more foolish than to imagine that the peasantry of India are uncultured even though they may not be able to sign their names. And it is because they will, of course, sign their names, and learn to read and write and do many things soon, they are learning it today. But apart from that, the one thing that impressed me through all these years of coming into contact with Indian humanity and knowing full well, the failings of Indian humanity, I don't glorify them, nevertheless the impression that I have gathered through all these years of the peasants and the workers and of all the millions of others that labour in India is of the fine stuff that they are made, the depth of those people, apart from superficial failings and the rest. And it is because of that faith, in these people of ours that I have had faith in India, whatever has happened. Because those people may make a hundred mistakes, they may stumble numerous times, but they always will ultimately pull themselves up together and go in the right direction. So I shall read out to you; recite to you two or three lines of this village song. I asked my friend to write it down as I was sitting here. You must remember of course that it is a village way of expressing things.

Kam kare jao

Kam kare jao

Ram bhaje jao

Ka kahu ka dar hai

Is nagari men sub hi musafir

Ka kahu ka ghar hai

It is difficult to translate and I won't translate it. But it is a gospel of work with, well, in a devotional spirit. A gospel of work without getting frightened

of the consequences of that work, consequences come, without fear and without too much attachment. In simple village language it may well represent some basic ideas of India, of philosophies of India. Anyhow, we have to work and we have to labour with good heart in this country so that we may fulfill our present mission in life and leave something worthwhile to others than to labour for their mission in life. And here is a symbol of that well thought out organised attempt at labour so that our people and the world may benefit.

I should like again to express my thanks to U.N.E.S.C.O. and to the Soviet Government for their great help in this undertaking which help of course is a continuing one, because they have promised their engineers and others in various kinds of help to come. And I am very happy that on this occasion we are fortunate enough to have the presence of the eminent leaders who form the Soviet goodwill delegation here. We welcome them here.

Thank you.

#### 177. In the Lok Sabha: Organising Scientific Research<sup>151</sup>

Mr. Deputy-Speaker,<sup>152</sup> Sir, I welcome these brief debates on this subject because it is right that hon. Members of Parliament should acquaint themselves with what is happening and should criticise it whenever needed. It is difficult for me to deal with this subject, even as I suppose it is for the other Members of Parliament because it requires a great deal of scientific and technical knowledge really to understand what is happening. I do visit from time to time the various atomic energy establishments and the people there take the trouble of explaining many things to me and I look wise but really I do not feel very wise at all. I get some broad idea of how things are functioning, whether they are functioning well or not. Although I am not wholly unacquainted with scientific technology and the like, nevertheless, we have to try to understand it and it is for this reason that occasionally I have arranged with Dr. Bhabha<sup>153</sup> and he has been good enough to come here and speak on this subject to Members of Parliament. I hope that will continue because that kind of meeting is likely often to give more insight into what is happening than a formal debate.

151. Interventions during the debate on the cut motions on the demands for grants for the Department of Atomic Energy, 16 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVII, cols 6415-6426.

152. Hukam Singh.

153. H. J. Bhabha was Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, and Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.



Now the hon. Member who just spoke talked about new forms of production, etc.<sup>154</sup> He was quite right, of course, as he often is, if not always. But here the question arises, when we are dealing with science and technology something does not happen by magic as a rule. That is to say, you have to have a background out of which background things grow. You have to have an industrial background for an industry to grow. It is not merely putting up a factory and calling it an industry. You have to have people largely educated in industrial techniques and so the industry grows. I say this not for the sake of hon. Members here. I am surprised often at the way people outside think of industry growing. People seem to think it is a mere question of throwing some money about and hiding somebody and calling it an industry. That is no industry. It has to grow and the population has to think about industrialised techniques, scientific methods and all that. That takes a little time and, of course, that can be expedited. So, science cannot grow just by some brilliant man. Maybe, a brilliant mathematician may produce a brilliant formula. You cannot think of the growth of the industry unless you have a strong and well-spread base. In a sense we have tried to give a broad base by developing our national laboratories, etc. But the real final base should be the universities out of which people should come to the national laboratories and other institutes. I am not very happy about the standards of equipment of the universities at the present moment. We must encourage them but while we must encourage them we must also remember that we cannot treat the universities, at the present moment or for some time to come, as centres of very specialised works, especially in the atomic energy field. We cannot do that. We have not got enough men for that, and if we spread them out, nowhere will adequate work be done. All the good men that we have will be spread over a number of places with the result that the work done is of a secondary character, because the work of this kind is not of a brilliant man but it is the work of a group of competent men, a large number of very able men, mathematicians, etc., physicists and the like coming together who produce results. Whether it was the atomic bomb or any advance in these matters you will find that large numbers of people were gathered together knocking each other's heads and all the time discussing, arguing, experimenting and so on. Whole colonies were made out of which came out this great atomic bomb to begin with. It cannot be done in a dispersed way. I say so because hon. Members have talked a great deal about the dispersal, thinking of it in some kind of a mechanical way where a person produces a screw and another something of some part with a hole and then they put the screw in the hole. If I may say so, with all respect, that is not the right conception of it. There is no other way, I say. The moment you try to

154. The reference is to R. K. Khadilkar, Congress MP from Ahmednagar, Maharashtra.

think of doing odd jobs here and there, you do not bring that integrated way of thinking which has to be together. As a matter of fact, the atomic energy work in this country is dispersed. I mean to say there is plenty of it being done in Kerala and the factories elsewhere. Other factories are also going to be opened and are opened. That is going to happen. Inevitably, it will be dispersed and we want to disperse it. But my point is that the essential part of the work, the base of it has to be concentrated even in countries which have a far greater scientific potential than we have. Even they have to concentrate if you take France or any other country they gather together. Of course, countries like United States or, maybe, the Soviet Union, may have several such concentrations because they have many people. That is a different matter. But it is to be concentrated, and it is so.

Hon. Member Shri Bharucha<sup>155</sup> said that the medical part should go somewhere and the biological part somewhere else, and so on.<sup>156</sup> I do confess that it struck me very odd, his suggesting this, because even for normal scientific work it is a wrong approach and in the atomic energy work this would be fatal. We can never get a concentrated way of working or looking at things with these various people looking at various aspects and not putting their heads together. Of course, that does not mean that the biological work should not be done elsewhere. There are many aspects of the work which can be done in hospitals, this that and the other, but the real basic work of exploring unknown regions or exploring regions which are partly known has to be done, I think, in a much more concentrated and integrated way in order to produce results.

In fact, the results that we have already achieved in the atomic energy may be said to be significant. I do not wish to exaggerate, but excepting for about five, maybe six, countries which are obviously much more advanced than we—and there is no question of competition—the fact is that more advanced and more widespread work has been done in this matter in India than, again, apart from those half a dozen countries, any country in the world—Europe, Asia, America included. I am not saying that in a spirit of vainglory, not that. But this has been done because of concentrated effort. If we had dispersed it all over, everybody would have talked wisely about nuclear work, fission and fusion and all that, without understanding a great deal of what all this means, but the actual results would have been few. It is due to this concentration and building up a strong foundation for work that we have achieved the good results that we have.

155. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from East Khandesh, Bombay State.

156. See Appendix 15.



We have this Reactor, swimming pool type of reactor, Apsara. We have the Zerlina coming, the Zero Energy Reactor.<sup>157</sup> We have the Canada-India Reactor, which is of a really big scale and which will enable us to experiment and explore in a big way.<sup>158</sup> It is only through them that one explores and experiments.

Sometimes some people suggested, I remember, our putting up small reactors in universities. Well, it may be done, I do not know, in the United States of America, where there is plenty of money and plenty of people. But that would be, I think, a wrong thing. What the universities should concentrate on is good training in nuclear physics. That is a base of it. If they did that, they would help the cause of atomic energy more than by putting up a reactor with one or two clever men attached to it and trying to work it. That would be more a show than anything else. But it is necessary for the universities to be given help in every way for a really basic sound training in nuclear physics. Every university should do it and institute as high a degree as is possible.

And, when we have scientists, maybe, we can have two or three centres. That is a different matter. For the present we cannot weaken the one concentrated effort. This concentrated effort which is situated at Trombay is growing in numbers. I do not think it is really easy to understand what is being done without a personal visit there, and I would invite hon. Members to go there, to pay a visit and have a look around, see it from time to time, and after a year or two see how it is growing.

It is not a question of a reactor, a huge thing or the huge laboratories and other things. The main thing is how our young men and women are being trained there, because it is a huge training centre today, a bigger centre than any in India for that purpose. We have now “ I think some hon. Members pointed out the numbers “ truly speaking, 900 Indian scientists, technical personnel working in this establishment. Last year the figure was 600; that is, 300 more now. They are being given a very thorough training. They are chosen from all over India, and the standards are high. An hon. Member mentioned something about scholarship which was not given for a senior scientist and which was given to a Junior scientist. I do not know all the facts about it, I can't say. A large number of the good ones have already been chosen in other ways. The applicants for that particular scholarship did not come up to the high standards required, and we are anxious not to lower the standards for people we know. We have realised that.

157. An acronym, Zerlina stands for Zero Energy Reactor for Lattice Investigations and Neutron Assay. It was acquired in 1961.

158. Cirus (Canada-India Reactor, US) went critical in July 1960.

### III. DEVELOPMENT

I can say that our younger scientists working in Trombay and elsewhere fill me with, well, confidence for the future of science in India. They are really a very bright lot, eager, keen, able and almost every foreign observer who has come across them has been impressed by the quality of our younger scientists. Of course, they go abroad, and the brightest of them, unfortunately, died last year in Paris.

So, now, at the present moment, here is the concentrated way of working. Therefore, I cannot measure. It is very difficult for me to measure exactly what might be done a little better or a little cheaper. It is very difficult. We keep on paving the way and trying to understand, but in the ultimate analysis we have to rely on the advice of experts and technical advisers.

Much has been said about Dr. Bhabha or our senior scientists being freed from administrative work. There is a good deal of truth in that, to have also been thinking of that. But it is quite impossible for them to be isolated from it, because the two things are inter-connected, inter-related. Still a good deal has been done, and one of our very senior experienced officers has been associated with this Atomic Energy Commission, who looks after financial aspect and the administrative aspect, and does it, I believe, very competently.

The new Reactor, Zerlina will be very useful in the study and design of the new power reactor system, and when the Canada India Reactor comes into being and functions, India will be in possession of one of the largest isotopes producers in the world. All these reactors are used for research and training in the fields of nuclear physics, bio-physics, medicine, agriculture, chemistry and bio-chemistry. Just imagine, isolating and separating all these fields. You do not get persons trained in that integrated way understanding the *raison d'être* of all this. They may understand how to use an isotope as a doctor may know how to use an isotope in a particular case. But that is not the training in the higher branches of any science.

Take, again, radio chemistry which was built last year to train a team of chemists in the handling of highly radio-active substances. Suppose we asked the Chemical Laboratory at Poona to do it—no doubt, they do what we tell them—they would not have that background, that equipment and all that to do it adequately.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: I did not ask for transfer of that function.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is a thorium plant. As the House knows, the total resources of thorium in India are very considerable and that a pilot plant to produce nuclear grade thorium is functioning, and I think it produced.

Shri Bharucha talked specially about electronics and asked, why should



they do it here in the Atomic Energy Establishment? Well, we have electronics factories elsewhere, and it may be that others could do it. As a matter of fact, if we wait for a generalised electronics institute or factory to produce it we would be working on a board field, not the specialised things required here. We would have waited a very long time and held up all the work of our Atomic Energy Establishment and spent much more money there. As it is, the Atomic Energy Establishment working on the narrow field of what they require in the electronics produced it, produce many things and saved a large sum of money which we would have to spend in order to get them from abroad. And what is more, it is not a question of saving money only, but it is a certain element of self-reliance and self-dependence and they are producing nearly all the electronic components that are needed for them. In fact, I was told the other day by them there that in about two years' time they are prepared to produce almost anything in the field of electronics that is required in India. But that does not mean they should produce anything, big or small. I am merely saying that having concentrated on one thing, they have made an advance, and it is a good thing that even if we have electronic establishments elsewhere this should be done in two or three places, because electronics is very important for the future.

There is another important development there, and that is about the training of people. That is to say, it is not only taking trained people for training them there, but in order to provide a steady supply of trained scientific and technical personnel, the establishment has got a training programme for 250 young graduates and engineers to be recruited annually from the universities and giving supplementary training for a year to fit them for work in India's atomic energy programme. This figure will increase; the intake of the school will become 350 a year later. There is also a further part of it. The programme is, to send some of these people to foreign countries for additional training. This Trombay establishment is now a research and training centre of considerable importance in India.

I shall now briefly deal with one or two facts. Shri Naushir Bharucha mentioned the year 1962 and he doubted whether the power station would be ready in 1962. He was quite right to doubt it. The year is not 1962 at all; it is 1964. It is a misprint.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: On the last page, it has been shown that it is 1962.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am saying so. It is a misprint. It should be 1964.

There is another thing. He said something about audit, etc. As a matter of fact, the Atomic Energy Department is a department of the Government of India, and it is entirely under the Comptroller and Auditor-General for audit

purposes; he organises the audit. It is not separately done.

Then, Shri Naushir Bharucha mentioned something about the cost of the power station and compared it with the British figures. Well, all these are estimates, but actually, the figures given by us here are the same as the British figures. In some ways, it might be less and in some ways it may be greater, but we have taken them and adapted them for the sake of calculation. When the time comes we will have to work it out. There is very little difference between them,

Shri Naushir Bharucha: The figures quoted by me are taken from a pamphlet published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, entitled Programme of Nuclear Power in which it is mentioned that the cost of the station will be £ 15 million to 20 million for a 150 to 250 megawatt station. That means our estimates are 75 per cent more.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. Now-a-days there are large commercial firms, especially in America and some in England, may be, who advertise that they will put a power station.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:<sup>159</sup> It is from a Government paper.

Shri V.P. Nayar:<sup>160</sup> May be a misprint.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Then, Shri Naushir Bharucha seemed to think that the Gulmarg laboratory was not necessary. I beg to differ from him, although I am not an expert. But I am told it is important to measure this thing and to explore at various places high up,—whether in South India where we get one height and in North India another height,—and we can measure the relative importance of these things. It does seem to us to be important to have one at Gulmarg. This place was fixed after a team went all over India, selecting and trying to find out a proper place.

Some hon. Member—I think it was Shri V.P. Nayar—complained that the report was given very late. I am sorry it was given late. We shall try to prepare it earlier.

Then, Shri Nayar also mentioned something about a railway link of six miles to Quilon. This is the first time I have heard of it. We shall have this

159. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

160. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Quilon, Kerala.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

enquired into. But even now I believe the things can be sent to Cochin via canal possibly.<sup>161</sup>

Shri V.P. Nayar: It is not profitable.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not possible? Well, he said that if we want to do this, then we put out of employment a large number of fishermen who are working there,"the boats being taken to the ships.

Shri V.P. Nayar: The railway line will provide additional employment for several thousands in construction.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Six miles of railway will not provide employment for several thousands, I believe.

Shri T.B. Vittal Rao:<sup>162</sup> During the construction of the siding, it will provide employment.

Shri V.P. Nayar: Even now there are temporary workers.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I will look into it.

As for the ilmenite at Manavalakurichi, I am informed that the ilmenite at Manavalakurichi is inferior to that at Chavara and therefore one finds a ready market, and the other does not. These are the difficulties.

Shri V.P. Nayar: The figures given by you last year were different. In answer to a question, the reply given by the hon. Prime Minister was that the ilmenite content of Manavalakurichi sands was found to be greater than that of Chavara. It was only the year before last.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am afraid, when I give these answers, then or now, it is not my mind that is functioning, but I repeat what I have been told! Obviously,

161. V.P. Nayar stated that if six or seven miles of railway line were constructed from the factory at Chavara to Quilon—the Government factories could easily have sidings inside the factories—the entire haul of three or four lakhs of tons of ilmenite could be shipped throughout the year from the Cochin harbour. Nayar said that he had been writing to the Railway Minister about it, "but nobody seems to be bothered about it; and we are spending lakhs of rupees as hire charges on lighters."

162. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Khammam, Andhra Pradesh.

I cannot have much knowledge about this. I take the answer from those who are supposed to know. They tell me.

Now, there was some reference to the dangers and hazards. An hon. Member talked about something that is full of—even X-rays and photographs being full of—some radio activity, or radio-active danger.<sup>163</sup> It is true. But it is also true that at Trombay, the precautions taken deliberately are very good. You can go and see them. In other places where the hazards and dangers are less, no precautions are taken. Therefore, there might be some slight effect from radio-activity there. But here, every effort is taken. The whole thing is being completely watched and revised as to what more can be done.

Then, reference was made to some fishermen not being given compensation. I do not really understand it. I have not heard of any fishermen being displaced from Trombay or requiring compensation. I do not know how it has come about.

Well, Sir, I submit that these Demands for Grants may be sanctioned. They are for a very fine piece of work which is being done and which is creditable to India and which has great promise for the future.

Shri Khadilkar:<sup>164</sup> One point for clarification. About the Travancore Minerals (Private) Limited, I fail to understand why the royalty is given to the Kerala State Government for mining rights. It is about Rs. 24, 57000. Under the Constitution, the mining rights belong to the Centre. Why we pay royalty to the State Government for these rights, I cannot understand.

Shri T.B. Vittal Rao: There is royalty paid to the State Governments for every mineral.

Shri Khadilkar: We are purchasing sands. There is another item. I wanted to have an explanation why we are paying a heavy royalty besides the purchasing of sand.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand. Does the hon. Member mean that the Central Government is paying to the State Government?

163. V.P. Nayar spoke about "complaints of unaccountable troubles from persons working in these places." A survey in Bombay revealed that in certain places of less danger like X-ray rooms, 43 per cent of those uninterruptedly exposed to X-rays were found to have suffered problems; however, none were reported from the Atomic Energy Department.

164. R. K. Khadilkar, MKP, Lok Sabha MP from Ahmednagar, Bombay.



Shri Khadilkar: Yes. Under the Constitution, mining rights belong to the centre.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: They can be clarified later on.

Shri Khadilkar: I will explain in a minute. I have gone through the balance sheet. For purchase of sand, we are paying about Rs. 23 lakhs and odd. That I can understand. But I have not come across any public undertaking of a mining nature where the Centre or the private limited concern is paying royalty of this magnitude.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Apparently it is the company that pays. The company may be owned by us, but the company pays. (Interruptions)

About the quality of the stuff produced at Chavara and Manavalakurichi, the quality of monazite at Manavalakurichi is better than at Chavara, but the quality of ilmenite at Manavalakurichi is bad.<sup>165</sup>

## 178. To Vishnu Sahay: Mathematical Research<sup>166</sup>

I am sending you a note by Dr. Homi Bhabha<sup>167</sup> I think that the proposal he makes about the responsibility for advanced study and research in Mathematics deserves consideration. There can be no doubt that the Atomic Energy Department has at present far more leading mathematicians in India than any other place. In fact, Atomic Energy and Electronics depend upon study of Higher Mathematics. A few days ago, I saw a number of publications which had been issued by the Atomic Energy Commission on Higher Mathematics. I was surprised to see them. It took two men to carry the bundles.

2. You might, as suggested by Dr. Bhabha, discuss this matter at an Inter-Departmental meeting.<sup>168</sup>

165. The cut motions were withdrawn.

166. Note, 19 March 1959.

167. See Appendix 9.

168. Vishnu Sahay discussed this with Bhabha and informed Nehru on 24 April that they agreed that (i) the Department of Atomic Energy should distribute grants for mathematics research; (ii) the National Committee in India for the International Mathematical Union should be transferred from the Ministry of SR & CA to Atomic Energy Department; (iii) Universities would continue to receive grants from the University Grants Commission, and the Atomic Energy Department would ensure co-ordination and prevent overlapping.

#### 179. To M. Visvesvaraya<sup>169</sup>

March 25, 1959

My dear Shri Visvesvaraya,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st March.<sup>170</sup>

It is true that I said at Bombay that I was happy to see you continuing to take active interest in the Indian Institute of Science. I knew your close and intimate connection with this Institute. What I said was in appreciation of your vitality of mind and body.<sup>171</sup> I hope you have many long years before you so that we can profit by this vitality.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 180. To Vishnu Sahay: Attracting Indian Scientists from Abroad<sup>172</sup>

I enclose a copy of a letter from a young Indian engineer who returned from Canada after special training there in petroleum refining and chemical engineering.<sup>173</sup> He went there on a Research Fellowship. One would have thought

169. File No.17(55)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

170. Visvesvaraya had written that he was honoured that Nehru had unveiled his portrait at the Annual Conference of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation on 11 March. See item 142.

171. Visvesvaraya had in the same letter written that "my next birthday on 15th September 1959 will be the 99th year of my life."

172. Note, 26 March 1959.

173. K.P. Tuli had written in his letter of 24 March 1959 that he had met Nehru in Ottawa, Canada, in 1956, and had been greatly impressed, along with other students studying abroad, by his advice to return to India. He wrote: "Now I wish to bring to your kind notice that after accepting your advice, I find no such facility is provided to utilise my services, though they are badly needed." Even though he had met Swaran Singh and K. D. Malaviya, his case was taking undue long time owing to "red tape and slow governmental action." He wrote that his stay in India had been disappointing and frustrating and that his services could not be gainfully employed "due to certain features, typical of the governmental action....On the other hand our Government is willing to pay fabulous salaries to foreign experts but would not care to grant interview and consider us even."



that such trained persons were urgently needed here. But he has been wandering about getting no encouragement.

2. We started some time ago a so-called pool of scientific and technical personnel. Apparently it remains in paper yet and not a single person has been appointed. It took a long time to get that proposal sanctioned in Cabinet. How long it will take to give effect to it, I do not know.

3. Will you please enquire into this matter immediately and let me know?

4. I am sending copies of this note to the Home Minister,<sup>174</sup> the Minister of Mines & Oil<sup>175</sup> and Prof. Thacker.<sup>176</sup>

### 181. To K.D. Malaviya: Raising Scientists' Salaries<sup>177</sup>

March 29, 1959

My dear Keshava,

I have seen your note to the Home Minister about the employment of trained technical persons. As for your suggestions, (a) has already been accepted, though the salary is lower than you suggest; (d) has also more or less been accepted. We have, a little while ago, raised somewhat salaries of scientists, including young ones. I think the present scale is not unreasonable. Any attempt to raise it now would affect some thousands of others we have already employed who are often better than those who offer themselves. Special cases may be especially considered, and provision is made for that. But it is impossible for us to compete with foreign salaries, and I think that would be a bad basis for future expansion. I agree with you that the system of selection etc. should be simplified, and delays avoided. The real difficulty is often in our giving effect to our decisions.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

174. Govind Ballabh Pant.

175. K.D. Malaviya.

176. Director General, CSIR.

177. Letter.

## IV. External Affairs

### (a) General

#### 182. To Asoka Mehta: Indo-Ceylon Study of Joint Problems<sup>1</sup>

March 2, 1959

My dear Asoka,

Your letter of February 21st with which you have sent me some papers from the Indian Council of World Affairs.<sup>2</sup>

I have an idea that this proposal<sup>3</sup> was made to us some little time ago directly, and the answer we sent was not in its favour.<sup>4</sup> It is always a very delicate matter to enquire into the relations between two countries, especially when there are elements of self-interest and passion in these relations. I do not rule out the possibility of some good being done, but, in the balance, there is probably some risk of harm being done. Any such enquiry should certainly not be done by the Indian Council alone.

I shall think more about this and consult some colleagues.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Letter to Asoka Mehta, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.
2. After talks with some Ceylon political leaders, S. L. Poplai of the ICWA had proposed to Asoka Mehta a joint Indo-Ceylonese study of common problems, adding that C. C. Desai and Y. D. Gundevia had approved.
3. Poplai's note recorded that in 1958 the Carnegie Endowment had suggested a study of the Indo-Ceylon dispute over persons of Indian origin in Ceylon. C. C. Desai, the former Indian High Commissioner to Ceylon, V. V. Giri, Asoka Mehta, and H. N. Kunzru had agreed. N. R. Pillai had discussed the matter with S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Dudley Senanaike, the former Prime Minister, Oliver Goonetilleke, the Governor General, who supported the idea. However, M. J. Desai advised caution. Poplai therefore suggested a study either by the Indian Council alone or jointly by India and Ceylon.
4. For Nehru's negative response to the suggestion from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on 11 March 1958, see SWJN/SS/41/p. 765.



### 183. East African Cultural Group<sup>5</sup>

I agree that this Short Notice Question should not be accepted as such.<sup>6</sup> It cannot be considered important or urgent. But Mr. Speaker should be supplied with the facts.<sup>7</sup> A copy of the letter that was sent on my behalf to Mr. Oduor should also be sent him.<sup>8</sup>

2. There was some demonstration in front of my house by African students this evening about this evening about this matter. They were quite and peaceful and only said that they wanted to indicate to the public their displeasure at this so-called Cultural Delegation coming to India and bringing discredit on Africans. They informed that in Bombay this troupe could not perform because of these demonstrations. Then they went to Baroda, where apparently they are now. There also there have been some demonstrations. Mr. Jeevaraj threatened to kill the demonstrating students. They realised that it was not the fault of the Government of India and perhaps in law we could not deport these people. Their object was to induce Indians not to see the performance if it took place.

3. I do not know if the Bombay Government saw the performance or gave us their opinion about it. Whatever the performance might be like, it is obvious that wherever it goes it will probably lead to some trouble. I think that

5. Note, 3 March 1959.

6. The question about the visiting East African Cultural Group, asked by H. N. Mukerjee, Renu Chakravarty and S. M. Banerjee, was answered by Lakshmi Menon, Union Deputy Minister of External Affairs, in the Lok Sabha on 16 March on the lines of Nehru's above note.

7. On 28 January 1959, R. F. Oduor, Assistant Secretary of the African Students' Association (India) had forwarded to Nehru the objections raised by their Bombay Branch to H. A. Jeevaraj about his bringing in touring artistes from Kenya on the ground that (i) no African had sponsored the tour; (ii) these were not representative Africans but a random collection assembled from Mombasa by Jeevaraj; (iii) they had no orientation or introduction to India; (iv) they were being exploited for their poverty and made to perform in India; and (v) given the above, the venture would degrade African people before the Indian public. The Association sought Nehru's intervention in the matter. The troupe arrived in Bombay on 19 January.

8. M. J. Desai informed Nehru on 2 February 1959 that inquiries revealed this to be a commercial, not cultural visit. Nehru noted on the same day that the Bombay Government should deal with it as such; that they should decide about action after seeing the performances; that the Central Government should be kept out of it; and that nothing derogatory to Africans should be exhibited. He also had a letter sent to R. F. Oduor to this effect by K. Ram on 2 February 1959.

the Chief Commissioner of Delhi might be informed of this so that he does not encourage them to come here.<sup>9</sup>

#### 184. To M. J. Desai: Indo-Ceylonese Study of Joint Problems<sup>10</sup>

I enclose a letter from Shri Asoka Mehta, M.P. and other papers. I sent a brief reply to Shri Asoka Mehta saying that I did not particularly like this proposal as it might lead to difficulties,<sup>11</sup> but I would give further thought to it and then write to him.

2. I have informally discussed it with some of my colleagues. They are also rather doubtful about the proposal, though they are not quite clear whether we should prevent it from materialising.

3. In any event, I would not like this to be undertaken by the Indian Council of World Affairs alone, and there is no counterpart of it in Ceylon. Perhaps, some Ceylonese of position might be attached to such an enquiry. The result is likely to be an expression of differing viewpoints by the two groups, which will not help.

4. Presumably, the Carnegie Endowment will finance this undertaking. Is this so?

5. The result of all this is that I am not happy at this proposal, but, since so many prominent Ceylonese have approved of it, I would rather not come in the way provided that some other matters are clarified. These are:

- (1) Will the Carnegie Endowment finance it?
- (2) Will it be a joint enquiry and, if so, how will this be constituted?
- (3) It should be clearly non-Governmental, and our Government or the Ceylon Government should not be connected with it.

6. I think that you might discuss this matter with Shri S. L. Poplai<sup>12</sup> further and then speak to me about it.

9. S. N. Basu, an Under-Secretary (Africa), noted on 5 March that the Chief Commissioner of Delhi could not prevent Jeevaraj and his troupe visiting Delhi, but he could disallow performances by them.

10. Note, 7 March 1959.

11. See item 182.

12. Worked at the ICWA; as its Secretary General, 1961-76.



### 185. In the Lok Sabha: MEA Grants<sup>13</sup>

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I just wish to draw attention to one or two factors in regard to these demands; I am not going into details. The first is that the External Affairs Ministry deals with some areas which, normally speaking, have nothing to do with external affairs and which involve quite a considerable sum. One of the demands is for the tribal areas, another for the Naga Hills Tuensang Area, another for the State of Pondicherry, etc. All these are normally internal matters, not foreign. But by some arrangement, they have come to External Affairs and they swell up the total sum included in these demands of External Affairs.

There are a number of items which are more or less fixed expenditure like our contribution to the United Nations Organisation—a considerable sum—and our contribution to UNEF—the United Nations Emergency Force between the Israel and Egyptian border.<sup>14</sup>

So, if you take out these fixed contributions and subsidies to the Governments of Bhutan, Sikkim and non-foreign service matters, the figure left is much smaller; the figure for ambassadorial, diplomatic and consular work will shrink greatly. It will be seen that in the budget estimates of next year, the figures are somewhat larger than the previous year's. For instance, for tribal areas, it goes up from Rs. 8,00,00,000 to Rs.8,70,00,000. In regard to Naga Hills, it does not go up at all; it comes down. The budget estimates were Rs. 3,64,00,000 and the revised estimates are Rs. 3,12,00,000. The present budget estimate is Rs. 3,55,00,000. Then, the budget estimate for external affairs proper for last year is Rs. 8,78,00,000 but this has gone up to Rs. 9,76,00,000. For Pondicherry, it is a little less than it was before. The increase this year over the last year's budget is Rs.1,62,00,000. Increased expenditure on economic development of tribal areas Rs. 42 lakhs; increase in the number of village guards in Naga Hills-Tuensang Area and provision of accommodation for the personnel of the air despatch platoon Rs. 20 lakhs; increase in the amount of contribution to U.N.O. due to payment of India's share for the maintenance of U.N.E.F. Rs. 74 lakhs; decision to recover income-tax from salaries earned abroad and to reimburse the same to the offices in the form of additional foreign allowance Rs. 4 lakhs. That is to say, a new rule has been framed that officers

13. Intervention during the budget debate on demands for grants for capital outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs, 16 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVII, cols 6429-6431.

14. The United Nations Emergency Force was established in 1956 after the Suez crisis.

abroad, who are free from income-tax on their salaries, have in future to pay that income-tax; but, at the same time, we did not want their total emoluments to go down. So, we carefully calculated and decided that they would pay their income-tax, but we give them that money in the shape of foreign allowance. That amounts to Rs. 4 lakhs. Then, increase in subsidies to Bhutan and Sikkim for development expenditure Rs. 11 lakhs; increase in developmental measures (payment of arrears to Defence estimates as cost of training to Air Force Personnel) Rs. 11 lakhs. These are the things to which I wished to draw attention.

So, certain fixed charges that we have to pay take away a great deal from the total amounts, and the actual foreign service work, I believe, will compare very favourably from the point of view of expenditure with any fair-sized country. I do not presume to say that we do everything in the most economic manner. It is always possible to introduce economy and this process is going on. But, by and large, the results achieved by us in the foreign field, I think, are considerable and are recognised as such, and the amount spent is far less than in most other countries.

### 186. In the Lok Sabha<sup>15</sup>

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, just before the House rose last evening, I ventured to point out that the debate had largely dealt with wider matters of policy and not so much with the organisation of the foreign Service or the Ministry of External Affairs, except for a few remarks made here and there. I shall, therefore, deal presently with some of these wider aspects which were referred to by hon. Members.

But, before that, I should just like to say a few words about our foreign service. I pointed out in my initial remarks in opening the debate that the demand under the head of External Affairs includes really many items which, normally, have nothing to do with External Affairs, also many items which are fixed, items which we cannot touch, the fixed items being large sums of money which we pay to the United Nations as our annual contribution, some subsidies which we pay to governments, neighbouring governments, and the other items being like the Tuensang Naga Hills Division, NEFA and the State of Pondicherry.<sup>16</sup>

15. Interventions during the budget debate on demands for grants for the Ministry of External Affairs, 17 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVII, cols 6670-6693.

16. See the preceding item.



These are really, to a large extent, in the domain of my colleague the Home Minister; but, for a variety of reasons it is decided to include them in the External Affairs Ministry. In fact, the sums include, I believe, considerable sums of money for the Assam Rifles, so that these sums swell up in this way. The actual sums spent on the external services of India—I have not got the exact figure, but I think it is—in the region of between Rs. 6 and 7 crores. While we should always try to economise and we continue to do so, I should like to point out that it compares very favourably with the expenditures of other countries—I am not talking of very big countries like the United States or the Soviet Union or the United Kingdom—of even other countries.

The work of the foreign office and the foreign services can be judged broadly by the way it serves the country's interests and the interests of the cause the country has at heart and abroad. Our publicity is criticised. Sometimes people make certain rather remarkable statements which are as far removed from the truth as anything can be. For instance the statements that we have no friend in the world and all countries are against us and so on and so forth, are perfectly remarkable and show an amazing capacity for not knowing what is happening in the world and what the world is thinking about India. I do not pretend—and I cannot pretend—to say that we do not make mistakes. We make mistakes so often enough. Our publicity, certainly is not ideal, and can be improved. Nevertheless, the basic fact remains that—whether it is publicity, whether it is some other work of our Ministry or of the Government of India—the basic fact remains that the name of India stands high in the world; and that is, after all, the test.

The bona fides of India stand high. The respect for India stands high because of its policy, because of what we have done. The criticism about our publicity, as I said, may be justified as all these criticisms are partly justified because improvement can take place. But the reaction of a country to another country's policy does not depend so much on the publicity that is done.

There are plenty of foreign newspaper correspondents in India reporting about India. They mould the opinion in their countries, probably, more than any official work that we may do. But the real thing is whether the policy we pursue fits in with the outlook and the mentality of the other country or not, if it does not, then, all the publicity that we may do will not help much.

What is happening in our case is that originally there was always a certain respect for India, I am glad to say, but a certain amount of resentment and a certain feeling in foreign countries that because we consider ourselves rather above the milling crowd and adopt a high and pious attitude of not being with this or that—we, really, under cover of that exploit the situation to our advantage, that it is not a high moral attitude but something much lower than that—and

that we took shelter under high moral phrases.

I do not wish to seek any shelter under high moral phrases. I am not a person who is at all conditioned to speak in high moral terms. But, what we have sought to do is to follow a policy which seems to us to be correct, both in regard to our own interests, short-range and long-range, but also which helps, somewhat, in serving the broad cause we have in the world, the cause of peace etc.

And, so what happened was this. Originally, there was this doubt that the way India functioned was somewhat different from the way other countries functioned not because we did not join these big military blocs—other countries also did not join military blocs—but because there was a slight but significant difference in our approach to problems or rather in the way we expressed ourselves in regard to problems, a difference which was no great virtue in us but which came to us because we had rather inherited it to some extent in the course of our national movement for freedom etc; how we even dealt with the British in India whom we were opposing, how we dealt with them courteously, politely and with the door open and all that, though we did not bend before them. All that was conditioned by ourselves not only on this side of the House but the hon. Members on every side of the House. And there was this basic difference which did not affect other people and people talking about neutrality. I do not like the word “neutrality” in this connection, but non-alignment and the like. There are many other countries in the world but the other countries did not fight all through with that experience. Therefore, it is because of this that people are taken aback when we talk about a purer than thou attitude. It is all wrong; it is not a question of purer than thou attitude or high morality.

We know our faults very well and we know the virtues of others, sometimes even those whom we criticise. But, gradually, in the course of years, people came to realise that we were not posing that we were not moralising but that we were following a certain policy. In all good faith and that policy while being one deliberately of friendship to other countries was yet one not only of non-alignment as such but something deeper than that, of doing something that we thought right, in the circumstances, of course.

I am perfectly prepared to admit that it is not easy for any government as for any individual to follow a 100 per cent policy of rightness because it is conditioned by factors, by other countries' policies. But, broadly speaking, we followed our policy even though it was displeasing to others. And, it is this realisation of other countries that we endeavour to the best of our ability to follow a policy, an independent policy without trying to displease others that has gradually brought in a certain respect for what we do; even though there is a difference of opinion.



There can be no doubt—and I try to submit, that with all humility—that India's voice and India herself is looked upon with very considerable respect in international assemblies, wherever you may go in the wide world and among great nations and small nations alike, although we have no military power which is supposed to be the principal reason why countries are respected, nor do we have any financial power. That is to say, we try to look at things through our own eyes, even though, sometimes, our eyes may be rather dim. We do not try to look through other people's eyes or minds or through coloured classes which affect our own sight and sometimes distort or colour the vision.

I should like this House to judge our activities from that point of view, certainly not refraining from criticism but always thinking of this basic thing, the basic approach, which is not even that of policy, although policy is important, but the basic approach of how to interpret a policy, how to approach the other countries and how to deal with any problem.

Hon. Members sometimes accuse, as indeed the hon. lady Member did yesterday, about our complacency in regard to the US-Pakistan Pact,<sup>17</sup> that we have toned down our opposition to these things and broadly hinted that this might be due to our desire to get American dollars for our development and not to say or do anything which might perhaps come in the way of that. Well, we have not been ashamed to get help from the United States, from the Soviet Union and we propose to get that help from any country which gives aid on fair terms and expressly on terms that has nothing to do with our policy. I am really grieved at this idea being put out that our policy is governed by the lure of dollars or whatever it may be. We are liable to error but one thing, I think, might be taken for granted. That is where the honour and interests of India are concerned, we are not going to give in whatever the consequences may be in terms of financial help, even other consequences.

In the old days when in the United Nations or elsewhere we adopted an attitude in support of some proposition, if that proposition was, let us say, supported also by the Soviet group, then it was suggested: "these people under cover of their non-alignment and the so-called neutrality are secretly assisting the Soviet Group." If we voted for the other group led by the United States then it was said: "There you are, in search of dollars; they are doing this in search of something else." People did not seem to realise that a country can act just on the merits of a question and not under pressures and fears. I do believe that in spite of our numerous problems and numerous difficulties. India is a country

17. Nehru is referring to Renu Chakravarty's criticism that the Indian response to American military aid to Pakistan was too mild.

today in the wide world which is least afraid of the other countries, whatever they may be. Certainly today the greatest and the biggest powers are the most afraid just like the man of property is afraid lest some thieves might steal it. So, the bigger the power, the bigger the interests it has to protect, the more the apprehension of somebody else overtopping that strength and creating difficulties. I do not know what will happen to us when India becomes much more prosperous, whether we would also, with prosperity, begin to be afraid. I hope not. It is an odd thing that fear has nothing to do with weakness; it comes with strength. It is almost an extraordinary proposition I am putting forward because then there is the antagonism of various strengths going against each other. However, the position is this, that our approach has all along been, apart from policies, not to condemn as far as possible, not to irritate as far as possible any country, not to say any word which comes in the way of a calm consideration of the problem, or which comes in the way of moving towards a peaceful settlement of any problem. I do not say that we have always been able to act up to this. We lose our tempers; we get angry. That may be so. But anyhow the attempt is to do this because in the world today the most painful thing is not the real difficulty of the problems—they are very difficult—but the manner of approach which is full of abuses and condemnation of the other party. How, there are plenty of things happening in the world today which, according to our Judgment, and probably the Judgment of this House, ought to be condemned. But surely it is not wise always to throw about your weight condemning people. There are plenty of things that are happening in India which can equally be condemned by others outside. It is a bad habit; it does not help you to reach the other person's mind. This habit of condemnation and vituperation simply closes the door to any possibility of real discussion. Ultimately, it may come of course. Especially, when the danger is so great, the danger of war, everybody knows what a war means today and one has to be particularly careful, persons in responsible position in Governments are not worthy of the job they do unless they can restrain their language and sometimes restrain their actions.

Today there are many problems. Yet from the world point of view the biggest problem, judged from the point of view of war or peace, is still the problem of Berlin in Germany.<sup>18</sup> I am not going into that and I have always avoided going into that because one cannot make oneself responsible for the big problems of the world. Naturally, because it is an important problem, we have given thought to it; we have discussed it with other people; we have in our own way made

18. The draft treaty, circulated by the Soviet Government on 10 January 1959 proposing demilitarisation of Berlin, was being discussed. See also item 1, p. 7.



some minor suggestions as to what should be done. But all those, even the suggestions that we have made are also not on what policies should be pursued but that any policy should be pursued with a measure of gentleness and not abuse. That, I submit, is a slightly distinctive feature of India, not from today but certainly from Buddha and Asoka's time and right down to Gandhi's time and it makes all the difference how you do a thing. If you do a right thing with abuse that right thing becomes a wrong thing and it does not lead to results while even a wrong thing may become a right thing if it is done gently and in a friendly way. Please judge our actions from that point of view and condemn us if we fail and lose our tempers and do not praise us for wielding the big stick or showing our fists to other countries and saying how brave we are. It is easy to show big fists from here to another country and for the other country to show the big fist. Nothing happens to the man who shows the big fist; he is quite safe there. But by that he creates an atmosphere which is bad at any time and more so in the world today.

I said about Berlin and Germany. It is a very big problem, a tremendous problem. On that depends the future war and peace—may be this very year, maybe six months or three months' time. What is the good of my sitting down and according to my thinking logically, condemning this person or that nation? Maybe everybody is wrong. Nobody can say that everybody is right; then everything would happen rightly. But here we sit on the verge of a precipice all the time and we get used to it because the thing is a continuing affair. But you never know when the world may topple over the abyss.

Therefore, when we have met the representatives of one side over this problem or the other and it has been our privilege to discuss with both, we have found, and I say so quite honestly, good valid arguments advanced by either party or both parties, both based essentially and ultimately on the fear of the other. It is fear that is the worst companion. We have agreed with them largely because we try to understand them. We do not abuse them or shut our minds to them. And we have ventured to suggest that the matter should be proceeded with by friendly consultations even though they might differ completely from each other. It is not for us to suggest that you should do this or that, you should give in or not give in. It is not for us to do so. It would be presumptuous on our part to do so. But all that we could suggest was that we should pursue the path of consultation and discussion as much as possible, because it is realised by every responsible and even irresponsible man in the world that war must be avoided.

I think that in spite of our unhappy utterances from time to time we are moving in that direction of consultation—"we" meaning not India, but those great countries—and attempts are being made to find some way out.

I am glad to learn, only this morning that President Eisenhower has accepted the idea of having a summit conference; that is to say, he has suggested, I believe, first of all, that a meeting of foreign ministers might take place and later a summit conference this summer—that is, in the next two or three months.<sup>19</sup> So I do think that the pressure of events and the general feeling among people in all countries is driving governments and the leaders of countries towards this approach of consultation. I do not know what the result would be when this take place, because it becomes so tied up with people's passions, prejudices and fears, and yet there is the other overwhelming fear of possibility of war. So, between the two fears some kind of a course is followed. Let us hope it will take them out of this dangerous zone.

Now, take another. In the last month or two, or more perhaps, the developments in the Middle-Eastern region have been unfortunate. Conflicts and again, recriminations are going on between the new Iraq Republic and the United Arab Republic.<sup>20</sup> These things have been unfortunate and most deplorable. I am not going into those things. I have my views but I do not want to express those views unless I can be helpful. What is the point in burdening myself like some superior person and airing my views on the world at large and say who is in the right and who is in the wrong? First of all, I do not think I am competent to do so, and even if I was competent to do so it would be the uttermost folly for me to endeavour to do so. It is my business as a Foreign Minister to win people, to win countries and leaders to our side, not to estrange them still further. I can say that I am distressed with the developments that are happening in the Middle East amongst our own friends.

Then, take Africa. Africa stands on a somewhat separate footing, or, rather, the countries which are not free, which are still under colonial domination, they do stand on a separate footing from other type of countries. We are committed by our history, by our thinking, for a generation past or more, by our policy, by our sentiments, everything, towards sympathising with the countries under colonial domination seeking for freedom. That, indeed, is supposed to be the policy of the United Nations. The United Nations has this in its Charter. But for us it is not only an intellectual exercise of policy, but there is an emotional

19. On 16 March, Eisenhower agreed to a summit meeting on Berlin and Germany; it was held at Camp David on 25-26 September 1959.
20. The UAR's press attack on Col. Kassem's regime ceased on 22 February but resumed on 9 March when Iraq accused the UAR of supporting the army mutiny in Mosul. On 22 March Nasser charged Kassem of being "an ally of Britain." In reply, the Iraqi media described Nasser as "a new Pharaoh seeking to build his unity on the skulls of millions", and of being a "cat-spaw of western imperialism."



feeling too about it; because having gone through the same mill we react constantly to same thing happening elsewhere.

In the last several years much has happened, in Africa which has been very painful, much has happened recently in Africa which has been full of hope and we have seen several countries of Africa gaining freedom and independent status.<sup>21</sup> And, we have congratulated the United Kingdom because of following a policy which has led to this progressive widening of the sphere of freedom in Africa — may be, we thought that the process should be faster; anyhow, it was in the right direction.

Now, of course, even so there was always that amazing survival in the realm of, well, policy and administration,—that is, the Union of South Africa—a survival, I say, from a remote past with all kinds of atavistic emotion and feeling which has no place today, and it can only lead to utmost disaster in Africa and elsewhere. We have come pretty near to that disaster, unless policies are changed, the policies of racial suppression and racial discrimination.

The House knows how in the United Nations, as matters come up again and again, the South African Union has ignored the advice and the resolutions of the United Nations.<sup>22</sup> The only good aspect of it is that progressively, in spite of all kinds of pressures, the countries in the United Nations, barring a very few, have come round to dissociating themselves in various ways from South African policy. I am sorry that when in spite of other associations some countries of the Commonwealth have voted at the United Nations against South African policies, I regret, the United Kingdom did not do so—I do not mean that they agree with that policy, but for some pressures and pulls they could not do so—because it would make a difference if the United Kingdom also functioned in accordance with its own declared policy in this matter as in others. Of course, when they did so they always said that they did not always vote on the merits of the question but for some other reason like the question of jurisdiction. However, the United Kingdom has followed a policy, broadly speaking, in the last two or three years which has resulted in the freedom of Ghana, which will result in the freedom of Nigeria, and there are movements afoot in the Eastern Africa also in that direction.

21. Recent ones were: Sudan (1955), Tunisia (1956), Morocco (1956), Ghana (1957), Guinea (1958).

22. On 8 December 1946, the United Nations General Assembly adopted resolution 44(I) that the treatment of Indians in South Africa should conform to the UN Charter. The General Assembly passed resolutions against apartheid again in 1955 and 1957.

Now, we have outburst in Nyasaland and, to some extent, in the entire Central African Federation.<sup>23</sup> Well, it need not be said by any of us here in this House that all our sympathies are with the people of Nyasaland in this matter, and I trust that in spite of the fact that the Africans there in their excitement have looted a number of Indian shops and done them considerable damage, in property I mean, nevertheless, I hope that the Indians there will always remember the policy that we have pursued and the advice that we have always given.<sup>24</sup> And that advice is that they must, if they live there, naturally, sympathise with the legitimate demands of the people. They must play friends with them and in fact they must only remain friends with them. We do not wish to impose our will on others; at this rather very difficult moment when the people of Nyasaland and other parts of the Central African Federation are facing a crisis, it is particularly necessary that Indians should not do anything which is against the interests of the feelings of the African people.

Every person who is at all watching the Development of the African situation will have seen that the whole continent is in a ferment. I have repeatedly said in this House and elsewhere that unless this matter is dealt with some foresight now we might have to face a most terrible catastrophe, a catastrophe not of a colonial war but racial war and the bitterness that comes out of long suppression suddenly finding an outlet and violence and then the suppression of violence. We are always near this kind of thing and unless great care is taken, we might overshoot the mark and that will be a terrible tragedy for Africa, just when the people were coming on the verge of freedom to have to face this conflict.

But I have no doubt that it is too late for any power to suppress these feelings that are passing through Africa. One bright spot recently has been the agreement about Cyprus.<sup>25</sup> Again, it is not for me to sit down and examine the agreement and say "Oh, this might be better, or worse." It is rather an odd agreement, I might say, but the point is that the people concerned have agreed to it and got out of that terrible mess in which they were and in which they had suffered so much.

23. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, also known as Central African Federation, comprising Southern Rhodesia, and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was established in August 1953.

24. See items 17 and 228.

25. On 19 February 1959 in London. See also SWJN/SS/46/p. 621.



In talking about Africa, I think the hon. lady Member spoke at some length about the Cameroons.<sup>26</sup> I shall just briefly say that the policy we have adopted in the Cameroons has been, according to our thinking, the policy that the people of the Cameroons want, the great majority of them want. And what is more, that is a policy which has been accepted by a very large majority in the United Nations, in fact including most of the Asia-African countries and others. I have a vague idea, though I speak with some diffidence—I do not quite remember—that at one stage or part of this voting, practically nobody was against; only some abstained. So, it is rather difficult for any country like us to go about throwing our weight in another country. On general principles, yes, but when the representatives of that country, a great majority of them—their neighbours and others—wants something done, for us to say. “No, you must not do it”, it is very difficult. Also, according to our thinking, if this psychological moment in the Cameroons had not been taken advantage of, there was a danger of its slipping away and the independence of the Cameroons would have been postponed and one does not know what might have happened. The whole argument has been about the plebiscite or something in the nature of a plebiscite before independence. Now, it is admitted that elections must take place and will take place before or after. It is admitted that there should be an open, free voting; that the people imprisoned, etc., should be released and no suppression. It is also admitted that although there have been no elections there has been a Commission which has gone over the Cameroons, eliciting public opinion, and it has reported in favour of that policy. It is suggested that we must reject all this, the present demand of the great majority of the Cameroon people and insist on election not realising that if we did that,—the election is going to take place and probably I imagine and I think it is better if it takes place in a free

26. Renu Chakravartty stated in the Lok Sabha on 16 March: “The hon. Prime Minister, on more than one occasion during the last few debates, has stated that the African personality is now rising.[...]Today we have read how people have been killed in Nyasaland, we have read of the people who have been killed within the jails of Kenya, and we also see how the entire African people, right from the south to the north and from east to west, are today crying for their freedom and fighting for their freedom. That is exactly what should be reflected in India’s stand in the Trusteeship Council, the fourth Committee of the United Nations and other platforms in which we are represented. The position which India has taken up on the Cameroons is disturbing. It is not only disturbing to the African people but to many of us.” She referred to the division between Asian and African nations in voting in the UN and said: “It was necessary that the Asian and the African peoples should at least vote together, remain together, fighting as they do against imperialist nations in the United Nations.”

country than before—that would be at the risk of endangering the coming of independence, because other countries are involved, France is involved, and other countries are involved. We cannot control them, and then we can later sit down and merely condemn other countries, saying, “Oh, you have done this thing and that, or miss an opportunity!”

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: I want to know whether this independence will be within the French union and whether it will be guided by the French Constitution, because we were worried because of the Algerian election.<sup>27</sup>

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It has nothing to do with the Algerian example. I cannot go into the details. It is going to be, as far as I know, full independence. It may have certain associations with France like the French language; let us say, like Ghana, as the English language; it may be some other thing, maybe some laws. But Algeria is completely different. As the House knows, there is a big conflict going on and all kinds of restrictions. But here, as far as I know, it is going to be as complete an independence as any of the African countries possess.

Some brief reference from various parts of the House has been made about Tibet. I have seldom referred to Tibet except in answer to some criticism. Again, it is rather embarrassing to discuss events happening in a neighbouring country about which we know something of course, but naturally what we know is limited. It is not easy to get a full picture, and something which by our expression of opinion might really make a difficult position more difficult,—criticism of this and that.

Right from the beginning, eight or nine years ago, when a kind of change came over the Tibetan scene by the Chinese Government exercising its authority there, and coming to an agreement with the leaders of Tibet including the Dalai Lama. Maybe it was that the agreement itself was under stress of circumstances, but there was an agreement. Even previous to that, we had always, not only our Government but the previous Governments in the world, you might say, recognised the suzerainty of China over Tibet. That had varied; when the Chinese Government was strong it exercised it and when weak it did not exercise it. That was for the last several hundred years. But so far as I know, no country had ever recognised the independence of Tibet. We certainly had not; and it was inevitable, therefore, for us to recognise the suzerainty—call it suzerainty, call it sovereignty—these things are fine distinctions and they depend on the power of the State how far it goes.

27. She spoke about the fate of the Algerian elections and “the bloody reprisals that have taken place there.”



Now, I think that agreement was a 17-point agreement which basically was an agreement for the autonomy of Tibet, for the maintenance of its religion, institutions, etc., under the broad umbrella of the Chinese State.<sup>28</sup> There have been difficulties and conflicts, sometimes on a small scale and sometimes on a somewhat bigger scale. They are continuing, and creating new situations. I do not know that it will help at all for me to go into the details—such details as we know at present—except to say that the situation is a difficult one. I do not mean to say that at present there is no large scale violence there—here and there, there has been— but it is a difficult situation. It is more a clash of wills than, at present, a clash of arms or a clash of physical bodies.

In this connection, I believe, some reference was made to a newspaper correspondent of the name of Patterson<sup>29</sup> who lives in Kalimpong or Darjeeling—I forget exactly where—and we had to issue a warning to him. That is a kind of thing which we hesitate to do. The House knows very well the kind of stuff that has so often been written about India, about our neighbours, from India to outside countries. By the kind of stuff I do not mean the opinions but the false sense expressed. Yet we have put up with them because we do firmly believe that it is better to put up with the wrong statements, even the mischievous statements, than to suppress the freedom of the press. But the only thing is that if only we were concerned, we might put up with a very great deal, as we have done, but where the activities of a certain individual may tend to worsen the situation then we have to consider it again. Now, Mr. Patterson sent a number of messages which were so full of exaggerations, no doubt honest messages, because possibly he believed them, but he accepted every hazard and rumour and put them in his message as a fact with the result that we were astounded to see some of the messages which are likely to create a great deal of misunderstanding. So, we had to tell him and we told him even then—send

28. See item 1.

29. George Neilson Patterson (b.1920); Scottish missionary; worked in Tibet, 1947-50; arrived in India in March 1959 to alert the Governments of India, UK and USA, and to seek help for the Khampas in their resistance; stayed in Kalimpong and Darjeeling, 1950-61; contributed, first as a stringer then as a special correspondent, to the *Statesman*, *Guardian*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Observer*, *New York Times*, *Spectator*, *China Quarterly*, *Readers Digest*, *New Republic*, *Nation*; returned to UK and was associated with BBC, Canadian, New Zealand and Australian Broadcasting Corporations, 1960-64; entered politics and set up with others the International Committee for the Study of Group Rights, now known as the Minority Rights Group; based in Hong Kong for reporting on Asian affairs for regional and international media, 1964-73; returned to London; worked on neuroelectric therapy (NET), a treatment developed by his wife for drug addiction; wrote his memoirs *Patterson of Tibet* (San Diego, USA: Promotion Publishing, 1998).

good, factual messages, we will not come in the way; this kind of sensational messages without any factual basis, only on bazaar basis, is not good.

I have referred to various matters, but the debate yesterday was largely concerned with one matter, and that was the United States Pact of mutual aid with Pakistan.<sup>30</sup> Almost every Member of the House, whatever side or party he belonged to, referred to it, and referred to it in one way, although the stress or emphasis was different, that is, referred to it with disapproval, with concern. That itself indicates the amount of concern and disapproval that that arrangement has elicited throughout the country.

The hon. lady Member thought we were trying to play down.<sup>31</sup> I do not know why she thought so. Because we have not used strong language, because we have not, according to her, condemned the United States of America? I started by saying that we do not think condemnation is the right approach. I do believe that the United States of America has the friendliest feelings for us, by and large. It may be that its policies, moved by other considerations, push it in other directions; that is a different matter; just as I do believe that the Soviet Union has the friendliest feelings for us. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that we can follow a policy, a policy which I say is a straightforward policy, which yet gets to us friendly feelings from great and small countries which are hostile and antagonistic to each other. And this is not due to any cleverness on our part or any sleight of hands or any wonderful feat of diplomacy. It is due basically, as I said right at the beginning, to that little touch a very little touch, I am sorry to say, but still a touch—of the Gandhian in us that still functions. Therefore, there can be no doubt that from the point of view of any pact these military alliance pacts we disapprove of them. We think they do not bring security; they bring insecurity.

You could not think of a more vivid example of this than the consequences of the Baghdad Pact in Western Asia during the last few years. Ever since that Pact has come it has been a symbol of disturbance, insecurity, disunity and trouble. It is patent. It does not matter what the other views may be, but this fact is patent. All those countries there have become disunited and troubled. SEATO has not become so obvious because SEATO has not functioned very much, though it has been on paper very much. Therefore, when I saw this it surprised me that in spite of this a certain policy of military pacts and alliances should be followed. That is a general consideration.

So far as this particular matter is concerned, this bilateral pact, naturally we have other considerations also, because it affects India. It affects India,

30. See items 203-206 and 209.

31. The reference is to Renu Chakravartty.



even though the United States Government does not want it to affect India. I believe, honestly. I believe, that they do not want it to affect India, for other reasons. But though they do not want it to affect India, it does affect India. It is a fact that it does affect India because in the nature of things such a development has to affect India, because of Indo-Pakistan relations, because of Pakistan being our neighbour country and not being in very good terms with us; apart from the nature of things, the declarations of the Pakistan leaders. They go on repeating this that they are going to use this against India. But apart from the actual use, the fact is that the type of mentality which we have had to face in Pakistan during well, ever since Partition practically, that type of mentality has come in the way of every peaceful settlement. And I would add rather emphatically that I do not think we are pure and guileless and blameless in these matters. We have committed errors, we have made mistakes, we have become angry. But, by and large, we have tried to settle disputes with them peacefully. We are interested in devoting ourselves to the development of our country and not getting entangled in border troubles and other troubles. Therefore, by and large, we have been conditioned by other factors which have not conditioned the leaders of Pakistan. But in spite of every effort which has been criticised by some hon. Members in this House or outside the House as some measure of appeasement with Pakistan or something like that, nevertheless we have followed that policy, and we have met rebuff after rebuff and naturally we are very unhappy about it.

Now, with all this background of this mentality which faces us in Pakistan, any help of the type given by the United States, military help tends, inevitably tends, whatever the belief or wishes of the United States might be, to increase the intransigence of the Pakistan Government. That is an automatic consequence and thereby it comes in the way of the solution of Indo-Pakistan problems. That is a fact, and we have said that repeatedly in mild, friendly but firm language; of course, because that is a statement of fact. I do believe that this is well appreciated, this aspect by many people in the United States of America, even the leaders. But they have got themselves into this tangle of alliances and they find it very difficult to get out of this tangle.

The Baghdad Pact failing, practically ceasing to function soon after the revolution of Iraq, assurances were given that something else will take its place and now it is this that has taken place. Now, I do not understand; the hon. lady Member said we have been quiet and we have not done this. I do not understand what we are supposed to do about this. Deliver fiery speeches in this House or in the market place or send aggressive notes to other countries? I hope, not. Firmness, there should always be. But, if we are at all true to what we have inherited, there should be friendliness, politeness and a certain faith in the other

people's bona fides. It is a little difficult, perhaps, to balance all these things. But, it has to be done, if you want to live in this complicated world and play a friendly role of bringing people together rather than separating them.

I need not refer to the border troubles because we have spoken about them on several occasions in this House. It is a part of that mentality of Pakistan that goes on leading to these border troubles. We have to face it, I entirely agree, by taking every step to protect our border and give security to our people. Here we live in this rather dangerous world with dangerous problems. But, I hope that, in spite of that, we shall not forget that approach to these questions, that calm, peaceful and pacific approach, that friendly approach, a friendly approach even to a deliberately hostile country to us, and that we shall avoid saying things which add to the already large fund of bitterness and ill-will in this world.

Before I finish, I should just like to say a few words that I intended to say at the beginning, about our Foreign Service. Something was said on this. It is always easy to criticise any service. I can myself criticise some things that happened in our Foreign Service. But, knowing many of them myself and their work, and also through other people who have known them from their reports, I can say that our Foreign Service, by and large, is a fine service and it can compare very favourably with any Foreign Service of any country in the world. It has been in existence now for, well, 10 years or so. It has gradually spread, becoming bigger and wider. It has had to face many difficult problems, many difficult situations all over the world and it is largely due to the activities of that Foreign Service as well as our own policies that this respect for India has grown in all the countries. An Ambassador of ours or a Minister of ours is frequently approached by other countries for advice just because he is considered to represent, in a little degree, what is said to be the wisdom of India.

It was stated by one hon. Member that there is discontent in the Foreign Service because they are not promoted rapidly enough—there may be something in it, not much—and also that non-Foreign Service men are imported into the Service either from public life or from other services.<sup>32</sup> Such persons are normally in service as Heads of Missions because other people are not brought in.

I should like to make it perfectly clear that I do not believe in the rules and orders of seniority in any service. Seniority cannot be ignored. But, this kind of automatic preferment because a person is senior, the sooner it is done away

32. Dinesh Singh, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Banda, UP, spoke on 16 March about discontent in the foreign service owing to limited promotion opportunities and the appointment of officers from other services; he also pointed mounting administrative expenditure in the Foreign Office.



with, the better. I am afraid, not having ever been in service of that type myself, I am totally unable to comprehend the service mind. I can understand, of course, security and all that. Let us take this. In the Army, if your Commander-in-Chief and your principal officers at the top automatically came to their posts by virtue of seniority you will have a dud army, I can tell you. It becomes essential that this rule of seniority should be tempered as soon as you reach a certain stage—in the lower stages it does not matter—by merit. At a little higher stage, it should be given up altogether, completely, 100 per cent, and only merit should prevail. I know, the difficulty of this is that when you talk about merit, merit may often have the cover of nepotism or nepotism may be covered by the so-called merit. True, that is so. We will avoid it. But, to talk about automatic preferment to higher posts in any service is only bringing that service down to the level of mediocrity. Obviously, the mediocre survives in a rule of seniority. Of course, all these matters have to be considered.

I think that in the Embassies, as the Heads of Missions, we should have, we shall continue to have, some public men, and we will. Some places may be very important; some places may be less important. We should balance these things. Sometimes, some senior men in other Services have been made Heads of Missions: not many; a few have been made.

Somebody referred to our Foreign Office Inspectors' reports and demanded why they should not be placed on the Table of the House. If I may respectfully say so, that was a most remarkable demand. The moment we did that, these reports would cease to have the slightest value in them.

Shri Mahanty:<sup>33</sup> Does it mean that all reports which are placed on the Table of the House have no merit?

Mr. Speaker: No, no. Is that the inference? That is a curious inference.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member's mind is too quick to catch facts. The moment you place confidential talks or reports and opinions of one member of the Service about another, senior member about others, the result will be, there will be no confidential talks, no confidential opinions expressed, but some bald statements, just bald reports. Of course, if there is some major misdemeanour, that would be noted. But, these reports have seldom major misdemeanours. They refer to all kinds of idiosyncrasies of the person concerned, his temperament, his virtues, his failings. These things are not even

33. Surendra Mahanty, Ganatantra Parishad, Lok Sabha MP from Dhenkanal, Orissa.

seen by every member, by all the people in my Ministry. I do not know—let us venture to say, if it is decided to appoint a Committee to inspect the lives of all our Members here and we wanted the reports to be placed on the Table of the House, it would be rather an embarrassing position. That, of course, has no meaning. In fact, so far as these inspection reports are concerned, I have a feeling that these inspections tended to become rather inquisitorial, petty things, petty matters and rather exasperating to some of our senior Ambassadors. We have now, in fact, lessened somewhat the inquisitorial nature of these inspections.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: What are the terms of reference of these inspection teams?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This is not an official committee of enquiry with terms of reference, but of course, they have to go into all kinds of things, naturally into the general accounts, what is spent, how much, the relations of the people with each other, with the public there, with the Government there, what is the amount of entertainment given, what is spent—so many odd things; and when our inspectors go about asking for a detailed account of, let us say, every meal provided in the last six months, it is difficult; the poor Ambassador has to spend all his time in keeping accounts of his meals, how many guests he has got, instead of doing his job. It is far better, after some enquiry, fixing a sum—spent so much on entertainment—then asking him an account for every meal, and how many courses he gave in every meal. An impossible situation. It was becoming that, and we stopped it, but the general inspections do good work, and do give us information. That will, of course, continue.

When we talk about the foreign service, the hon. Member who referred to his matter said that people were not so anxious, so keen, to go into the foreign service as they used to. That is partly true. I think that, although we cannot compare our terms with the big, rich countries, compared to other things in India, we pay them adequately. Even though it is adequate, sometimes it is enough,—it depends on the family, this, that and other of the Ambassador—sometimes it becomes very difficult for him to make both ends meet, in the lower grades especially.

Then again, the normal idea of an Embassy is sitting in a great city—London, Washington, Moscow, Paris—but out of the sixty-odd foreign missions that we have got, most of them are terribly dull places. Some of them are sitting in the middle of a desert almost, with no contacts or anything.

May I give you an example of a peculiarly difficult post, our post in Tibet—not in regard to the political situation, but just the physical difficulties of the place? And it requires a man, and even more so, a woman, of great courage to



endure that life there. Either the woman herself is the head of the mission, or is the wife, and the wife has to suffer more.

My recent visit to Bhutan—and I spent a day at Yatung—gave me some insight into these conditions of our missions in Tibet.<sup>34</sup> Of course, one thing has happened in Gyantse—the Yatung mission is fairly well. In Gyantse, about four years back a tremendous flood came and it swept away the whole of our mission with 50 or 60 persons.<sup>35</sup> That flood came because something broke down, some lake etc., some burst took place; it came overnight and 50 or 60 of our men died, and since then we have had no building there. Previously, there was a building. There has been talk of putting up a building, but things move slowly. In order to put up a building, one has to think of putting up some kind of protective work, so that the river might not overflow. Things, I am afraid, move slowly in India, but sometimes—sometimes I say, not always—things move even more slowly in China. We have got our plans, we have sent our engineers, but we cannot get the requisite permission to build this or that from the Chinese Government. They are considering it. And meanwhile, it is a very hard life for our people.

It is a terrible climate, I mean to say terribly cold, and if you have no proper houses, proper heating it can be an almost unbearable climate. It has an altitude of 11,000 feet, that itself is difficult enough. At that altitude, it is a terribly cold climate, huge, long, dark nights in the winter, no companionship, no social life; it really is a very hard life, and I am full of admiration for those people who work there, and even more so for their wives.

I am sorry I have taken up so much time. I beg to move these Demands be adopted.

## **187. To N. R. Pillai, S. Dutt, M. J. Desai: Talk with Dag Hammarskjöld<sup>36</sup>**

I had a long talk today with the Secretary-General of the UN, Mr. Hammarskjöld. He came for lunch and stayed on till 4 P.M.

2. We discussed a variety of subjects—the Indo-China States, and more specially, Laos and Cambodia, Thailand, the general situation in regard to Berlin and Germany, China and Tibet, the position in the Middle East, Iraq and the

34. For Nehru's Bhutan tour, 16 September - 2 October 1958, see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 305-332.

35. On 17 July 1954, Gyantse was flooded after heavy rains. See also SWJN/SS/44/p. 625.

36. Note, 18 March 1959. Copied to Defence Minister.

UAR, etc. We did not discuss at all the Kashmir or any other matter relating to India and Pakistan. No reference was made to these subjects.

3. He began by telling me of his visit to Indo-China, and said that it was important that this area should not become a region of great Power conflicts. In fact, these other Powers should stand off. I mentioned to him the fear of the Russians that Laos might be pushed into joining SEATO and might even have an American base. He said that there was absolutely no chance of either of these events happening as nothing could be more foolish for Laos and for Indo-China. He added that even in Thailand there was a body of opinion which did not approve of too much American influence there. He had been informed that for a variety of reasons Thailand had joined SEATO, but did not wish to go too far in that direction.

4. About the Berlin and German situation, he said that the chances of war had greatly diminished as nobody wanted it. There were brave gestures on each side, but they should not be taken too literally. He doubted if anyone really wanted a re-unification of the two Germanys. Certainly Western Germany did not want it. They were quite happy as they were and are afraid of new problems facing them in case East Germany joined them. In regard to Berlin, the Soviet, the Soviet Union was a stronger position and it was not clear how the Western Powers could prevent the Soviet Union from withdrawing and handing over some power to East Germany. At no time had Khrushchev said that he would not allow easy access to Berlin to the Western Powers. Probably there would be a Summit Conference in the Summer, but he could not say if this would produce any satisfactory results. The position now was different from what it was a year ago when there was much talk of a Summit Conference.

5. About China and Tibet, he asked me what the position was, and I replied briefly.

6. He said he was rather surprised and somewhat unhappy about recent developments between Iraq and UAR. There also the great Powers should stand off and allow matters to settle down.

7. He also spoke on Nepal and said that he was pleasantly surprised to find that the situation there was more or less calm and stable.

8. This is a brief note of a rather long talk.



(b) **Bilateral Relations**  
(i) **China and Tibet**

**188. In the Lok Sabha: Acquisition of Properties at Lhasa<sup>37</sup>**

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) Yes.<sup>38</sup>

(b) Negotiations are underway to lease a plot of land measuring 5,500 sq. ft. and acquire building thereon for the residence and office of our Consul General.

**189. To Subimal Dutt: Inaccurate Chinese Maps<sup>39</sup>**

I agree to your draft, but I would like to add a sentence right at the end. This might run as follows :-

“You will appreciate that the continuing publication of Chinese maps showing considerable parts of Indian and Bhutanese territory as if they were in China is not in accordance with long established usage as well as treaties, and is a matter of great concern to us.”<sup>40</sup>

2. If you agree with this, you can include it and have the letter sent to our Ambassador in Peking<sup>41</sup> for delivery.

3. You may also have a copy sent to the Chinese Ambassador here.<sup>42</sup>

4. The idea struck me that in view of developments in Tibet, perhaps this was not the right time to send this letter. But, on reconsideration, I think it is right for us to send it as soon as possible.

37. Reply to questions, 11 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVII, col. 5572.

38. Ila Palchoudhuri had asked (a) whether the GOI proposed to acquire certain properties at Lhasa; (b) if so, their details.

39. Note, 20 March 1959.

40. The last paragraph of Nehru's letter of 22 March 1959 to Chou En-lai began with this sentence. See item 190, p. 454, paragraph 8.

41. G Parthasarathi.

42. Pan Tzu-li.

190. To Chou En-lai: Indo-Tibetan Border<sup>43</sup>

New Delhi,  
22 March 1959

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd January which I have read with the care and attention which it deserves.<sup>44</sup>

2. I am grateful to you for the facilities which your Government accorded to our small delegation which visited China to study your water conservancy methods and programme. Two more delegations—one to study methods for improving agricultural yield<sup>45</sup> and the other to study your iron and steel programme—will shortly be reaching China.<sup>46</sup> I have no doubt that they will benefit from this opportunity of studying the remarkable progress which your country has achieved in these fields.

3. We were glad to receive Mr. Chang Han Fu in India and I do hope that his brief visit was enjoyable and enabled him to see something of our own efforts to develop our national resources.<sup>47</sup> I entirely agree with you that such exchange of visits on both sides can be of great help in resolving the somewhat similar problems which face our respective countries in their endeavour to quicken the rate of our economic progress.

4. On receipt of your letter I have again examined the basis of the determination of the frontier between India and the Tibet Region of China. It is true that this frontier has not been demarcated on the ground in all the sectors but I am somewhat surprised to know that this frontier was not accepted at any time by the Government of China. The traditional frontier, as you may be aware, follows the geographical principle of watershed on the crest of the High Himalayan Range, but apart from this, in most parts, it has the sanction of

43. Letter to the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of People's Republic of China. Reproduced from Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959*. White Paper (n.p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 55-57. Also available in JN Collection.

44. See Appendix 2.

45. A three-member delegation led by Mahavir Prasad, Irrigation Adviser, GOI, visited China from 18 January to 4 March 1959 to study irrigation techniques.

46. The delegation to study the Chinese iron and steel programme left for China on 17 March.

47. Vice-Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, arrived in New Delhi on 18 February.



specific international agreements between the then Governments of India and the Central Government of China. It may perhaps be useful if I draw your attention to some of these agreements:

- (i) Sikkim.—The boundary of Sikkim, a protectorate of India, with the Tibet Region of China was defined in the Anglo-Chinese Convention 1890 and jointly demarcated on the ground in 1895.
- (ii) The Ladakh Region of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.—A treaty of 1842 between Kashmir on the one hand and the Emperor of China and the Lama Guru of Lhasa on the other, mentions the India-China boundary in the Ladakh region. In 1847 the Chinese Government admitted that this boundary was sufficiently and distinctly fixed. The area now claimed by China has always been depicted as part of India on official maps, has been surveyed by Indian officials and even a Chinese map of 1893 shows it as Indian territory.
- (iii) The MacMahon Line.—As you are aware, the so called MacMahon Line runs eastwards from the eastern borders of Bhutan and defines the boundary of China on the one hand and India and Burma on the other. Contrary to what has been reported to you, this line was, in fact, drawn at a Tripartite Conference held at Simla in 1913-1914 between the Plenipotentiaries of the Governments of China, Tibet and India. At the time of acceptance of the delineation of this frontier, Lenchen Shatra, the Tibetan Plenipotentiary, in letters exchanged, stated explicitly that he had received orders from Lhasa to agree to the boundary as marked on the map appended to the Convention. The line was drawn after full discussion and was confused subsequently by a formal exchange of letters; and there is nothing to indicate that the Tibetan authorities were in any way dissatisfied with the agreed boundary. Moreover, although the Chinese Plenipotentiary at the Conference objected to the boundaries between Inner and Outer Tibet and between Tibet and China, there is no mention of any Chinese reservation in respect of the India-Tibet frontier either during the discussions or at the time of their initialing the Convention. This line has the incidental advantage of running along the crest of the High Himalayan Range which forms the natural dividing line between the Tibetan plateau in the north and the sub-montane region in the south. In our previous discussions and particularly during your visit to India in January 1957, we were gratified to note that you were prepared to accept this line as representing the frontier between China and India in this region and I hope that we shall reach an understanding on this basis.

5. Thus in these three different sectors covering much the larger part of our boundary with China, there is sufficient authority based on geography, tradition as well as treaties for the boundary as shown in our published maps. The remaining sector from the tri-junction of the Nepal, India and Tibet boundary upto Ladakh is also traditional and follows well defined geographical features. Here, too, the boundary runs along well-defined watersheds between the river systems in the south and the west on the one hand and north and east on the other. This delineation is confirmed by old revenue records and maps and by the exercise of Indian administrative authority up to the boundary line for decades.

6. As regards Barahoti (which you call Wu-Je), I agree with you that its rightful ownership should be settled by negotiation.<sup>48</sup> During the talks held last year, we provided extensive documentary proofs that this area has been under Indian jurisdiction and lies well within our frontiers. As-on-the-spot investigation could hardly throw any useful light until proofs to the contrary could be adduced. Nevertheless, we were agreeable to both sides agreeing not to send their civil and military officials to the area. Unfortunately, your delegation did not agree to our suggestion. I learn that a material change in the situation has since been effected by the dispatch of Chinese civil and military detachments, equipped with arms, to camp in the area, after our own civil party had withdrawn at the beginning of last winter. If the reports that we have received about an armed Chinese party camping and erecting permanent structures in Hoti during winter are correct, it would seem that unilateral action, not in accordance with custom, was being taken in assertion of your claim to the disputed area.

7. I do hope that a study of the foregoing paragraphs will convince you that not only is the delineation of our frontier, as published in our maps, based on natural and geographical features but that it also coincides with tradition and over a large part is confirmed by international agreements. I need hardly add that independent India would be the last country to make any encroachments beyond its well established frontiers. It was in the confidence that the general question of our common frontier was settled to the satisfaction of both sides that I declared publicly and in Parliament on several occasions that there is no room for doubt about our frontiers as shown in the published maps. We thought that our position was clearly understood and accepted by your Government.

48. Located in UP, on the border with Tibet, Bara Hoti was mentioned as one of the Indian posts for trade with Tibet in the Sino-Indian Agreement on Trade between India and Tibet Region of China of 1954. The Chinese troops intruded into the area in 1955 in violation of the 1954 agreement.



However, as unfortunately there is some difference of views between our two Governments in regard to the delineation of the frontier at some places, I agree that the position as it was before the recent disputes arose should be respected by both sides and that neither side should try to take unilateral action in exercise of what it conceives to be its right. Further, if any possession has been secured recently, the position should be rectified.

8. You will appreciate that the continuing publication of Chinese maps showing considerable parts of Indian and Bhutanese territory as if they were in China is not in accordance with long established usage as well as treaties and is a matter of great concern to us. As I said in my previous letter, we greatly value our friendship with China.<sup>49</sup> Our two countries evolved the principles of Panch Sheel which has now found widespread acceptance among the other countries in the world. It would be most unfortunate if these frontier questions should now affect the friendly relations existing between our countries. I hope therefore that an early understanding in this matter will be reached.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

49. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 702-706.

### 191. In the Lok Sabha: The Situation in Tibet<sup>50</sup>

Mr. Speaker: I have received notice of an adjournment motion relating to: "Disturbances in Tibet culminating in open fighting between the Chinese forces and the local population in Lhasa near Potala and our Consulate General in that city."

## "ABOMINABLE SNOWMAN"



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 25 MARCH 1959)

Some time ago, a Call Attention notice was tabled and I see from today's Order Paper that the hon. Prime Minister has agreed to make a statement on this very subject. I may now request him to make his statement so that we can dispose of both together.

Shri Vajpayee: Adjournment motion relates to a discussion. What the Prime Minister will make is a statement.

50 . Statement, 23 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVIII, cols 7705-7709.



Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members are fully aware that the moment an adjournment motion is tabled, I do not accept or reject it. I would like to hear from Government what exactly they have to say and then make up my mind. If I do give consent, I will allow an opportunity for discussion.

Shri Tyagi:<sup>51</sup> On a point of order. I would like to seek not only your guidance but also ruling with regard to the type of adjournment motions that may be admissible. Are disturbances in a foreign country a relevant subject for an adjournment motion in this House? I want that to be made clear for future guidance.

Mr. Speaker: I will take that into consideration in deciding it. The hon. Member has stated his point. I have not yet decided. I am only hearing.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): May I say that the statement I am making now has nothing to do with any proposal for an adjournment motion?

Mr. Speaker: I only want to know the facts.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I really wanted to make it clear that I was going to make it regardless of any proposal for an adjournment motion or any other motion.

Mr. Speaker: Both have synchronised. That was why I said it.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Recent reports about happenings in the Tibet region of China have naturally aroused a great deal of interest in the country. The sequence of events is not quite clear to us. But I should like to make a brief statement on the principal facts in so far as we know them. Last week, on the 17th March, in the course of the discussion on the Demands for the Ministry of External Affairs, I referred briefly to the tense situation there. I mentioned that there had been a clash of wills, although no major violence had occurred recently.<sup>52</sup>

We have since received fuller information from our Consul General in Lhasa.<sup>53</sup> It appears that various rumours in regard to the Dalai Lama caused excitement in Lhasa. About two weeks ago, a large crowd of Tibetans entered

51. Mahavir Tyagi, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dehradun, UP.

52. See item 186.

53. S.L. Chibber.

the premises of the Indian Consulate General. They spoke to our Consul General about the rumours and their apprehensions. Three days later, a large number of Tibetan women came to our Consulate General and requested our Consul General to accompany them to the Chinese Foreign Bureau and be a witness to their presenting certain demands.<sup>54</sup> The Consul General told them that this was not proper and that he could not accompany them or associate himself with any demonstration. The Consul General brought these incidents to the notice of the Chinese Foreign Bureau at Lhasa. He had rightly decided not to interfere in these internal affairs.

On the 20th March, fighting suddenly broke out between the Chinese troops and Tibetan elements. There was firing in the vicinity of our Consulate General and some stray bullets hit our building. For some time it was not possible for the Consul General to go out of the premises. All our staff and their families are safe and no significant damage to property has been reported. Apparently, the situation in Lhasa has somewhat quietened down.

There are about 30 members of our staff in the Consulate General at Lhasa. Together with their families, the number is about 100. There are also 16 other nationals in the Lhasa region—that is, Indian nationals—about whom we have no full information at present.

As soon as the fighting broke out in Lhasa, we requested the Chinese Government through our Ambassador in Peking and the Chinese Ambassador here to ensure the fullest protection to our personnel and properties in Lhasa, and they promised to do so. On the 21st March, a representative of the Chinese Foreign Bureau in Lhasa called on our Consul General and suggested to him that for the better protection of himself and his staff, they should move into the Foreign Bureau.<sup>55</sup> We have instructed our Consul General to inform the Foreign Bureau that it will not be right or proper for our Consul General to leave the premises. A large number of Indian nationals are involved, including the families of our personnel, and there are valuable properties and records within our premises. In accordance with international law and usage, our Consul General and his staff and our records and properties are entitled to the fullest protection and we have no doubt that the Chinese Government will see the reasonableness of our request.

This outbreak of violence in Lhasa itself is a new development. Previously there had been conflicts in various parts of Southern Tibet between the Khampas and the Chinese forces. But the Lhasa region had remained quiet.

54. See item 1.

55. See Appendix 19.



The House will appreciate that this is a difficult and delicate situation and we should avoid doing anything which will worsen it. We have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of China with whom we have friendly relations. In 1954 the Sino-Indian Agreement was concluded. It was in this that, for the first time, the principle of Panch Sheel was stated. (An hon. Member: And flouted!).

There is a long tradition of cultural and religious ties between India and the Tibet region of China. In this region like many places of pilgrimage which are considered holy by both Hindus and Buddhists and large numbers of our people visit them every year. The Dalai Lama, whom we had the honour and pleasure of receiving in our country in 1956-57,<sup>56</sup> is held in high veneration by our people and we hope he is safe. We earnestly trust that the present troubles will be resolved peacefully.

Our Consul General at Lhasa and his staff are in a difficult situation for reasons beyond their control. I have no doubt that the House will wish me to send our best wishes on this occasion to him and to our other representatives in the Tibet region.

Mr. Speaker: In view of this elaborate statement, I do not give my consent to the moving of this motion for adjournment.

Shri Vajpayee: On a point of information, Sir, May I know from the hon. Prime Minister the position of the Dalai Lama, whether he is safe?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am afraid I have no correct information as to where he is. But, I certainly hope he is safe.

Shri M.R. Masani:<sup>57</sup> Mr. Speaker, Sir, while bowing to your decision about the adjournment motion which I respectfully think is perfectly correct, may I say that the widespread concern rather than the interest which these developments have elicited in the country would be served if expression was given to these feelings by a discussion in this House. I wonder if the Prime Minister would agree to this House having an early opportunity to discuss these developments and their implications in regard to our frontiers and other implications that would follow.

56. Dalai Lama visited India to participate in the 2500th Buddha Jayanti, held from 26 to 30 November 1956. See SWJN/SS/35/pp. 520-522, 617-624.

57. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Ranchi-East, Bihar.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is novel, perhaps, Sir, for this House to discuss events in another country. Sometimes, of course, they may have some bearing and reference is made in the Foreign Affairs Debate. But, a general discussion over events which are happening in another country would be a bad precedent which may have far-reaching consequences.

## 192. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: The Situation in Tibet<sup>58</sup>

Your telegram 0729 of March 25. Not much news about the situation in Lhasa has been received from our Consulate General since my last statement in Parliament. Our Consulate General is now guarded by a Chinese military detachment and apparently the Consul General is now isolated in his premises. We are finding out whether any restriction has been imposed on his movement. Meantime from such information as has reached him Consul General reports that important buildings in Lhasa including some monasteries have received considerable damage as a result of Chinese firing and shelling. Dalai Lama's palace Potala and his summer residence Norbulingka are also reported to have sustained more or less serious damage. Tibetan local Government has ceased functioning and the Chinese Military Commission has taken control in the Lhasa area. We have no information about the situation in the rest of Tibet. Dalai Lama left Lhasa three days before the troubles broke out. His present whereabouts are not known. Both the Tibetans and Chinese agree that the 17-point agreement of 1951 has broken down. Future is uncertain but I fear that the Tibetans are in for a period of severe treatment from the Chinese.

2. There is considerable concern in India about the situation in Tibet in general and sympathy for the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans. We are faced with a difficult situation. It would clearly not be wise for us to do or say things which would make the position of the Tibetans still more difficult. We have not made any approach to the Chinese Government. They have told Parthasarathi in Peking that the present troubles are due to instigation by the Americans and Chiang Kai-shek. It is difficult for us to say what truth there is in this allegation.

58. Telegram, 26 March 1959.



### 193. To N.R. Pillai: Nuclear Tests, Tibet and Other Matters<sup>59</sup>

I am sending you a letter from the UK High Commissioner and a personal message from Mr Macmillan to me. I should like to send a reply to this to Mr Macmillan, preferably tomorrow. Could you kindly draft a reply?<sup>60</sup>

2. The reply should deal briefly with the main contents of the message and express our appreciation of the fact that events are gradually being shaped so that they might yield satisfactory results. In particular, it should express my appreciation of Mr Macmillan's efforts in this direction. I entirely agree with him that our thinking and approach should be flexible and every avenue should be explored. I think you might mention that personally I have long been of opinion that the establishment of an area of disengagement would produce a very considerable lessening of tension and would help towards finding agreements. Further that we earnestly hope that nuclear tests will be suspended indefinitely both because that is good in itself and because this also helps in creating an atmosphere conducive to settlements.

3. We shall have to say something in reply about the position of Tibet. Today I sent a telegram to our High Commissioner in London.<sup>61</sup> That was for her own information. A briefer reference to Tibet would have to be included in my reply to Mr Macmillan. FS will kindly draft this.

4. The personal message from Mr. Macmillan to me might be shown to the Defence Minister.

### 194. To Subimal Dutt: Tibetan Questions<sup>62</sup>

Shri Kushak Bakula came to see me today. He spoke to me about the proposed Tibetan College at Leh. I believe that Shri Datar Singh<sup>63</sup> has written to us about this matter and we have given some encouragement. I do not quite know if we are dealing with this or the Education Ministry.

59. Note, 26 March 1959.

60. See item 217.

61. See the preceding item.

62. Note, 29 March 1959.

63. Development adviser for Kashmir, GOI, 1955-59.

2. Shri Kushak Bakula wanted to get a large library of textbooks etc. from Lhasa as well as teachers. I pointed out to him that this was hardly a feasible proposition at present. But I think we might look into this business of starting some kind of a Tibetan College at Leh.

3. Shri Bakula also spoke to me about some land being given to him to build a kind of a hostel and temple for Tibetans in Delhi City. I have asked him to send a scheme for it. Meanwhile, the W. H. & S. Ministry has reserved a small plot of land, somewhat less than an acre, for this purpose.<sup>64</sup>

4. He also mentioned to me about some Buddha relics which are said to be in Hyderabad and which he would like to take to Leh. I know nothing about this.

5. He said he would like to go to Lhasa this year. I pointed out that in view of developments in Tibet, this was not a feasible proposition in the foreseeable future.

6. He referred to the road being built from Kargil to Leh. This has taken a mighty long time. It appears that the engineers in charge of it have been suspended and a Commission is enquiring into their alleged misdeeds. Hence, the road-building has been held up. I think it is important that this should continue.<sup>65</sup>

7. Shri Bakula also referred to a proposal once made for a road from the Kulu Valley to Leh. This has been investigated on several occasions. It would be a difficult and very expensive road, and it would probably be entirely closed for traffic for six or seven months in a year.

## 195. To Apa B. Pant: Sikkim and Tibet<sup>66</sup>

March 30, 1959

My dear Apa,

I have received today your letter of the 26th March with which you have sent me a letter from the Maharaja of Sikkim dated March 24. I shall reply to the Maharaja's letter somewhat later. Meanwhile, will you please convey to him my thanks for his letter and tell him that I appreciate fully his sentiments in regard to the developments in Tibet? We are all deeply grieved at what has

64. Nehru had written to K. C. Reddy about it on 28 January 1959. See SWJN/SS/46/p. 323.

65. The road from Srinagar to Kargil had been completed in 1948; the Kargil-Leh road could only be opened on 1 August 1960.

66. Letter.



happened and is happening, and we should like to do what we can to stop this tragedy.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 196. In the Lok Sabha: Refugees from Tibet <sup>67</sup>

Question:<sup>68</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to a news report in *The Statesman* (Delhi) of March 21 which states:-  
“The Government of India’s present anxiety concerns the movement of refugees towards the long and rambling frontiers. India has taken steps to strengthen the check-posts and the orders are that no refugees should be allowed to cross over.”
- (b) if so, whether the report is correct; and
- (c) if not, what is the policy Government propose to follow in the matter of giving effect to international law and practice of giving asylum to political refugees entering the country from Tibet?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):  
(a) Yes. (b) and (c). The general instructions issued by the Government of India some time ago were that any persons endeavouring to cross our frontier should be stopped at our check post and should not be allowed to cross over unless they have the necessary travel papers. The existing strength of our check posts on the borders is sufficient for dealing with normal movements between India and Tibet. There has thus far not been any substantial increase in the movement of persons from the Tibet region into India. If necessity arises the strength of our check posts will be increased.

2. The general position under International Law is that a State is free to admit or not to admit a foreigner into its territory. This applies to giving asylum also. It is thus a matter entirely in the discretion of the Government concerned. It is the sovereign right of the State to give asylum when it chooses but no

67. Reply to short notice questions, 30 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol XXVIII, cols 8461-8468.

68. By Congress MPs Shree Narayan Das, A. M. Tariq, Nek Ram Negi; PSP MPs, Asoka Mehta, N. G. Goray; Independent MPs M. R. Masani, Naushir Bharucha; and Nominated M.P. Frank Anthony.

individual can insist on obtaining such asylum. Individual cases have to be considered on merits whenever occasion for this arises.<sup>69</sup>

Shri M.R. Masani: Does not the Prime Minister appreciate that since the Chinese authorities have given instructions to their soldiers to shoot at sight any groups or individual Tibetans who may be crossing the frontier into India and carrying out those instructions would mean in fact co-operating in their butchery?

Mr. Speaker: What is the hon. Member asking?

An hon. Member: Speech-making.

Mr. Speaker: What is his question?

Shri M.R. Masani: Is the Prime Minister aware that Austria, which enjoys a neutral status and had diplomatic relations with Hungary in 1956, threw its frontiers wide open to receive thousands of Hungarian refugees and why cannot this country follow the same brave policy?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Primarily because this is not Austria or Hungary, and secondly, because the question has not arisen. As I have said, we have not had any large numbers, or even small numbers, of people, apart from the normal traffic. The question has not arisen; it is a hypothetical question. Whenever any question arises, it will have to be considered in the context of events and conditions there. It is obviously impossible for me to give an answer to a question which has not arisen.

Shri M.R. Masani: If a group of...

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member will kindly read Rule 41. Matters involving high policy cannot be asked in a question.

Shri M.R. Masani: Would you allow me to elucidate the answer given by the Prime Minister?

69. See Appendix 14.



Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is going on giving suggestions. He is not eliciting information.

Shri M.R. Masani: I am eliciting information.

Mr. Speaker: What is it?

Shri M.R. Masani: Will the Prime Minister explain what would happen if a party of 25 or 30 Tibetans who are followed in hot pursuit by Chinese forces come to the frontier? Will their lives be protected or will they be allowed to be butchered?

Mr. Speaker: I think the hon. Member is also a barrister. This is irrelevant according to all standards. Hypothetical questions cannot be asked.

Shri Frank Anthony:<sup>70</sup> The Prime Minister has said that it is always within the discretion of a sovereign power to admit to asylum to those who may seek it. We have a specific context and that is, presumably the Chinese Government have given an order to their soldiers to shoot any Tibetan seeking entry into India. In that context, I want to ask the Prime Minister how he proposes to give asylum to a Tibetan, because he has said each will have to be considered on merits, and the Chinese soldiers have been told to shoot them at sight.

Mr. Speaker: If they are shot at sight, how can they enter India?

Shri Frank Anthony: There need not be any deliberate mis-assumption of my question. When they will be seeking presumably asylum on a large scale, the Chinese soldiers being ordered to shoot them at sight, I want to know how we are going to admit them and consider each case on merit?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: You have been pleased to answer that question, Sir. All these are hypothetical approaches. There has not been any slightest, vaguest approach to us of this kind or any facts indicating that such an approach, such a thing, might happen. How can I answer that? Secondly, if I may say so, I do not know, because there are so many rumours and statements. If people are shot at sight, surely the hon. Member does not imagine this kind of thing happening on the border. People sitting on the border and waiting for people to

70. Nominated Member of the Lok Sabha.

approach the border. This kind of thing does not happen; if they are sitting on the border, nobody will go to that border. They will go to some other border or they will be shot down before. This kind of thing does not happen—people being pursued and so on.

Shri Jaipal Singh: May I raise a point of order? I seek your guidance. Since I have not given you notice in regard to it—whether it is a question of privilege or not—I am raising it as a point of order. I want to know how it is that the Chinese Embassy here have issued officially....

Mr. Speaker: We have got some adjournment motions. The hon. Member can wait and see.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I have not finished the question. It is a point of order.

Mr. Speaker: It does not arise out of this. The point of order must arise out of the question. It does not arise out of this question—what the Chinese Embassy has done here. The hon. Member will kindly wait and see. There are some adjournment motions relating to that subject.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: May I know whether the Government have addressed any communication to the Peking authorities conveying the Government's reaction to the military occupation of Tibet?

Mr. Speaker: How does it arise out of this?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir; the military occupation of Tibet has been in existence for the last few years.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:<sup>71</sup> If the Dalai Lama approaches the border, shall he be allowed political asylum here in India, because it is given in the Press that if the Dalai Lama crosses the border, he will not be shot at, but others who cross the border from Tibet will be shot at. So, if the Dalai Lama crosses the border, shall he be given asylum here?

Mr. Speaker: I am really unable to understand this question. Is the newspaper correspondent the Prime Minister of India? Here the hon. Prime Minister has repeatedly said no such question has arisen. If any, when those persons come in, certainly he will consider, not in groups, but each individual case

71. SP, Lok Sabha MP from Firozabad, UP.



on merits. Why should he unnecessarily embarrass and put a question as to what will happen if the Dalai Lama comes in?

प्रो अ. मु. तारिक:<sup>72</sup> मैं इज्जत माव वज़ीरे आज़म से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि ल्हासा में लद्दाख के तक़रीबन साठ के करीब तालिबे-इल्म मौजूद हैं, इसके अलावा वहाँ चार बहुत बड़े कुशक हैं, उनके वापस आने के लिए और उनकी सलामती के लिए हुकूमत ने क्या इन्तज़ामात किये हैं?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : हमें तो मालूम नहीं था कि लद्दाख के वहाँ लामा या और लोग कितने ल्हासा में थे या उस के इर्द-गिर्द थे, क्योंकि हमारे पास कोई फ़ेहरिस्त नहीं है। दो रोज़ हुए हमसे यह पूछा गया, हमें कहा गया कि दरियाफ़्त करें इसके बारे में। चुनांचे फ़ौरन हमने दरियाफ़्त करने की कोशिश की है ल्हासा से उनकी ख़ैरियत के बारे में। बात यह है कि यूँ तो जो वहाँ हिन्दुस्तान के नैशनल जाते हैं, उनकी फ़ेहरिस्त हमारे पास रहती है। उसकी कोई फ़ेहरिस्त नहीं है और न उनके नाम हमारे पास रहते हैं। लेकिन हम दरियाफ़्त कर रहे हैं।

[Translation begins:

Prof A.M. Tariq: I would like to know from the Honourable Prime Minister whether the Government has made any arrangements for the safety and return of the approximately sixty students and four very senior Kushaks there from Ladakh in Lhasa.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : We had no knowledge how many lamas or other people from Ladakh were present in Lhasa or thereabouts, because we had no list. Two days ago we were asked, we were told to enquire about this. So, we immediately tried to find out about their welfare from Lhasa. The thing is that normally we have a list of the Indian nationals who go there; there is no list of these and neither we have their names. But we are conducting an enquiry.

Translation ends]

Mr. Speaker: Shri Goray.<sup>73</sup>

Shri B.C. Kamble:<sup>74</sup> May I know whether it is a fact that the Chinese....

Mr. Speaker: I have called Shri Goray.

72. A.M. Tariq, Congress MP from Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir.

73. N.G. Goray, PSP, Lok Sabha Member from Poona, Bombay State.

74. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Kopargam-SC, Bombay State.

Shri Goray: The Prime Minister said just now about the refugees, that the policy of the Government will be decided upon when the need arises. I would like to say that when the need arises it may be rather too late to decide the policy. You cannot start digging a well when you are thirsty. I am saying that the policy should be decided upon just now.

Mr. Speaker: He has said so. He has already said about the policy in the House.

Shri Goray: I think it is very inadequate, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: That is all right. That is not under discussion now.

Shri B.C. Kamble: Is it a fact that the Chinese authorities have issued orders to shoot? Then, will the Union Government exercise discretion in favour of admitting the refugees in India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is very extraordinary. The Chinese order to shoot, if they issued such an order, has no relation to this question of our admitting people or not admitting people. Nothing has happened on the borders of India. It is in the interior of Tibet that this is happening. And, certainly it is not a question of our not having a policy. We have got a very clear policy. But the implementation of that policy depends upon the circumstances. All our check-posts have been informed of the broad policies that should be pursued in these matters. Obviously, I cannot be expected to say that when a large crowd comes suddenly. I should admit it—or if half the population comes. How can I commit the Government of India to any such thing?

Shri M.R. Masani: Why not?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Because, we will not admit them. I should be quite clear about it, because no country can possibly say, if you take the past history of thousands of years we will admit everyone.

Shri M.R. Masani: Austria admitted thousands of people.

Shri Raghunath Singh:<sup>75</sup> But we are not Austrians.

75. Congress Lok Sabha MP from Varanasi, UP.



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Shri Masani's information on the subject is no doubt very intimate. I cannot challenge that. But I do say that no country can give a guarantee, or should give a guarantee, that "We will admit every person who wants to cross the border."

Shri Tyagi: On a point of order. It has been conventional in all Parliaments everywhere practically that the Ministers in charge of Foreign Affairs and Defence have been enjoying the privilege of keeping away information on matters pertaining to high diplomatic policy for the safety of the nation itself. Shall we not observe that convention here in this Parliament on matters which pertain to our future relationship, that the Ministers concerned may enjoy the privilege of keeping the information from the House?

Mr. Speaker: I am not able to understand the point of order.

Raja Mahendra Pratap:<sup>76</sup> I just want to ask one very important question.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I will be forced to take disciplinary action against him.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: Only against me and not against others?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. There must be a limit to this. Does the hon. Member, Shri Tyagi, mean to say that the hon. Prime Minister need not have said all that he has said?

Shri Tyagi: I would like to suggest that the hon. Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs and the one in charge of Defence Affairs may have the privilege of keeping information from the House if the situation so requires.

Mr. Speaker: I have received notice of some adjournment motions.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: We have still to ask some questions. I would like to know whether the Prime Minister has communicated [sic] his reactions regarding the latest developments in Tibet to the Chinese authorities, any type of reactions?

76. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Mathura, UP.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, if he is referring to the statements which were issued yesterday.

Mr. Speaker: I will come to them. There are some adjournment motions on the subject.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: Just one point. I have been abroad for 31 years and I have been often a refugee in a way. The British Government wanted to capture me in Afghanistan. The Afghanistan Government boldly said "we cannot give him up." And when I was in Peking, the British Government had extra-territorial rights in China and the British Government wanted to capture me. The French Legation told me: we would inform you if the British take any action against you. So, I was protected all the time in all the countries of the world, non-British countries. Under these circumstances, I can beg of you, that you kindly give asylum to every Tibetan who comes here. There is no harm in it.

Mr. Speaker: I have received notice of adjournment motions.....

Shri Naushir Bharucha: I request you to permit us to put some more questions.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order, they will not be answered now.

### 197. In the Lok Sabha: Tibet<sup>77</sup>

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I take it that I should say something about these adjournment motions.

Mr. Speaker: Yes. I gave an opportunity to all those hon. Members who sponsored the adjournment motion.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If you will permit me in dealing with these adjournment motions I may perhaps go slightly beyond the range of some of the questions put. I do wish....

77. Statement, 30 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVIII, cols 8514-8526.



Mr. Speaker: It is clear that there is no question of censure involved in this. All hon. Members are anxious to know as to what exactly is the matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: These adjournment motions as adjournment motions, if I may say so, can hardly arise. But so far as I am concerned, I do not wish to take shelter under any technical plea for not giving any information that I think ought to be given. Indeed, subject to certain very broad considerations to which Shri Tyagi referred,<sup>78</sup> I wish to place all the information that we get before the House, as it comes in, and I propose to do so in the future too. It is not necessary for hon. Members to demand a statement from me, but I shall do so whenever any important piece of information comes. I shall place it before the House.

At the present moment we have a mass of statements in the Press, rumours, allegations, statements of the Chinese Government,<sup>79</sup> from which it is a little difficult to sort out exactly the truth of what is happening. We have one thing on which you can certainly say that there it is. There are Press communiqués issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China. I do not understand why hon. Members bring in the news agency in this matter. It is a Government communiqué and the news agency did a completely right thing in placing the official communiqué before us and before the public.<sup>80</sup> You may not like the wording of the communiqué or the content of it. That is a different matter. But it is the duty of a news agency to deal with such an important matter— not to suppress it but to place it before the public.

78. See the preceding item.

79. Of these, the most important was Chou En-lai's statement of 28 March which was widely reported in the press.

80. The official communiqué of the Chinese Government, issued by the New China News Agency, on 28 March 1959: (i) said that the revolt had been suppressed after three days of fighting and that 4000 rebel troops had been taken prisoner; (ii) referred to the Dalai Lama - General Tan Kuan-san correspondence of 11-16 March, released on 28 March 1959 in Peking, where the former said that he was being coerced by reactionaries; (iii) denied that the Dalai Lama had ever been in danger of abduction by the Chinese authorities and counter-charged that he had been abducted by "the traitorous clique"; (iv) described Kalimpong as the "commanding centre of the Tibetan rebellion"; (v) named Lukhangwa Tsewongrouten, Prime Minister of Tibet (1949-54) and head, Tibetan delegation visiting India at this time, as the leader of the rebellion; (vi) reiterated that relations between China and its neighbours especially India, must be "persistently" guided by Panch Sheel; (vii) welcomed Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha on 23 March; and (viii) asserted that China had never interfered in the internal affairs of India or even discussed Indian internal affairs at the National People's Congress, something it considered "impolite and improper."

#### IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

May I also refer to what for instance, hon. Member Shri Imam has talked about that is, the massing of troops.<sup>81</sup> Now, I am completely unaware of this. In fact, I have not heard a rumour to that effect, leave out the facts. And he wants an adjournment motion because there is "massing of troops on the Indian border"!

Shri Naushir Bharucha: He said about fanning out of Chinese troops.

Shri Mohammed Imam: That is the word I used in my adjournment motion.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: All kind of things are appearing in the Press which, again are based sometimes, presumably on reports not from within Tibet but from outside Tibet, whether it is Hong Kong or whether it is any other place. I do not say that any such rumour must necessarily be wrong. How can I say that? But, normally speaking, they are not correct. Anyhow, my information is that there is no massing of troops on the Indian border, so far as I know. How can I discuss it when I do not accept that fact?

But the major things that we have to consider are, as I said on the last occasion, the contacts of India with Tibet are very old, geographical of course, trade of course, but much more so, cultural and religious. Vast numbers of



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 29 MARCH 1959)

81. J. Mohammed Imam, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Chitradurga, Mysore, spoke about the reports that "the Chinese have fanned out their troops. Their troops are massed on the south and south east frontier. Practically, they are very near India. This causes a good deal of concern. We know the history of the Communist countries in other continents and in other areas. So, this is a very dangerous situation."



pilgrims go there from here and some come from Tibet to India. So that, this contact, this relationship is something deeper than the changing political scene. Naturally, we are affected by it. Apart from that, as I said on the last occasion, large numbers of people in India venerate the Dalai Lama, respect him very greatly and he was our honoured guest some time ago. Because of these contacts our reaction to anything that happens in Tibet is bound to be very deep, as we see it. It is not for me to object to those reactions. But, we have to bear them in mind.

May I say that all these questions that have been recently put about giving political asylum are, probably, of no service at all to the people who might seek political asylum in India? It is no good. One has to see the difficult situation as it is and not merely create conditions which make it more difficult to deal with the situation or deal with the persons seeking political asylum. There it is. Whatever I say in regard to that will make it more difficult for these people, I say. So that, on the one side, there is this deep feeling of a certain kinship, if I may use that word, cultural kinship between the people of India and the people of Tibet.

That, of course, does not mean that we interfere in Tibet, in any way. We did interfere, not we, I mean, but the previous Government of India took an expedition to Lhasa under Col. Younghusband, 55 years ago.<sup>82</sup> It very much interfered: imperialist intervention. They sat down there and imposed the British Government's will, acting through the then Government of India on Tibet and imposed our troops there in Tibet, in Yatung, Gyantse. All kinds of extra-territorial privileges were imposed on Tibet because Tibet was weak and there was the British Empire. With some variations, we inherited these special extra-territorial privileges when India became independent.

Regardless of what happened in Tibet or China or anywhere, we could not, according to our own policy, maintain our forces in a foreign country, even if there had been no change in Tibet. That was a relic of British imperialism which we did not wish to continue. We had to withdraw them back. It so happened that soon after this change in the Government in China— about that time, soon after—their armies marched into Tibet. What I am venturing to say is that the policy we adopted towards Tibet would have been adopted regardless of what China did, and we would have withdrawn our forces, etc. That was the main thing we did.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: There, everybody agrees.

82. In 1903-04.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Apparently people seem to imagine that we surrendered some privileges in Tibet. The privileges which we surrendered in Tibet were privileges which we do not seek to have in any other country in the world, Tibet or any other. It was patent from the strictly practical point of view, even apart from sentiments, that we could not do anything in Tibet either in law, constitutionally or practically.

Our attitude, and historically, previously—I am not going to the past history of 500 years—the position of all previous Governments in India and elsewhere has been the recognition of some kind of suzerainty or sovereignty of China over Tibet and Tibetan autonomy. That was normally the basis of approach. The measure of the autonomy has varied, because the strength of China, the weakness of China, the strength of Tibet, the weakness of Tibet has varied in the course of the last hundreds of years. But, that is the position. Every Government in China has claimed that. Many Governments in Tibet have repudiated that. So, there it is. Anyhow, we could not become judges or interfere or intervene either in law, or in fact, or in the circumstances, we could do nothing. That is just past history.

May I say one thing to the House? When the Premier of the Chinese Government came here 3 or 4 years ago or 2½ years ago, he discussed this question of the situation in Tibet with me at his own instance.<sup>83</sup> I did not raise it, so far as I remember. He told me then that Tibet had always been, according to him and according to the Chinese position, a part of the Chinese State; that is, they have always claimed it and they have had it, according to him; but yet, Tibet was not China. Tibet is not China; Tibet is not a province of China. Tibet is an autonomous region which has been a part of the Chinese State—that was, as far as I remember, his words—therefore, we want to treat it as an autonomous region and give it full autonomy. That is how he explained the Chinese Government's attitude to Tibet. All I could say was that we had to recognise Chinese sovereignty over Tibet.<sup>84</sup> But, I was glad to hear Mr. Chou En-lai laying such stress on Tibetan autonomy. I said if this was fully acted upon and was well known to Tibetans, possibly the difficulties would be much less, because, I remember, difficulties had arisen already, three years ago.

For nearly three years, there has been what is called the Khampa revolt in China. Khampa region, although it consists of people of Tibetan origin, is not technically Tibet now. About 50 or 60 years ago, the Khampa region in Eastern

83. During his visit from 28 November to 9 December 1956 and briefly in January 1957. See SWJN/SS/36/pp. 594-603.

84. A similar statement was made by Chou En-lai at Bandung Conference, see SWJN/SS/28/p. 135.



Tibet was incorporated in China. It was never really adequately controlled or ruled by any authority, Tibetan or Chinese, because Khampas are mountain people, rather tough people, not liking anybody ruling them.

When the new Chinese Government came in, quite apart from Tibet proper, the Khampa region was in China proper. They started introducing their new reforms or changes, whatever they did in land or otherwise, in the Khampa region. That brought them into trouble with the Khampas in Tibet—not actually in Tibet, but the Tibetans in China, you may say. That trouble started 2 or 3 years ago or more than that—about three years ago, locally confined there. Then it spread and it spread to the south and south-east chiefly. Naturally one does not have details. But, it was a kind of guerilla activity which went on causing much trouble to both the parties and damage and all that. That has been continuing.<sup>85</sup> When, Premier Chou En-lai talked to me, this Khampa trouble has started. It is not a kind of trouble which is of great military importance to any Government; not that; it is a nuisance and it prevents things from settling down.

That has been continuing. Nothing new has happened except that in some border some convoy has been attacked or taken away or something has been happening. The new thing, what has happened in Lhasa, may I say, has not flown from that; it is really a completely new development. The very matter was mentioned by me in this House and to the Press here the moment we heard of fighting there. Previous to that, only a few days previously, I had spoken in this House and talked about the conflict of wills there. I thought that expression was a good expression to describe what was happening there because there was no violence at that stage. Nobody had hit anybody. But, this conflict had come out in the open in the sense of people talking in the open. It lasted 3, 4 or 5 days when actual firing began, I cannot say who began it, but it began. Normally, one would say that where it is a question of military might, the Chinese Government is much stronger than some kind of local recruits of the Tibetan Army. It is obvious. So, that has been the background of it.

Now, it is unfortunate that all this damage is done. I do not know what damage has been done, but some considerable damage has been done to some

85. See also Appendix 26.

On the Tibetan situation, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit also sent the following telegram to Nehru on 29 March 1959: "Fully conscious of present delicate position in Tibet which is fraught with most serious consequences. I however feel compelled to convey to you my deep concern that we not yet made any statement regarding tragic happenings in Lhasa. Surely we cannot stand idle spectators of a scene which threatens the very ideals to which we are dedicated. My apologies for this telegram."

of the old monasteries in Lhasa, and maybe, some valued manuscripts have suffered thereby; and all that has happened, and our sympathies go out very much to the Tibetans .....

Shri Jaipal Singh:<sup>86</sup> Hear, hear.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ....quite apart from the actual incidents, what happened, who was to blame and who was not to blame.

In the press today, the Chinese News Agency has published some letters, which, it is said, have been written by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese Governor, the military Governor of Lhasa, just in this month.<sup>87</sup> I would not like to say anything about those letters. I should like to have a little greater confirmation about them, about what they are, in what circumstances they were written, whether they were written at all. It is very difficult: because all these things are being said by various parties, it is exceedingly difficult to sift the truth out of this lot of chaff. And whatever I may say, whatever the Government may do, may have far-reaching consequences.

We talk about Tibet, and we want to have friendly relations with the people of Tibet, and we want them to progress in freedom and all that. At the same time, is important for us to have friendly relations with this great country of China. That does not mean that I or this Government or this Parliament or anyone else should submit to any kind of dictation from any country, however great or big it may be.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is not the point. But it also does mean that in a difficult situation, we should exercise a certain measure of restraint and wisdom in dealing with her, and not in an excited moment do something which may lead our country into difficulties. (Interruptions)

Today is the 30th of this month. It was on the 20th, the early morning of the 20th, that firing began—it is now ten days—in a country from which no news comes, except rumour. The only news that has come to us or to the wide world—I am leaving out China; they might have some special ways of getting news—the only news that came was from our Consul-General's telegrams to us. We got them pretty rapidly.

86. Jharkhand Party, Lok Sabha MP from Ranchi-West, Bihar.

87. These were the three letters written on 11, 12, 16 March 1959 by the Dalai Lama in reply to the Chinese Representative General Tan Kuan-san's letters of 10, 11, 15 March 1959.



Tibet was incorporated in China. It was never really adequately controlled or ruled by any authority, Tibetan or Chinese, because Khampas are mountain people, rather tough people, not liking anybody ruling them.

When the new Chinese Government came in, quite apart from Tibet proper, the Khampa region was in China proper. They started introducing their new reforms or changes, whatever they did in land or otherwise, in the Khampa region. That brought them into trouble with the Khampas in Tibet—not actually in Tibet, but the Tibetans in China, you may say. That trouble started 2 or 3 years ago or more than that—about three years ago, locally confined there. Then it spread and it spread to the south and south-east chiefly. Naturally one does not have details. But, it was a kind of guerilla activity which went on causing much trouble to both the parties and damage and all that. That has been continuing.<sup>85</sup> When, Premier Chou En-lai talked to me, this Khampa trouble has started. It is not a kind of trouble which is of great military importance to any Government; not that; it is a nuisance and it prevents things from settling down.

That has been continuing. Nothing new has happened except that in some border some convoy has been attacked or taken away or something has been happening. The new thing, what has happened in Lhasa, may I say, has not flown from that; it is really a completely new development. The very matter was mentioned by me in this House and to the Press here the moment we heard of fighting there. Previous to that, only a few days previously, I had spoken in this House and talked about the conflict of wills there. I thought that expression was a good expression to describe what was happening there because there was no violence at that stage. Nobody had hit anybody. But, this conflict had come out in the open in the sense of people talking in the open. It lasted 3, 4 or 5 days when actual firing began, I cannot say who began it, but it began. Normally, one would say that where it is a question of military might, the Chinese Government is much stronger than some kind of local recruits of the Tibetan Army. It is obvious. So, that has been the background of it.

Now, it is unfortunate that all this damage is done. I do not know what damage has been done, but some considerable damage has been done to some

85. See also Appendix 26.

On the Tibetan situation, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit also sent the following telegram to Nehru on 29 March 1959: "Fully conscious of present delicate position in Tibet which is fraught with most serious consequences. I however feel compelled to convey to you my deep concern that we not yet made any statement regarding tragic happenings in Lhasa. Surely we cannot stand idle spectators of a scene which threatens the very ideals to which we are dedicated. My apologies for this telegram."

of the old monasteries in Lhasa, and maybe, some valued manuscripts have suffered thereby; and all that has happened, and our sympathies go out very much to the Tibetans .....

Shri Jaipal Singh:<sup>86</sup> Hear, hear.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ....quite apart from the actual incidents, what happened, who was to blame and who was not to blame.

In the press today, the Chinese News Agency has published some letters, which, it is said, have been written by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese Governor, the military Governor of Lhasa, just in this month.<sup>87</sup> I would not like to say anything about those letters. I should like to have a little greater confirmation about them, about what they are, in what circumstances they were written, whether they were written at all. It is very difficult: because all these things are being said by various parties, it is exceedingly difficult to sift the truth out of this lot of chaff. And whatever I may say, whatever the Government may do, may have far-reaching consequences.

We talk about Tibet, and we want to have friendly relations with the people of Tibet, and we want them to progress in freedom and all that. At the same time, is important for us to have friendly relations with this great country of China. That does not mean that I or this Government or this Parliament or anyone else should submit to any kind of dictation from any country, however great or big it may be.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is not the point. But it also does mean that in a difficult situation, we should exercise a certain measure of restraint and wisdom in dealing with her, and not in an excited moment do something which may lead our country into difficulties. (Interruptions)

Today is the 30th of this month. It was on the 20th, the early morning of the 20th, that firing began—it is now ten days—in a country from which no news comes, except rumour. The only news that has come to us or to the wide world—I am leaving out China; they might have some special ways of getting news—the only news that came was from our Consul-General's telegrams to us. We got them pretty rapidly.

86. Jharkhand Party, Lok Sabha MP from Ranchi-West, Bihar.

87. These were the three letters written on 11, 12, 16 March 1959 by the Dalai Lama in reply to the Chinese Representative General Tan Kuan-san's letters of 10, 11, 15 March 1959.



But what can the Consul-General report? Remember that too. The Consul-General reports by and large what he sees from the window of his consulate. Obviously, he cannot tell us what is happening all over Tibet. He does not know. He is in touch with Lhasa, and more or less Lhasa is what he can see from his consulate, just round about what buildings firing took place, and he can report it. He cannot even tell us all that is happening in Lhasa itself. He cannot tell us precisely and definitely what has happened to our nationals who are spread out. He can tell us definitely that our staff in our consulate is safe. He can tell us also that so far as he knows our other Indian nationals are safe, but he is not certain, because he just cannot reach them, so that all news has been cut off, and it comes to us in extremely small dribblets, news that we can rely upon. And it becomes difficult for me to make statements or to say that we shall take some action, because of vague rumours which are obviously not always reliable.

Now, may I just say one word—I think I have answered it—about the people from Ladakh? It has been the old custom of people from Ladakh to go to Lhasa, and they do not take any travel papers or anything. They go for courses of instruction. Lhasa is in a sense their spiritual centre, their educational centre, from the Buddhist point of view. So, plenty of people go there. At the present moment, I have been informed that four head abbots from Leh are there, as well as—I forget the number,—about 30 or 40 or 50—or it may be somewhere about a hundred—monks and others who have gone there. We have not got them on our register there, because they simply come and go, and do not report to us. But as soon as I heard about this two days ago, we are making inquiries about them.

Now, I come to the statements issued, presumably by the Chinese Government. Now, those statements give a narrative of facts according to them, and I have nothing to say to that. I can neither confirm it nor deny it, because it is not in my knowledge to make a firm statement; if it was, I would make it.

As I said, so far as the letters which are said to have been written by the Dalai Lama are concerned, they are rather surprising letter. But more I cannot say; I should like to know more about them before I say.

There are two things mentioned in this statement of the Chinese authorities. One is about Kalimpong.<sup>88</sup> About that, as soon as that appeared, the External Affairs Ministry, through a spokesman, contradicted that statement or corrected it. I suppose hon. Members have seen it, but I shall read it out or part of it, if they have not.

88. See item 197, p. 470, fn 80.

"Asked for his comments on the description of Kalimpong as 'the commanding centre of the rebellion' in the news communique released.... an official spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs emphatically repudiated the suggestion. He said that a number of people from Tibet have been residing in Kalimpong for many years...."

— many years meaning twenty, thirty, forty, fifty and more —

"...and among them are some who arrived during the last three or four years."

It is not many, it may be in dozens, perhaps.

"The Government of India have repeatedly made it clear to them that they should not indulge in any propaganda activities against a friendly Government on Indian soil. The last warning was given about six months ago and since then these persons have remained quiet. There have been no unlawful activities in Kalimpong or elsewhere either by these people or others. It is, therefore, entirely incorrect to say that Kalimpong is the centre of any rebellious activities. The check-posts on the India-Tibet border are adequately manned and the strictest watch is always maintained on movements between India and Tibet."

Now, an hon. Member wanted precise information as to whether the Chinese Government had complained to us about Kalimpong.<sup>89</sup> I shall tell him, so far as I can remember, in the last few months, maybe, a year, there has been no complaint; but there were on two occasions perhaps two or maybe three in the last three or four years, references to Kalimpong, to some people in Kalimpong carrying on propaganda and like activities. Our position has always been, and we have made it quite clear to people who came from Tibet, important people, that 'You are welcome to come here, but we cannot allow Indian soil to be used for subversive activities or even aggressively propagandist activities against friendly Governments.' That general policy of ours applies to every Embassy that is here; maybe, sometimes, they overstep the mark or we do not object when we might have objected. That applies to every Embassy here or every foreigner here. So, that was the rule that we followed. And on two or three occasions, some leaflet came out in Kalimpong, which we thought was undesirable, and we drew the attention of the people who had brought it out, saying 'You should not do this, this kind of thing from Indian soil.' And our

89. Hem Barua, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Gauhati, asked whether (i) "any correspondence was made by the Chinese Government through diplomatic channels before coming out openly with an official communiqué of the sort, which is not true", (ii) Nehru made an enquiry into it, and (iii) the Chinese Government was asked to give specific instances of people connected with this.



instructions and warnings had effect, so far as we know. We are not aware, in fact, in the last many months, of any activity in Kalimpong; it may be in people's minds there; naturally they may have feelings; they may have sentiments. But I am merely saying that that it is wrong to say that Kalimpong was a kind of centre from which activities were organised.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Has the Prime Minister read Elizabeth Partridge's<sup>90</sup> article which has come in one of the papers where she says that she has contacted the rebels? It has come out in the papers.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not read that particular article. I do not know to which article the hon. lady Member is referring. In one or two cases, foreign correspondents have gone and talked to people there in Kalimpong or wherever it is; I do not know where, it may be Kalimpong, or it may be elsewhere, but they have not mentioned names or the place or the individuals contacted. And they have given an account from the point of view more or less, of those people in Tibet, who were on the site of the revolt. That I cannot catch, I cannot get in, but broadly speaking, it is wrong to say that Kalimpong has been the centre. Certainly, we have very good control of our check-posts, of people coming and going from Tibet to India, and nobody in Kalimpong can easily come or go, and you cannot control something where the movement is not easy.

I am told that when we enquired about Elizabeth Partridge's article, we found she had not gone anywhere near the border; she had written it from far away.

The second point to which reference has been made by hon. Members is to what is said in those press statements about our discussions here. It is not necessary for me to say that it is open to this House, this Parliament, and it is completely free to say or do what it chooses, to discuss any matter it chooses, subject always to the necessities of good sense and wisdom of which you, Sir, are the best judge. Nobody else outside this House is going to judge.

Unfortunately, the methods of government and the way legislatures and organisations function in China are different from ours. Perhaps it is not quite realised there, the background or the way of our functioning. Quite apart from what we do, or whether what any hon. Member says is right or wrong, he has

90. Elizabeth Partridge (1922-2010); British journalist; joined the South East Asia Command during World War II; correspondent for the *News Chronicle* in Calcutta till the daily ceased publication on 17 October 1960; after staying for some years in Calcutta, returned to Worthing, West Sussex, UK, and taught English.

the right to say it; he has the right to say the wrong thing, as many hon. Members on the opposite side know very well!

Shri Hem Barua: You enjoy that right equally!

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is, I suppose, a little difficult for people trained in a different tradition for a long time to understand the normal ways in which a parliamentary system of Government functions, and we should not be over-eager to find fault with somebody who does not agree with us, who describes our system in a different way, but certainly it should be made perfectly clear to all concerned that this Parliament is not going to be limited in the exercise of its right of discussion, saying or action or anything, by any external or internal authority, whoever it may be. Having said that, obviously that right has to be exercised always with wisdom and always thinking of the consequences, and how that right should be exercised.

## 198. To Rajendra Prasad: On Tibet<sup>91</sup>

March 30, 1959

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th March.

It is true that much has happened in Tibet since your departure from India.<sup>92</sup> I spoke twice in the Lok Sabha on this subject; once about ten days ago and today.<sup>93</sup> The news in papers is of three kinds:

1. Some brief information which we have given and which we have obtained from our Consulate General in Lhasa. This is limited, but reliable in so far as it goes.
2. Chinese Government statements which appeared in the Press yesterday.
3. Brief reports and rumours coming from Kalimpong and sometimes Hong Kong.

As for No. 2, that represents the Chinese Government's version and viewpoint. It is important because that gives us an insight into their approach. Of course, that approach is necessarily one-sided and the facts they give need not all be true.

91. Letter.

92. President Rajendra Prasad had returned on 27 March 1959 from his 12-day trip to Indo-China.

93. See item 197.



As for No. 3, there is hardly any single reference in these rumours which can be verified and some of them are patently untrue.

We are thus in a difficult position even in so far as facts are concerned. Gradually, no doubt, we shall know more of them. The difficulty is greater still from other points of view. The position of Tibet has been, for a long time past, that of an autonomous region of the Chinese State. One may assume that for various reasons there has been a revolt against Chinese domination. A kind of revolt started nearly three years ago in the Eastern borders of Tibet among the Khampas. This has been going on now for all this period in the shape of guerilla activities. Recently what happened was that the Tibetan Armed Forces, which are relatively small in numbers and very feeble as a military force, rebelled in Lhasa itself and were backed by the Tibetan local government. For a few days the Chinese did not take any major step. But then they came down with a heavy hand and crushed the revolt and made large numbers of people prisoners. In Lhasa, therefore, it may be that the revolt has been suppressed, but the Khampa revolt probably continues over areas in Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet.

There should be no question of our suppressing our conscience or doing anything patently wrong for fear of consequences. But it is not at all clear first what the full facts are and secondly what we can do about them. A step that we may take might actually injure the interests of the Tibetans. It is clear that we cannot take military measures. At the most we can express our opinion in more or less forcible language. Such an opinion on the part of Government should be based on a knowledge of facts and a full consideration of what other steps might follow. Obviously, it may have far-reaching consequences. We cannot merely be swept away by rumours and sentimental consideration which rightly affect us.

As a matter of fact, enough indication has already been given about our deep concern in what happens in Tibet and a kind of passive disapproval. Our newspapers have written, of course, fairly strongly on the subject. A government has to move more cautiously.

The Chinese Government have published some letters purporting to have been written by the Dalai Lama. If these letters were really written by him, then it does give a different colour to the picture.<sup>94</sup> Perhaps they were not written by

94. On 28 March, the Chinese Government released the correspondence between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Representative in Lhasa, General Tan Kuan-san, 11 - 16 March 1959. However, the Dalai Lama has recorded that there had been such an exchange of letters. See *My Land and My People. The Autobiography of His Holiness the Dalai Lama*, edited by David Howarth.

him. We shall have to wait and find out.

We do not yet know where the Dalai Lama is.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 199. Rumours about Tibet<sup>95</sup>

I regret I am unable to make a statement about events and matters which have no basis in fact. The Chinese authorities have not searched our Consulate or Mission abroad nor have they asked to vacate the Mission.<sup>96</sup>

2. May I respectfully point out to Mr. Speaker that the habit of accepting every rumour and proceeding on that basis in Parliament is not a very desirable one or to be encouraged.

### (ii) Pakistan

### 200. In the Lok Sabha: Pilgrims from Pakistan<sup>97</sup>

#### Pilgrims

Question:<sup>98</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) The number pilgrims from both wings of Pakistan who attended the religious fairs in India during 1958-59; and
- (b) The facilities provided by the Indian Government for Pakistani pilgrims?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) During the period from 1st January, 1958 to February 22, 1959, 1711 pilgrims from West Pakistan visited shrines in India in officially sponsored pilgrim parties.

95. Note, 31 March 1959.

96. This refers to a question in the Lok Sabha by Premji R. Assar, Jan Sangh MP from Ratnagiri North, Bombay, about search of the Indian Mission in Lhasa.

97. Reply to questions, 3 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVI, cols 3932-3933.

98. By Congress MPs D.C. Sharma and Raghunath Singh.



In addition, 3925 pilgrims visited Ajmer in their individual capacity. During the same period, 542 pilgrims from East Pakistan were granted visas to shrines in West Bengal.

(b) In the case of officially sponsored pilgrim parties, Government of India provided transport facilities and board and lodging on payment, as well as security arrangements.

## 201. In the Lok Sabha<sup>99</sup>

### Violation of Cease-fire Line

Question:<sup>100</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 722 on the 8th December, 1958 and state:

- (a) whether Government have since received any reply to the complaint on cease-fire violation lodged with the U.N. Military Observers group; and
- (b) if so, the nature of the reply received?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, Sir.

The U.N. Chief Military Observer<sup>101</sup> has given his finding in respect of five flights between 1245 and 1405 Hours on November 21, 1958 against which we had lodged complaints with him.

(b) The Chief Military Observer has held that aircraft did fly over our area on all the occasions mentioned in our complaints, adding, however, that it had not been possible to fix the identity of the aircraft.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: In view of this finding of the U.N. Observer, may I know whether UNO has given any warning to Pakistan?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: The usual procedure is to report to the U.N. Observer. We do not send any direct warning.

99 . Reply to questions, 3 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVI, cols 3873-3876.

100. By Congress MP Ram Krishan Gupta.

101. Lt.-General Robert H. Nimmo.

Mr. Speaker: Did the U.N. Observer send any warning?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: The Observer has sent a letter to us in reply to our note, in which he says:

"If both your forces will frequently remind their formations concerned to keep well away from disputed areas and thus be certain that they do not cross over the cease-fire line or Jammu and Kashmir border, a lessening of the number of complaints could be expected."

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Hon. Members will realise that when an aircraft is flying at about 30,000 feet altitude at six hundred to seven hundred miles an hour, it is very difficult to know exactly where it is—within a few miles, I mean. At 30,000 feet altitude, no frontier and no border is seen. And the speed is such that in a few seconds, it may go miles and miles this way or that way. So, normally, mistakes are liable to occur unless a person keeps right away from the border. If one tries to fly too near the border, then without one's knowledge, one may go across. Sometimes, complaints are made about our aircraft. That is what the U.N. Observer has pointed out, that they came; they might have been accidental; and the best way is to keep right away from the border. That is the only remedy. Of course, if a kind of accident or so-called accident happens again and again, then one begins to think it is not an accident, that is, it may be deliberate. But it is quite extraordinarily difficult, in the normal case, to find out without a very big apparatus of inquiry as to how far an aircraft has come for a minute or so.

Shri Hem Barua: In view of what the Prime Minister has stated, may I know whether the U.N. Military Observer has definitely indicated to us that this mysterious flight was an accidental flight, and there was no deliberate intention of violating the cease-fire line?

Mr. Speaker; He said that it was difficult to know.

Shri Hem Barua: He said that it was difficult to identify the aircraft. That was what he said. That was how I followed the reply given by the hon. Deputy Minister. May I know whether the U.N. Military Observer has held that this was an accidental flight and that it was not intentional? May I know whether it is there in his communication or not?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not got the exact words of the communication. But according to what my colleague has read out, a part of that communication



was to the effect that they should not fly near the border, because accidents happen, accidents in the sense of going over. From that, one would infer that he thought that some of them at any rate were accidental; he could not say about all—that is, that there was a possibility of accident.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: It has become a chronic disease. I want to know whether he has examined my plan of Aryan federation. That is the only medicine for this chronic disease. Has he examined my plan? Does he accept my prescription?

Mr. Speaker: That is a suggestion for action.

पण्डित द्वा.ना. तिवारी : क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि यू.एन.ओ. का पत्र आने के बाद फिर भी कोई ऐसी घटना हुई है या नहीं?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मैं कह नहीं सकता बग़ैर जाँच किये ।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : इस घटना के बाद जम्मू और कश्मीर में पाकिस्तान के हवाई जहाज़ पाँच-छै बार उड़ते हुए देखे गये हैं। उसके सम्बन्ध में हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ने क्या किया है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जवाब तो इस घटना के बाद का ही दिया गया है, पहले का नहीं ।

[Translation begins:

Pandit Dwarka Nath Tiwari: May I know whether such an incident has taken place again after the letter from U.N.O.?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say without investigating.

Shri Raghunath Singh: After this incident Pakistani aircraft have been observed flying over Jammu and Kashmir. What has the Indian Government done regarding this ?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The answer given is of after this incident, not before.

Translation ends]

## 202. In the Lok Sabha: Indians kidnapped by Pakistanis<sup>102</sup>

Question:<sup>103</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that 21 Indian nationals were kidnapped and 3 boats loaded with jute captured by the Pakistani Military personnel from the border near Nadia (West Bengal) in the third week of November, 1958; and
- (b) if so, whether they have since released?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Between 14th and 18th November, 1958, Pakistani Military personnel trespassed into Indian territorial waters in River Padma near Nurpurkuti under P.S. Suti, District Murshidabad and kidnapped 21 Indian nationals along with 3 boats loaded with 350 bales of jute belonging to an Indian national.

(b) The Government of West Bengal have reported that according to their information these persons have been convicted and are now undergoing imprisonment in East Pakistan, presumably for alleged trespass into Pakistan territory.

Pandit D.N. Tiwary: May I know whether any enquiry has been made whether the three nationals actually trespassed into Pakistani waters? May I also know whether the jute confiscated is to be returned or not and what is the value of the jute?

Shri Lakshmi Menon: It is the Pakistani military personnel that trespassed into Indian waters.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Obviously, an attempt at an enquiry is made. But, it is very difficult to enquire when the persons chiefly concerned, the persons who have been arrested by the Pakistani people, are not available. The argument is—remember—as to what part of the river the boat was in. It is exceedingly difficult thing, normally, to say whether it was on that side or on this side. According to our information, such as we can get, and it is not possible to be very comprehensive, they were in our territorial waters and the Pakistanis came to our territorial waters. But

102. Reply to questions, 3 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVI, cols 3881-3885.

103. By Congress MP D.N. Tiwary and RSP MP Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri.



the Pakistanis say that the boats had gone to their side of the river; and they have got the main witnesses with them.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: With regard to the second part of the question, about the amount of jute goods taken, the answer is that 350 bales weighing 1,400 mds. and worth Rs. 36,000 were taken.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: This incident took place about one and half months after the two Prime Ministers came to an agreement.<sup>104</sup> May I know if there was any formal agreement or informal understanding that, as the main stream of the river Ganga is liable to change shifting sometimes more to the Pakistan side and sometimes more the Indian side, that plying by country boats on these rivers would not be interfered of that understanding to draw the attention of the Pakistan Government to prevent the recurrence of such incidents?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It seems to me obvious that there should be full freedom of traffic in a river and it is quite absurd, as far as I can see, to say that the middle of the river is the boundary and if the boats go to the other side, they are committing some kind of trespass.

Shri Hem Barua: It is difficult to control the boat because of the currents.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sometimes you cannot help it; the currents take it way. I entirely agree with the hon. Member that there should be this understanding. We have said that so far as I remember. But, I do not remember that there was an understanding to that effect at the meeting of the Prime Ministers. I do not think this question, as such, was raised; but, on other occasion, it has been raised.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: May I know if any effort has been made, after the information was received that these people were convicted and are still in Pakistan jails, to obtain their release?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir, they are still continued.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: What orders have our Government given at the front—to fire back or to do satyagraha?

104. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 547. See also items 101-102, 105-106, 109-110.

Mr. Speaker: All these are suggestions. Once for all, he may note them down and hand over to me. I will pass them on to the hon. Prime Minister.

A.C. Guha:<sup>105</sup> May I know if the Government had taken up the matter with the Pakistan Government for the release of these men and also the release of this jute and after the agreement how many persons kidnapped from the East-Bengal Indian border by the Pakistanis have been released?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The answer to the first part is: yes. We have taken it up and we are continuously dealing with this matter. After the Prime Ministers' Conference there was an exchange or release of prisoners on either side. There was a good number, but at the moment I forget how many.<sup>106</sup> On a certain specified date all were released. But subsequent to that release, others have been arrested in twos, threes and fours. Since the conference according to my information, 61 Indian nationals were arrested as a result of the border incidents during the period 11th September, 1958 to date and are still in detention in East Pakistan—that is, when this answer was prepared. The Pakistan Government have been requested through our High Commissioner at Karachi to release these persons immediately in terms of para 4 of the joint communiqué, issued after the recent Secretaries' Conference<sup>107</sup> which said in that communiqué that this was a human problem and future cases of this type, if any, should be dealt with on the basis of expeditious release and, if possible, within 24 hours. There are a few—I cannot say the number, probably very few amounting to not more than six Pakistanis—at present detained by us for border troubles.

Shri Prabhat Kar:<sup>108</sup> In view of the incidents of this kind occurring off and on and Pakistani military personnel crossing the border and kidnapping the Indian citizens, what permanent steps do the Government of India propose to take to stop the recurrence of these things in the border of India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as this particular question is concerned, we are here dealing with the water border which is shifting—not the land border.

Shri Hem Barua: In view of the reference made by the hon. Prime Minister to the recent Karachi talks, may I know whether it is a fact that not much

105. Congress, Lok Sabha Member from Barasat, West Bengal.

106. See SWJN/SS/44/pp.553-554.

107. Held in Karachi from 23 to 25 February 1959.

108. CPI, Lok Sabha Member from Hooghly, West Bengal.



headway could be made at the Secretaries level conference in Karachi because of the tension created by these firings across the border as also because of the climate being vitiated by the Pakistani Press.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I submit that a statement is going to be read after Question Hour today about these talks<sup>109</sup> and so I do not know what to say anything on this particular issue raised by the hon. Member. He has suggested because of various factors. That is his appraisal of a situation which may be partly right and partly wrong, but it is difficult for me to deal with it in answer to a question.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: May I know whether the Government is prepared to accept my service? I go and I release these prisoners?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Government will be very happy to expedite the hon. Member's passage.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: May I know if the Government are aware that this interference with the country-boats plying in the river on this border has become very frequent after the Pakistan side came to be guarded by the East Pakistan Rifles whereas on our side we have still the old border police armed with lathis? May I know whether that factor has been taken into consideration and some effective method of providing protection to our nationals plying on the river can be devised or thought or?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly we will keep the hon. Member's suggestion in mind.

109. Lakshmi Menon, the Deputy Minister, said: "The discussion at Karachi disclosed a divergence of views between the two Delegations. Both sides stated the position of their Governments regarding these disputed, and no agreed proposals for settlement emerged as a result of these discussions." The Commonwealth Secretary referred to increase in firings by Pakistani authorities.

### 203. In the Rajya Sabha: US-Pakistan Military Pact<sup>110</sup>

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:<sup>111</sup> Sir, with your permission I will read my notice of Motion For Papers:

“Under rule 156 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I hereby give notice of my intention to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the grave threat to the security and independence of India and other peace-loving countries arising from the signing on March 5, 1959 at Ankara of the U.S.-Pakistan bilateral military pact and move the following motion:

“That there be laid before the House Papers in regard to the bilateral Military Pact signed on March 5, 1959 between the United States of America and Pakistan.”

Sir, I would like the Prime Minister to make a statement.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, this matter about the signing of a Military Pact between the United States and Pakistan and some other countries of the old Baghdad Pact has been discussed in the Press and elsewhere for a long time. Now the main thing about it is that the old Baghdad Pact having progressively ceased to function as it was thought it would function, apparently the countries connected with it or some of them have tried to replace it. It appears that at the time of the Iraqi revolution in June last year, the idea that the Baghdad Pact was crumbling led to a meeting of some of the members of the Baghdad Pact, I think, in London and at that time it was suggested or generally agreed between them that there should be, in its place, bilateral pacts.<sup>112</sup> Since then these talks have been going on and apparently they have led to the signing of this pact now at Ankara. Now, as the House knows, we disapprove of all such military alliances and more especially, all such alliances as the Baghdad Pact which directly or indirectly affect us and we have made that perfectly clear on many occasions officially, diplomatically

110. Statement, 6 March 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIV, cols 2822-2826. Also available in Notes, Memoranda and Decisions of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, September 1946-May 1964-Vol. III, U.S. Military Assistance to Pakistan, January 1959-May, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Corr. p. 7, Col. 1 & 2.

111. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

112. Following the Iraqi revolution on 14 July, the Baghdad Pact members held a ministerial meeting in London on 29 July 1958.



publicly and privately. The main thing is to find out whether this new pact goes beyond any previous pact, or it is a repetition of the same or it is less than that. I cannot precisely say what it is and we have not seen the exact terms of it but I suppose that those terms will be made public, presumably because it is said that they will be laid in the Register of the United Nations and when that is done or otherwise if they are made public, we shall naturally examine it and every Member of the House will be able to examine it and if the House so wishes, we can place the paper before the House. But I should like to add that during all these past few weeks, when talks about this have been going on, we have drawn the attention of the U.S. Government to this matter and our concern with such pacts and more especially at the prospect of this leading on the one hand to greater military aid to Pakistan, on the other to the nature of the Pact itself changing and changing adversely to us, if I may say so indirectly. We have been assured all along by the representatives of the U.S. Government that they are carrying out some old commitments made, that there is going to be no addition to those commitments whether in the form of military aid or approaches and that this was aimed, according to them and as laid down in the old Baghdad Pact, against what they called 'Communist aggression'. It appeared that the Pakistan Government wanted to extend this to what they call 'any aggression' apart from 'Communist aggression', which, well, presumably meant, in their thinking anything connected with India. Now we were assured that the U.S. Government were not going to change that. Last evening we were assured afresh by the U.S. Ambassador<sup>113</sup> that this was a carrying out of old commitments, that it meant no fresh aid, etc. and further that it was governed by what is called "The Eisenhower Doctrine" which was embodied in a Congressional Resolution in the United States which country defined this as what is called 'Communist aggression'. I am not approving of that or anything else. I am merely stating facts. The point I wish to bring to this notice of the House is this that we have again been assured and apparently after the signing of this pact there ...

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I interrupt and bring to his attention ...

Mr. Chairman:<sup>114</sup> let him finish.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ...that this is limited by the Congressional decision called 'The Eisenhower Doctrine' and relates only to Communist aggression and secondly that there are certain old commitments in regard to arms supplies

113. Ellsworth Bunker.

114. S. Radhakrishnan.

that are being honoured and additions are not made to them. Sir, I have placed before the House such information as I possess. Naturally I don't know everything about it—what may be in the background, what may be the private understandings, if any—that I don't know ...

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I understand it. I know that the U.S. authorities are trying to make out that it is intended against what they call 'Communist aggression' but in this connection I would like to draw the Prime Minister's attention to the Press report. It appears that Mr. S.A. Baig, Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, was asked to speak on this subject. He said—I will read it.

"Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, Mr. S.A. Baig, however, told Pressmen that the agreement was a guarantee against 'aggression from any quarter'." <sup>115</sup>

Mr. Chairman: That is true ...

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: "He said there was no reason to believe"—this is the other part of the truth—"that the U.S. would put any interpretation on the word 'aggression' other than 'ours'."

This is the position. In view of this I don't think we can attach any importance to the assurance that has been given by the U.S. authorities because we know the implications of this pact. I would request the Prime Minister to give us an opportunity to discuss this matter so that we can evolve a bold and courageous stand against these aggressive military pacts directed against the peace and security of our country.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have seen that statement in the Press which is reported to have been made by the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan. Presuming that that is a correct report, undoubtedly that is not in consonance with the assurance given to us on behalf of the U.S. Government.

There is that obvious conflict in these interpretations and we shall endeavour to find out again from the U.S. Government as to what the meaning is of what the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan has said and how far that is the correct interpretation. That we shall do. I do not quite know myself how a discussion in this House, apart from helping to elicit facts, could change the situation. Naturally we are all concerned with this; we are concerned with the security

115. Newspapers like *The Hindu*, *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, *The Statesman* and the *National Herald* carried this remark by Baig on 6 March.



and safety of India; every Member of this House is so concerned and there is no difference of views about that. But we can hardly discuss military questions and what we do about defence and all that in this connection.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: My purpose in asking for a discussion is not that we disagree generally, but I think we should be given an opportunity to express our views in this matter. It has an impact on the world situation and on those people who are signing this Pact and I think the Prime Minister may also benefit from what we have to say.

Mr. Chairman: All right.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: One more point, Sir. Besides, are we going to be just satisfied with what America says that the Pact is directed against Communist countries? That is evidently trying to play upon some prejudices ...

Mr. Chairman: He has said that he is not in favour of that even and he has again said that he would like to elicit further information in view of the statement made by the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Whatever the position, we must take a strong stand—you, we and everybody.

## 204. In the Lok Sabha: US—Pakistan Defence Pact<sup>116</sup>

Shri Hem Barua: May I make a humble submission? About my adjournment motion, you were pleased to say that it was a continuing matter. I fail to understand how it could be a continuing matter. My adjournment motion is about the molestation... (Interruptions) It is a new phenomenon. It is not a continuing matter. At the same time they have trespassed into our territory and that is also a new phenomenon. They have looted our property. That is a new phenomenon. These are not continuing matters. Firing only is the continuing matter. If you had given your ruling in that matter in that way, I would have possibly understood it. But here I cannot understand how this matter can be brushed aside as a continuing matter.

116. Statement on the adjournment motion, 6 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVII, cols 4818-4822.

Mr. Speaker: The trouble in the border is assuming various shapes and forms. Today he may bring one gun and tomorrow another gun. Likewise, there is molestation and all the other things. We have been discussing this matter from time to time. The hon. Member will have opportunities. Let him gather all the other facts also and place this serious matter at the time of the General Discussion. He may have an opportunity. Almost every day we will have an adjournment motion and see that this Government goes out of office for this incident, one after the other. I am not going to allow the time of the House to be spent like this. Of course these are all matters which are being taken notice of. I have disallowed it; I am not going to oblige the hon. Member by admitting this adjournment motion..... (Interruptions)

Shri Hem Barua: Sir, you were pleased to let me collect and gather enough of materials. I have all the material ready at this moment.

Mr. Speaker: But adjournment motion is not the proper remedy. He may choose other remedies.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Sir, I had sent in an adjournment motion on the U.S. defence pact with Pakistan. I do not want it to be considered as an adjournment motion which wants to censure the Government. Obviously, it cannot be so but it is of sufficient importance for the House to adjourn to discuss this matter. As you know various assurances were given by the Deputy Minister about the interpretation on the question as to the application of the Baghdad Pact and the use of arms received under the Baghdad Pact and so on. Now, the U.S.A. is not only giving arms aid but military aid to any type of aggression that may take place. Therefore, it is a very serious thing and this House must take cognisance... (Interruptions)

Shri Raghunath Singh: My calling attention notice relates to this.

Mr. Speaker: I have disallowed the adjournment motion on this account. There is no responsibility on the part of this Government and after 1947, after the establishment of a democratic republic form of Government, it will be treated as a censure against the Government. The other opportunities are open to the hon. Members if they are anxious.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, if I may say, with respect, the question of adjournment motion hardly arises.



But quite apart from that, I would beg of you to permit me to make a brief statement on this subject..... (Interruptions).

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: I will even withdraw my adjournment motion immediately if the hon. Prime Minister makes that statement.

Shri Raghunath Singh: There is a calling attention notice on the same point.

Mr. Speaker: Is he prepared to make the statement now?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir.

I can well understand the concern of Members about this news about the culmination of these long series of talks in the signing of a new military pact between the United States of America and the Pakistan Government. This matter has been before us in various forms in the last few weeks or more. In fact, it was as a result of the revolution in Iraq in July last that this question arose before the countries of the Baghdad Pact. They saw that the Baghdad Pact had been dealt a mortal blow by Baghdad going out of it and hence they had meetings. I believe, in London. Then, soon after, certain provisional or other decisions were taken to have bilateral pacts to replace in effect the Baghdad pact which, though continuing in form, had lost substance. We were concerned naturally and we followed these proceedings in so far as we could. We were not in, of course. On many occasions we have expressed our concern about it to the United States Government because new accounts were appearing in the world's Press about this and on many occasions we were assured that this was merely some past commitment being carried on and there was no question of any special or additional military aid and certainly it was not aimed against India and it was confined to the previous purpose of the Baghdad pact. So far as we were concerned, we were not enamoured of the Baghdad Pact at any time. In fact we did not like any military pact, more especially, such as concerned us or concerned our safety. We did not like it. But anyhow, we were given this assurance that this was a repetition of some old commitment and nothing new and the nature of it would not change even in the bilateral pact. That has been the position. I have stated that—as the hon. lady Member stated just now—about these assurances.

Now, a reference has been made to this pact in this morning's papers. We have not seen the full text of it. It is possible that the text may be made public because I think—it is said—that it would be registered at the United Nations; if it is so, then it would be made public and if it is made public, we shall examine it and if the House so desires, I can place a copy on the Table of the House.

But I should like to add that last evening the Ambassador of the United States visited our Foreign Office—not me but the Foreign Secretary—presumably after the signature of this bilateral treaty of Ankara and he told the Foreign Secretary, he repeated in fact, what he had said previously that this was not anything special or additional, this was an old commitment about military aid, etc. and he specially repeated that this was governed by the Congressional resolution which is often called the Eisenhower Doctrine. That is to say, that it only applied to communist aggression and to none other.

Now, I am, as I said, repeating what they have said. I do not personally think that any kind of aggression is likely to be prevented or any security to be added to by such pacts. That is my personal view. But, anyhow, this is the assurance he gave last evening.

This morning's newspapers state that the Foreign Secretary of the Pakistan Government has put a different interpretation to it. (Interruption) There is apparently a conflict between the interpretation put by the United States Government and the Pakistan Government. We propose to point this out to the United States Government or their representatives and to enquire which is the correct interpretation; in fact, find out what the facts are as far as we can. That is all we can do, Sir, at this stage. But I thought it would be desirable for me to place these facts before the House.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether the U.S. Ambassador who met our Foreign Secretary last evening gave us a categorical assurance to the effect that these commitments would not be utilised against India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have said, Sir, what I had to say.

## 205. To N. R. Pillai, S. Dutt, M. J. Desai: US-Pakistan Military Pact<sup>117</sup>

Please see the answers I gave both in the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha this morning to the motion for adjournment in regard to the U.S.-Pakistan military aid pact. In these answers I gave the information which you sent me in a note this morning.

2. It was pointed out that the statement made by the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Mr Baig, was at variance with the assurance given to us by the U.S. Ambassador. On the face of it there is this conflict. I have assured both Houses

117. Note, 6 March 1959.



that we shall enquire further into this matter from the U.S. authorities.

3. I suggest, therefore, that you might meet the U.S. Ambassador and point out this conflict between what he told you and what the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan has said about the interpretation of the agreement. We should like to know precisely what the agreement is and what the views of the U.S. Government are. This is not merely a question of an assurance being given to us privately, but of this point being publicly made clear.

4. I think you might ask him also: (1) whether this agreement is going to be made public, and (2) whether any part of the agreement made is going to remain private. In other words, is there any separate agreement which is not going to be made public?

5. I suggest your enquiring from him about this because I remember seeing somewhere that there was a possibility of two agreements, one a private one to satisfy Pakistan, and the other to be one to satisfy other countries like India.

6. Of course, in asking the U.S. Ambassador you will do so without any doubt about the bona fides of the U.S. Government. We merely say that we want to clear up doubts in our people's minds.

## **206. To Subimal Dutt: US-Pakistan Military Pact<sup>118</sup>**

I suppose that the information we have received both from the U.S. Ambassador here and from Washington (Mr. Loy Henderson)<sup>119</sup> is adequate for us to make a statement in Parliament here. On my return to Delhi, I shall therefore make such a statement. Could you please keep a draft ready?

It is not quite clear to me if the agreements between the U.S. and Pakistan, Iran and Turkey are public documents. Can a copy of them be placed on the table of the House or put in the Library of Parliament?

After we have prepared our draft, it might perhaps be advisable to show it to the U.S. Ambassador so that there may be no chance of misinterpretation.

## **207. To MEA: Border Incidents with East Pakistan<sup>120</sup>**

It seems to me that, in view of the continuing border incidents in East Pakistan, we must take some additional steps. These might be:

118. Note, 6 March 1959.

119. Former US Ambassador to India.

120. Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M.J. Desai, 12 March 1959. File No. 3/41/59-BL, pp. 1-2/Note, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

(1) Write a formal note to the Pakistan Government. I had thought at first of writing to President Ayub Khan, but I have given up this idea as I have had no personal contacts with him. The note should be polite and firm and should state that we are greatly concerned with the repeated border incidents and the continuing aggressive action of armed forces and others from the Pakistan side at numerous places. There have been numerous kidnappings, and our nationals have been sentenced to imprisonment. Property, such as a quantity of jute, have been confiscated from our nationals on the apparent plea that they went on the Pakistan side of the river. Repeated ceasefires have been agreed to, and then broken on the part of Pakistan. From this, it appears that these local agreements have no value, and our people on the border are constantly threatened. It is our duty to protect them and to prevent aggressive action on our territories or our citizens.

The Prime Ministers' Agreement last year was made with the hope that these border incidents will cease and there will be peace on the frontier. (The relevant sentence in the Agreement should be quoted) Because of this desire and hope, we, on our part, anxious as we were for peaceful relations with Pakistan, and a stoppage of these border incidents, came to some agreements even at the cost of some injury to our people.

Soon after the Prime Ministers' Agreement, these border firings and incidents started again, sometimes on the Assam-East Pakistan border and sometimes on the West Bengal-East Pakistan border, and a state of insecurity prevails there. In accordance with the procedure laid down previously, local officers meet on the spot and agree to cease fire. Very soon after, this agreement is broken. It is thus clear that the old procedures do not function. Further, the Prime Ministers' Agreement has had no effect on these border incidents. Indeed, there have been far more border incidents in recent months than even previously. (You might give a brief summary list of these border incidents since the Prime Ministers' Agreement)

This matter is assuming serious proportions and has been repeatedly mentioned and discussed in our Parliament. We have assured our Parliament that we shall give protection to our people on the border and prevent any aggression. That is the duty of any Government faced with such occurrences. If any minor incidents happen on the border, they should be dealt with peacefully, and not by the intervention of armed forces, by firing, by kidnapping etc., which are not conducive to peaceful relations between two countries. If any crime or breach of the law is committed, normal civil procedures should be adopted and, in the case of nationals of the other country, that country should be informed before any further step is taken. In other words, even though there are major questions at issue between India and Pakistan, both the countries should function



in the normal peaceful and civilised way which is customary between two countries. We are, therefore, again drawing the attention of the Pakistan Government to these serious developments in the hope that immediate and effective orders will be issued for a complete stoppage of firing or any other aggressive action. Any continuance of this will necessarily lead to a worsening of the situation.

Something on these lines might be prepared.

(2) There was some reference in the Lok Sabha to the responsibility of the Army in defending the border. I stated that while there was the overall responsibility of the Army, this was much closer on the Assam border than on the West Bengal border. As, however, there have been a multitude of incidents recently on the West Bengal border, we shall have to take further steps. These steps, I think, should be to put the Army more into the picture in that area. That is to say, the police in that area will continue, but will function under the general directions of the Army, as on the Assam border. We should write to the West Bengal Government on the subject making this suggestion.<sup>121</sup>

In the message to the Pakistan Government, no reference should be made to the U.S.-Pakistan Military Aid Pact.<sup>122</sup>

121. While submitting the draft note on 17 March 1959, Narendra Singh, Deputy Secretary, MEA, suggested publishing it since Pakistan was sensitive to opinion in East Pakistan and elsewhere. He also noted that East Pakistan Rifles had 5000 men on the Assam-East Pakistan border against a mere 1900 men of the Assam Border Police force, and claimed that the East Pakistan Rifles were better equipped and trained.

122. After seeing the draft note, Nehru suggested to M. J. Desai on 17 March 1959 that in the penultimate paragraph, "you might add some further demands of ours, such as the release of our people who have been kidnapped or sentenced and the release of the properties (jute, etc.) which have been confiscated. Further, action to be taken in regard to the assault on Shri Iyer." (For the assault on K.C. Iyer in Rajshahi, see SWJN/SS/45/p. 682) Nehru also suggested that Desai should write separately about fishing being opened to both Indian and Pakistani fishermen on the river passing through Murshidabad District. Nehru reminded him about a letter of 15 March 1959 from Tridib Chaudhuri. See item 106 and Appendix 13.

## 208. In the Lok Sabha: Border Incidents with Pakistan<sup>123</sup>

### Motion for Adjournment

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you were pleased to admit this motion this morning on a specific issue,<sup>124</sup> but it has tended to be discussed on much broader lines. Even in regard to the border issues reference has been made to a large number of past issues on the Assam border etc., and some other border considerations have been brought in also.<sup>125</sup>

It is true, of course, that every issue involves a background, involves considerations that bring it about. Obviously, a border issue between India and Pakistan involves the fact that Pakistan was partitioned from India and certain consequences followed, consequences which, in spite of every effort, seem to pursue us still and create not only insecurity on the border regions but a great deal of ill-will and bitterness.

You know, Sir, and the House knows, that we have tried our utmost, keeping in view the security of India, to deal with these matters so as to put an end to these troubles, to solve these problems as they arise, and not to do anything which was likely to create bitterness. I have often spoken about this in this House. And yet, it has been our misfortune to see these big and small issues going on day to day and year after year. I must confess to a feeling, a sense of great disappointment. I do not mean the big issues now, for the big issues could hardly be dealt with when the two Prime Ministers met, and they are in a different category. But we thought, and I thought, that the smaller border issues at any rate could be tackled and if all of them cannot be settled immediately we can at least settle them one by one or in certain groups. But I confess to a feeling of grievous disappointment that it has not led to that peace in the border which I hoped for.

I can very well understand the concern and the anxiety of all the members in this house about this continuous situation. This is not a matter which can be

123. Statement, 12 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVII, cols 6031-6039.

124. The adjournment motion, moved by Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri on the same day to focus attention on the lack of security and protection for the life and property of Indian nationals on the eastern border with Pakistan, was withdrawn after the debate.

125. The discussion included the Bagge Award, the Radcliffe Award, the Indo-Pakistan boundary adjustment in the Murshidabad area under the terms of the Prime Ministers' Agreement of September 1958, the problems of char areas, the West Bengal Government Home Ministry's responsibility for the defence of border areas, and so on.



considered from a party point of view because we are all concerned with the safety of our border and the security of our fellow citizens in that border.

Now, I can, in so far as this narrow issue is concerned, read out a statement of the facts which have been supplied to me by the authorities in West Bengal, in fact by the District Magistrate of Murshidabad who was concerned with this and who was enquiring into it. I shall do so if the House so wishes, I gave some broad idea about it this morning.

There are two other matters to which I would like to refer; although perhaps they are slightly outside the scope of the motion before the House there has been some indirect reference to them. There are many Members in this House or some of them who connect these border issues or border troubles, firing, etc., in some way or other, with the recent military aid pact between the United States and Pakistan and some other countries. Now, on the last occasion when I spoke about this matter, I said that we would enquire further into this. We have had some further enquiries made. In fact, we are still continuing it. By enquiries, I mean explanations. I hope tomorrow morning to place a paper before this House on this subject, giving the text of the assurances and the other matters connected with that. Perhaps even that may have to be followed up, because we are pursuing this line of action. So, I shall not say anything more about that except to say that that paper will be placed before the House, which will contain, if I may say so, nothing very new but it will, in a connected form, give the text of these pacts as well as the other papers which may help hon. Members to see the whole thing in the right perspective.

I can only say this now in regard to it that on further enquiry from the United States Government we have been given categorical assurances that the aid pact has absolutely nothing to do with any idea of Pakistan attacking India. In fact, the assurances in that respect are as categorical as they can be. Of course, as an hon. Member pointed out, the assurances though satisfactory to the extent as they may be, cannot be wholly satisfactory, because the other party concerned, instead of giving any assurances, makes statements to the contrary—statements made by Pakistan repeatedly.<sup>126</sup> However, I shall not deal with the matter anymore.

Secondly, reference has been made once by me in a general way and subsequently by some other Members, about the military equipment from the United States which is said to have been used by Pakistani forces.

I think that I should place the exact facts, as we know them, before the House, so as to prevent misapprehensions from arising. I have nothing to say

126. The reference is to the Pakistan Foreign Secretary M.S.A. Baig's statement on US aid to Pakistan, contrary to the US position as explained to India.

about the item of news appearing in the *Statesman* newspaper, which was quoted this morning.<sup>127</sup> I have no particular information. But when I previously said about this equipment, I was referring to certain types of equipment which came into our possession on the Cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir State and which undoubtedly were of American manufacture. In fact they could not have come from anywhere else. Again, I cannot say, of course, that they formed part of the Aid programme or were bought in the open market, we have no evidence of American arms being used in border incidents in the East. But some equipment of American manufacture has been found in cases of attempted sabotage across the Cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir. The details are:

Radiosonde transmitters recovered: On the 6th of October, 1958 one apparatus marked "U.S. Army Signal Corps, Radiosonde Modulator, number so-and-so, Johnson Service Co-."— full particulars.

On the 9th October, another apparatus marked "U.S. Army Signal Corps, Radiosonde transmitter and Radiosonde Modulator".—I might add, Sir, that I do not know what these things are. That is to say, I do not know exactly what they are, in detail; I know broadly what they are.

Then, two plastic explosive charges with American fuse, recovered from the premises of the Panchayat Ghar in village Banwat, P.S. Poonch on 21st December, 1958.

And again, one U.S.A.-made wireless set recovered from a place about 9 ½ miles South-west of Rajauri and about 5 miles on our side of the Cease-fire line on the 16th February, 1959.

Now, this American equipment cannot necessarily be related to the Defence Aid programme, as they could have been easily bought by the Pakistanis. A large number of such recoveries, if made, of course, would put a somewhat different complexion. On an earlier occasion this matter had been taken up with the United States Ambassador as to the question of the plastic bombs used by the Pakistani saboteurs in Kashmir. The Ambassador had categorically denied that they were of U.S.A. manufacture and had suggested that the Pakistanis must have bought them from the United Kingdom. This was on the 7th June, 1958.

That is, Sir, in so far as U.S. equipment is concerned.

Then there is one small matter. An hon. Member — I think it was Mr. Barua, but I am not quite sure; no I think it was Mr. Chaudhuri—referred to our

127. On 12 March, *The Statesman* reported that on 11 March the Pakistanis used American ammunition to fire on three border Indian villages in the Murshidabad district—Char Rajanagar, Char Rajapur and Char Majdiar.



Area Commander in that region being a foreign national, a U.K. national.<sup>128</sup> I am sorry he made that reference, because he is a gallant and loyal officer. He is an Englishman, but he is not a U.K. national. He became an Indian national a long time ago and as such has been serving our Army for a long time. He served in Delhi and various places. As a matter of fact, quite apart from all these recent happenings, in the normal course, he is being transferred to another area.

Shri U.C. Patnaik: I think, sir, about a couple of months ago, when he was given four years extension, the question whether he was an Indian national or not yet an Indian national was talked about here and I think he has not yet opted for Indian nationality.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, the Defence Minister tells me that he is an Indian national.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: He is an Anglo-Indian gentleman who holds office in the Indian Army, but he has not opted for Indian nationality. About that I am definite. If the Government has any papers, then, of course, I shall stand corrected.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a matter where if I am incorrect I shall be glad to correct myself. But normally speaking, every Anglo-Indian is considered automatically an Indian national unless he does something to opt out. His home is India; he has no other home.

Another matter. The overall ultimate responsibility for international border protection lies with the army. But, it depends how a particular border is dealt with. If a border situation is supposed to be potentially a war situation, then, it is dealt with more from the military point of view. Otherwise, it is dealt with from the police point of view, the military, of course, being in the background which could be summoned by the civil authorities whenever needed. On a great many occasions, mention has been made in this House of border troubles between East Pakistan and India. The House will remember that a great majority of these incidents took place on the Assam border. Generally speaking, West Bengal-Pakistan border was quieter. I say generally speaking, not wholly. The incidents there consisted chiefly of cattle lifting and a little trouble in char

128. The reference, made by Tridib Chaudhuri, is to Major General Henderson-Brooks. See also the next item.

lands occasionally. Lately there has been a change and there has been much greater activity on the West Bengal side. Because of the recurrence of many of these instances on the Assam-East Pakistan border, it was arranged to put the army more definitely in charge of that area. That was not so in the West Bengal-Pakistan border although the army, was, as I said, in overall responsibility and could be summoned when necessary. But actually, in the normal way it was the armed police that dealt with it. That has been the position. But, certainly in view of these developments this matter has to be reviewed and we are going to discuss this matter with the West Bengal Government as to how to take more effective measures to give security to our people there.

The difficulty has been that, normally, the army is not brought in petty cases of assault however bad they may be. It may be distressing. But, if there is a case of theft or dacoity or kidnapping, it is bad, we should protect him, of course; but a whole army movement is normally not indulged in on such occasions. However, this matter is recurring and the incidents do require a reconsideration of the manner in which we should give much more effective protection in future.

In regard to this particular incident about which this motion was originally moved, on the 6th March, at about 11.00 hrs, one Rati Kanta Mondal along with four of his employees (all Chaimandals) of Char Rajanagar and adjoining areas under Raninagar P.S. J.L. No. 91, while harvesting linseed from their field at Char Rajanagar bordering Pakistan were challenged by the E.P.R. men of Diar Khidirpur Pak B.O.P. who fired two rounds from their rifles from a distance of about 200 yards. None was injured. Three Pak nationals armed with lathis followed by 4 Pak E.P.R. armed personnel came there and claimed the plot of land in question to be in Pakistan. The Pak nationals caught hold of one Makhan Mondal of Char Rajanagar passing by that way on a charge of harvesting linseed from the Pak territory and took him away to Pak B.O.P. at Diar Khidirpur and severely assaulted him on the way. Rati Kanta Mondal was also assaulted by the E.P.R. personnel who trespassed into the Indian territory. He sustained swelling injury on his arm.

Necessary steps were taken to guard the border and the police force in the area was reinforced.

On 9th March, our District Magistrate at Murshidabad lodged a protest with the Pakistan District Magistrate of Rajshahi against this trespass and firing into Indian territory. He suggested a joint enquiry on the spot by the two District Magistrates and also asked for stern action against the Pakistan border police and Pakistan nationals responsible for this incident and for immediate return of Shri Makhan Mondal, who had been kidnapped and for compensation for assaulting Indian nationals.



On 10th March, heavy and incessant firing by Pakistani border forces continued and our border police returned the fire in self-defence. Two Indian nationals of Char Rajapur were injured by the Pakistan firing.

Our District Magistrate of Murshidabad got into contact with the Pakistan District Magistrate of Rajshahi on the telephone and the latter agreed to stop firing and to a meeting of the two District Magistrates.

Our District Magistrate of Murshidabad went to the place fixed on the border at 4 p.m. to meet the Pakistani District Magistrate of Rajshahi. The Rajshahi District Magistrate, however, did not turn up at the appointed place and the Pakistanis continued to fire and even fired at the messenger sent across to tell the Pakistan District Magistrate of Rajshahi that the District Magistrate of Murshidabad was waiting for him.

On 11th March, Pakistanis stopped firing at 0600 hours but resumed heavy and intermittent firing on Char Rajanagar later in the day. Adequate measures have been taken to deal with the situation.

I have nothing further to say on this matter, except that we are very much concerned about these developments, not only the incidents in themselves, but the whole background behind them, and we certainly hope to take effective measures.

## 209. In the Lok Sabha: US Military Alliances<sup>129</sup>

Statement Re: Agreement for Military Aid Between  
USA and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I have a statement here and as promised yesterday I shall place it on the Table of the House. Would you desire me to read it or place it on the Table of the House?

Mr. Speaker: Is it a long one?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It will take about ten to eleven minutes to read.

129. Statement, 13 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVII, cols 6149-6155.

Nehru read out the statement in the Rajya Sabha also on the same day.

Mr. Speaker: If it is an important matter, portions of it may be read.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think it is desirable, unless the whole of it is read.

Mr. Speaker: He may place it on the Table of the House.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am in your hands and in the hands of the House. Am I to read it or to place it before the House?

Mr. Speaker: Inasmuch as the matter is important, if it could be read in the House, I would like to have it read.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It would be read, if it is your desire. I am not trying to avoid reading it.

This statement relates to the three agreements for military aid signed recently between the U.S.A. and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

A meeting of the Baghdad Pact Council was held in London on the 29th July, 1958. This meeting was held soon after the revolution in Iraq. At this meeting, a Declaration was issued on behalf of the Prime Ministers of Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and the United Kingdom and Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, U.S.A., copy of this Declaration is attached to this statement. The concluding paragraph of the Declaration contains an undertaking given on behalf of the U.S.A. This paragraph runs as follows:

“Article I of the Pact of Mutual Co-operation signed at Baghdad on February 24, 1955, provides that the parties will cooperate for their security and defence and that such measures as they agree to take to give effect to this cooperation may form the subject of special agreements. Similarly, the United States, in the interest of world peace, and pursuant to existing Congressional authorization, agrees to co-operate with the nations making this Declaration for their security and defence and will promptly enter into agreements designed to give effect to this cooperation.”

2. In pursuance of this undertaking given on “behalf of the U.S.A., consultations took place at Ankara early in March, 1959, and three agreements were signed on March 5th, 1959, between the U.S.A. on the one hand and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan on the other. These three agreements signed on March 5th, 1959 are identical. A copy of the Agreement between the U.S.A. and Pakistan is attached to this statement.

Article I of the Agreement of March 5th, 1959 runs as follows:

“The Government of Pakistan is determined to resist aggression. In case of



aggression against Pakistan, the Government of United States of America, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States of America, will take such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be mutually agreed upon and is envisaged in the Joint Resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle East, in order to assist the Government of Pakistan at its request."

3. It will be seen from this Article I that the United States of America agreed to assist the Government of Pakistan, at their request, in case of aggression against Pakistan by such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as would be:

- (i) in accordance with the Constitution of the United States of America; and
- (ii) as envisaged in the Joint Resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle East. (This is commonly known as the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East).

4. Under the Constitution of the United States of America, U.S. armed forces cannot be used to assist any other country without the specific authority of the United States Congress. The Mutual Security Act authorises the U.S. Government to give military aid, economic aid to foreign countries but does not authorise the use of United States forces in support of any other country. The use of the U.S. armed forces in support of any other country without specific sanction of the United States Congress, is however, possible under the authority given by the Joint Resolution of the Congress of March 9, 1959. A copy known as the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East, is attached to this statement.

Section 2 of this Joint Resolution reads as follows:

"The President is authorised to undertake in the general area of the Middle East, military assistance programmes with any nation or group of nations of that area desiring such assistance. Furthermore, the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the preservation of the Middle East. To this end, if the President determined the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use armed forces to assist any such nation or group of such nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism: provided, that such employment shall be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the Constitution of the United States."

A study of the documents attached to the statement and, particularly, the portions to which attention has been drawn above, shows that under the latest Agreement signed between the United States of America and Pakistan the Government of the United States have undertaken that they will not only continue

to give economic and military assistance to Pakistan, but will also, on request, used the armed forces of the United States in order to assist the Government of Pakistan, in case of armed aggression against Pakistan from any country controlled by international communism.

The spokesmen of the Government of Pakistan have, however, given a wider interpretation to the latest agreement.

In view of this interpretation on the part of Pakistan and the doubts that had arisen because of this Agreement a request was made to the United States authorities for clarification. We have been assured by the U.S. authorities that their latest bilateral agreement with Pakistan has no effect other than the extension of the Eisenhower Doctrine to cover Pakistan and that the Eisenhower Doctrine restricts the use of United States armed forces to cases of armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism, we have been specifically assured that this Agreement cannot be used against India. We have also been assured by the United States authorities that there are no secret clauses of this Agreement nor is there any separate secret supplementary agreement.

Spokesmen of the Pakistan Government have on various occasions stated that their objective in entering into a defence aid agreement with the U.S.A. and in joining military pacts and alliances is to strengthen Pakistan against India. We have repeatedly pointed this out and emphasised that the United States defence aid to Pakistan encourages the Pakistan authorities in their aggressiveness and increases tension and conflict between India and Pakistan. We have known for some time that in cases of attempted sabotage in Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistanis have used some military equipment of United States origin. It is not possible to say whether this equipment is part of the United States defence aid equipment to Pakistan or whether it has been purchased through normal commercial channels. The wider interpretation given by the Pakistan authorities to the latest Agreement is, therefore, a matter of grave concern to us, particularly in the context of our past experience of repeated and increasing aggressive action on the part of Pakistan.

We welcome the assurance given to us by the United States authorities, but aggression is difficult to define, and Pakistan authorities have in the past committed aggression and denied it. In the context of this past experience, the continuing threats held out by Pakistan, and Pakistan's interpretation of the latest Agreement with the U.S.A., it is difficult for us to ignore the possibility of Pakistan utilising the aid received by it from other countries against India, even though those other countries have given us clear assurances to the contrary. We have, therefore requested the United States authorities to clarify this position still further.



We have repeatedly stated and it is our firm policy that we will not take any military action against Pakistan or any other country except in self-defence. We are sure that the Government and the people of the United States have nothing but goodwill for us and that they will not be parties to any arrangement, formal or informal, open or secret, which may threaten the security of India.

There is one matter which arose out of yesterday's discussion. A reference was made by an hon. Member opposite to one of our senior officers, Major General Henderson Brooks;<sup>130</sup> it was stated that he was not an Indian national, whereupon I said that Major General Brooks was an Indian national and he was an efficient, competent and loyal officer. Another hon. Member, Shri Patnaik,<sup>131</sup> seemed to doubt this statement. I have enquired into this matter and the position is this.

Major General Brooks was born in Burma and was commissioned as King's commissioned Indian officer in 1929. All King's commissioned Indian officers had to be officers of Indian domicile and Major General Brooks has all along been treated as an Indian national. Like all other Indian Services Officers, he took the oath of allegiance to the Constitution of India soon after the Constitution was framed in 1950. I may add that he has served with distinction in various important channels.

*Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:* The hon. Prime Minister stated that this bilateral agreement has been arrived at in the context of the Constitution of the USA and its treaty obligations. So, I would also make available to us the actual texts of SEATO as well as the Mutual Security Act of USA, so that we may ourselves be able to go into the details of those clauses. It will help us in our debate on External Affairs, specially because Foreign Office spokesmen of USA have specifically stated that in addition to the Constitution of USA and the Eisenhower Doctrine, they will be bound by certain other treaty obligations it was specifically mentioned in one of the newspaper reports—such as SEATO and certain other treaties. So, we have to look into all those treaties and copies may be made available to us.

*Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:* They can be made available as a matter of fact, they have been published repeatedly. I think the Lok Sabha Secretariat has brought out a compendium of all these documents.

130. Thomas Bryan Henderson-Brooks (b.1909); commissioned 29 August 1929; was GOC XI Corps when appointed chairman of the Operations Review Committee with Maj-Gen P.S. Bhagat as member in 1962 and submitted his report on 12 May 1963.

131. U.C. Patnaik.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: That is more or less a short summary of the various treaties to which we are a party. Normally I do not think it contains treaties in which we are not a party.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Lady Member will let me know specifically copies of what documents she wants and she shall certainly have them.

Mr. Speaker: If necessary, I will get a copy.

## 210. In the Lok Sabha<sup>132</sup>

Question:<sup>133</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question No. 898 on the 4th September, 1959 and state:

- (a) whether any further progress has been made in the demarcation of Indo-Pakistan border; and
- (b) whether the forcible occupation of village Tokergram by Pakistan<sup>134</sup> has since been vacated?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, Sir. A statement showing the progress was laid on the Table of the House. (See Appendix IV, annexure No. 26).

(c) No, Sir.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:<sup>135</sup> The Indo-Pakistan Land and Record and Survey Conference held in September 1958 fixed the end of this month as the date on which the construction of boundary pillars on Bholaganj and Surma river areas will be completed. May I know whether this has been completed; and, if not by what time Government expect it to be completed?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I have not got the information about specific areas. But other details are given in the statement.

132. Reply to questions on the Indo-Pakistan border demarcation, 16 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 6290-6293.

133. By Congress MPs, Vidya Charan Shukla, Ram Krishan Gupta, Rameshwar Tantia, D.C. Sharma, Anirudh Sinha; and PSP MP, Hem Barua.

134. Since 6-7 August 1958. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 543.

135. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Baloda Bazar, Madhya Pradesh.



Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: Under the terms of the Nehru-Noon Agreement, the Forest Commissioners of Pakistan, Assam and East Bengal and the Chief Secretaries of these two States were to meet to draw up a provisional demarcation line for the Patharia Forest Area. May I know whether that has been done?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: The question of demarcation of the boundary in this area....

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): No, Sir; it has not been done.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: Have the Pakistan Government agreed in the Nehru-Noon Agreement to withdraw from the portion of Tokergram as soon as the provisional line is demarcated; and if so, what steps have Government taken to hurry this up?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir; it was stated by the Pakistan Government that they would withdraw from Tokergram as soon as this line was demarcated. They tried to link the two together although there is nothing common. But, our efforts in getting this Patharia Forest Area demarcated has not succeeded because difficulties are placed in the way by the Pakistan Government.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: May I know whether any dispute had occurred so far in the demarcated border.

Mr. Speaker: Has any dispute occurred so far regarding demarcations? (Interruption)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand that. Demarcation takes place where there is no dispute. If there is a dispute it is not demarcated. They go on to the next area and demarcate it.

Shri D.C. Sharma: From the statement I find that the progress of demarcation has been the slowest on the Tripura-East Pakistan border. May I know the reason for that and what is being done to speed up the progress?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: It has already been pointed out on the floor of this House how very difficult it is to carry on demarcation in these areas because it has to be limited to certain seasons and then every inch of ground

has to be measured and agreement reached between the parties before demarcation can take place. If there is any disagreement, the demarcation is suspended till the disagreement is settled. That is why, in this area you find the progress relatively small.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether Tugergram was specifically brought before Mr. Noon and whether the vacation of Tugergram by Pakistani forces was made a pre-condition to the Agreement? If not, may I know whether the Prime Minister agreed to the possible occupation of Tugergram as ransom against—I mean—the Patharia Reserve Forest Area under dispute?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no pre-condition Sir. But this point was discussed. And, in regard to Tugergram, it appeared to be evident—it appeared to be recognised by them—that that was Indian territory and it had been improperly seized by them. But, I am giving this in my own words—of course not in their words. But they tacked it on to the Patharia Forest Area where, according to them, we had gone on their territory. For this the answer was: We are quite prepared to have the Patharia Forest Area to be defined—this theirs, this ours; and if there was any doubt it may be decided later and that they should vacate Tugergram.

Shri Hem Barua: As a corollary to this reply I want to put a question.

Mr. Speaker: This is coming up again and again.

Shri Hem Barua: In view of the fact that the Prime Minister has said that Tugergram belongs to India, why is that the Prime Minister has allowed foreign troops to be stationed in our territory? May I know the reason?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Is the hon. Member referring to the Prime Minister of India?

Shri Hem Barua: Yes; what business have I to refer to the Prime Minister of Pakistan?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The question of Tugergram is one which is tacked on to a point at dispute. But the fact is that Tugergram has been within India during all these years. I am mentioning this because although it has been in India is recognised that it is India, it is indirectly a matter in dispute.



Shri Hem Barua: That was not brought before Justice Bagge or Justice Radcliffe. It was never a disputed area.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a part of a larger question—not by itself. But, as for the real question— of the hon. Member, I suggested that since they have occupied it we have been trying to settle it either peacefully—or one can have armed military operations—we try to avoid that.

## 211. To S.A. Mehdi: Secret Session on US-Military Pact<sup>136</sup>

March 19, 1959

Dear Shri Mehdi,<sup>137</sup>

I have received your letter of March 17th in which you suggest that a secret session of the Lok Sabha be held to consider the Military Pact between the U.S.A. and Pakistan.

I have referred to this Pact repeatedly in the Lok Sabha and have made a fairly long statement about it. I have stated in it all that I know. There is no secret that has been suppressed. If any further information comes to me, I shall place it before the Lok Sabha.

I do not, therefore, see what good such a session can do. It may well do some harm and create needless excitement and make people imagine that we are keeping away the facts from them. There is no fact that I have kept away from the public.<sup>138</sup>

The text of the Agreement has already been placed by me on the Table of the House.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

136. Letter.

137. Syed Ahmad Mehdi (b. 1923); Congressman from UP; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-67; Union Deputy Minister for Mines and Metals, 15 February 1966-13 March 1967.

138. Nehru asked Ram Subhag Singh on the same day to send a similar reply to P.C. Borooah who had made such a suggestion to Ram Subhag Singh. Borooah was Lok Sabha Congress MP from Sibsagar, Assam.

## 212. In the Lok Sabha: Border Incidents with East Pakistan<sup>139</sup>

### Short Notice Questions Transfer of Charlands to Pakistan

Question:<sup>140</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the matter of the future of about 9,100 fishermen families who have been affected by the recent transfer of Charlands in Murshidabad district under the Noon-Nehru Pact has been referred by the Government of West Bengal to the Government of India;
- (b) if so, the full details thereof; and
- (c) the action taken or proposed to be taken by the Government of India in regard thereto?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) and (b). In their latest report, the Government of West Bengal have stated that it is not correct to say that the implementation of the Bagge Award on the boundary between the districts of Murshidabad and Rajshahi has directly resulted in affecting the fishermen families adversely. According to the West Bengal Government, the difficulty has arisen because the Pakistani Border Police have, since the demarcation according to the Bagge line, been denying to our fishermen and their boats, the transit facilities, which they used to give before, in parts of the river where both banks are in possession of Pakistan, to carry on fishing in Indian waters lower down, and are also preventing our fishermen from using the entire width of the river for navigation where the boundary is midstream and thus hindering the use of large and expensive fishing nets used by our fishermen which are required to be drawn across the entire width of the river though actual fishing operations are confined to the stretch of the river falling within our side of the international boundary.

The Government of West Bengal have also reported that the total number of fishermen families affected is 4,125.

(c) Our High Commission in Karachi has been instructed to take up this matter with the Government of Pakistan and to request them to agree to representatives of the Government of West Bengal and the Government of East Pakistan working out mutually satisfactory detailed arrangements for transit facilities for the fishermen and their boats and for freedom of navigation across

139. Reply to questions, 26 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 7913-7919.

140. By Congress MP Ila Palchoudhuri.



the entire width of the river provided that actual fishing operations are confined within the limits of the particular State of which the fishermen are nationals.

A reply from the Government of Pakistan is awaited.

Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri: May I know whether the Government is taking any steps to see, in case fishing is not allowed by Pakistan—they may not do it but their attitude is like that, sometimes—that these fishermen are rehabilitated, because fishermen cannot take to other professions easily.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): First of all, I think the obvious course in such matters is for arrangements to be arrived at which are to the mutual advantage of the two countries. In the present case it will be noticed that nobody has been physically shifted. It is the river boundary that has been clarified—whether midstream or one side of the river to the other. About the difficulty that has been put in the way of the fishermen in regard to fishing, it seems to be obvious that the same thing will occur to Pakistani fishermen in some of the stretches of the river. This kind of attempt merely to come in the way of the other party is not advantageous to any country. I hope it will be settled, as normally it is settled. People are allowed to fish within their territories. Some arrangements are arrived at.

The question of rehabilitation as such does not arise, at present at least and I hope not for the future. As the hon. Member says, fishermen can only be rehabilitated where they can fish, in some other stretch of the river. The areas are limited.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : अभी 17 मार्च को वेस्ट बंगाल असेम्बली में श्री बी.सी. राय ने यह बात कही थी कि इस बॉर्डर की रक्षा के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि हमको आर्मी की सहायता दी जाय। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि सेण्टर उनको आर्मी की सहायता देने जा रहा है या नहीं।

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : इसका इस सवाल से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। यह तो मल्लाहों की रक्षा का सवाल है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह प्रश्न इसमें नहीं उठता है।

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : लेकिन मैं जवाब देने के लिए तैयार हूँ, अगर आप इजाज़त दें।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जैसा आप मुनासिब समझें।

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : आर्मी की रक्षा तो हमेशा दी जाती है, यानी दूसरे देश से जो हमारी सरहद है, उसकी रक्षा आर्मी के हाथ में होती है। लेकिन आर्मी वहाँ पहरा नहीं देती है। अगर ज़रूरत होती है, तो वह बुलायी जाती है। मुख्य मन्त्री जी ने जो वहाँ कहा, वह ठीक था — वह हमारी सलाह से कहा था कि फ़ौज को ज़्यादा अधिकार दिया जाय कि वह निश्चय करे कि कहाँ-कहाँ उसको देख-भाल करनी है। जैसे कि हमारी फ़ौज आसाम की सरहद पर देख-भाल कर रही थी, वह करती है। उसकी ज़िम्मेदारी ज़रा बढ़ा दी गयी है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Raghunath Singh : Recently on 17th March Shri B.C. Roy said in the West Bengal Assembly that it is necessary for the safety of this border that the help of the Army be provided to them. I wish to know whether the Centre is going to provide the help of the Army to them or not.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : This has no relation to this question. This concerns the safety of the fishermen.

Mr. Speaker : This question does not rise here.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : But I am ready to answer the question if you permit me.

Mr. Speaker : As you wish.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : The protection of the Army is always given, that is, from the other country on the other side of our border, its protection is in the hands of the Army. But the Army does not keep guard there. If it is needed it is called. Whatever the Chief Minister said there was correct—it was said with our consultation that the Army be given more powers that it should decide where it has to go and keep an eye. Like our Army is keeping vigil on the borders of Assam, it does so. Its responsibilities have been increased.

Translation ends]

### Tukergam

Shri Hem Barua: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to a statement made by a Foreign Office spokesman of Pakistan, emanating from Karachi, dated the 17th March, 1959 repudiating the statement made by the



Hon'ble Prime Minister in Parliament to the effect that Tukergram belonged to India;

- (b) if so, whether it is a fact that the aforesaid spokesman has emphatically said that Tukergram "rightfully belonged to Pakistan" and it was given to Pakistan according to the Bagge Award; and
- (c) if so, what steps, if any, Government have taken to explain the correct position vis-a-vis Pakistan's claim so far as Tukergram is concerned?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) and (b). Government have seen a report in the Pakistan press of 19th March, 1959, to the effect that an official of the Pakistan Foreign Ministry had asserted that Tukergram belonged to Pakistan because it was on the Pakistan side of the Kusiya river.

(c) Our High Commission in Karachi has been instructed to bring to the notice of the Pakistan Government:-

- (i) that Tukergram which falls within the district of Cachar had been awarded to India under the Radcliffe Award, and had been continuously in Indian possession till it was forcibly occupied by Pakistani armed forces in August, 1958;
- (ii) that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan during their meeting in September, 1958, had agreed that Pakistani forces should withdraw from Tukergram and restore the status quo.

Our High Commission has also been instructed to express the deep concern of the Government of India at the attempted repudiation of the Agreement between the Prime Ministers of India & Pakistan by an official of the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan and to request the Government of Pakistan to take very early action for withdrawal of Pakistani forces from Tukergram, and implement the Prime Ministers' Agreement in this regard.

Shri Hem Barua: In view of the fact that the Prime Minister of Pakistan, at the time of the Nehru-Noon agreement, gave a categorical assurance to vacate Pakistani troop from Tukergram, may I know whether Government propose to dislodge the Pakistani occupants of Tukergram, if necessary by force of arms?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): We do not propose to use force of arms for this purpose in the present context.

Shri Tyagi: I want to know why not. When the territory of India has been occupied by our enemy, why can't we use arms when they occupied it by

force of arms?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Is the hon. Member raising a philosophical question or a practical question?

Shri Tyagi: It is a question of policy; I want a clarification.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In this particular case of Tokergram, we do not propose to do it for the simple reason—I should be quite frank—that Tokergram being situated where it is, it involves a major invasion of Pakistan. It is a border issue, but it is not a minor issue and one has to think quite clearly when one should undertake a major invasion of Pakistan.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether Government are aware of the fact that though Tokergram might be a small village, it is fast developing into a military bastion of strength and at the same time, it is only within a range of 50 yards from where our area on the border of Bhanga Bazar can be attacked and this was being done? There was firing from Tokergram across the Kusiara river which destroyed some of our property on this side of the river. May I know whether this fact has been specifically brought to the notice of the military regime in Pakistan, because military regimes always do not care nor do they willingly disappear. They are there and there is some apprehension that it might take a more serious turn.....

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is making a speech. It is long for me to understand. As I understand, what he has said, is has this matter been taken up with the Pakistan Government in view of the fact that they are establishing bases there.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir; repeatedly.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to a statement made by a Pakistani foreign office official in reply to an article in the *Manchester Guardian* to the effect that 110 square miles of Pakistani territory are under illegal occupation of India, whereas only 36 square miles of territory are under occupation of Pakistan. If so, may I know whether Government have assessed whether it is a fact and whether Tokergram is included in those 110 square miles?

Mr. Speaker: I am not going to allow any statement made by somebody to be raised here. If the hon. Member thinks over it a little more deeply and



calmly, such a question need not have been put.

Shri Hem Barua: I want to know whether Tukergram is included in those 110 square miles or not. This is a very simple question.....

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: How do I know what the Pakistani official meant by 110 Square miles and what the *Manchester Guardian* meant. The hon. Member brings in a newspaper in London and a Pakistani official and wants me to reply to what they said.

Shri Hem Barua: I want to know whether the Prime Minister has looked into it.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not even heard of this thing.

Shri Vajpayee: In view of the fact that the Government of India is not prepared to take military action to liberate Tukergram and in view of the fact that claims and counterclaims are being made by India and Pakistan, may I know if there is a proposal to refer the whole issue to arbitration?

Mr. Speaker: It is a suggestion for action.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I again make it clear? We have to consider each matter not on any ground of high principle, because we have taken military action and we will take military action where it is considered necessary. But always before we think of taking military action, naturally we want to settle the matter in a peaceful way. So far as Tukergram is concerned, they had agreed to do this. It would not be advisable, even though Pakistan does not carry out this agreement, for us to take major military action in regard to this particular matter. But everything depends on future developments—what one may do or may not do. There is no question of referring this particular matter to arbitration.

## (iii) Ceylon

**213. To S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike: Colombo Conference<sup>141</sup>**

March 3, 1959

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter No.FR/FIN/2/58 dated 30th January, with which you enclosed a summary of the replies received from the Governments of some of the Bandung countries on your proposal to convene an economic conference.<sup>142</sup> In view of the replies received, I would suggest that the preparatory work should be done by the five Colombo countries<sup>143</sup> as suggested by the Governments of the People's Republic of China, Turkey, Cambodia and others. It seems necessary, however, that the preparatory committee of Prime Ministers of the Colombo countries should be preceded by a meeting of officials of the five Colombo countries who can settle the tentative items to be taken up for the agenda of the preparatory committee of the five Prime Ministers and prepare the necessary documentation.<sup>144</sup> If you agree, I suggest that this meeting of officials, the delegations being preferably led by the Secretaries in-charge of Economic Affairs, be held sometime in the middle of May in Colombo. The preparatory committee of the five Prime Ministers can meet some time later in the year.

<sup>141</sup>. Letter to the Prime Minister of Ceylon.

<sup>142</sup>. Bandaranaike, in response to Nehru's letter of 23 October 1958 (see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 612-613), had appended a summary of the replies received from the Bandung member-countries namely, the United Arab Republic, Burma, China, People's Republic of China, Turkey, Japan, Cambodia, Indonesia, Pakistan, South Vietnam and Malaya, regarding an economic conference, and proposed a small committee in Colombo to prepare for the conference.

<sup>143</sup>. A conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Colombo in January 1950 conceived a bilateral aid scheme for the countries of south and south-east Asia. This was the Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific, launched on 1 July 1951; the participants were called "Colombo countries."

<sup>144</sup>. The summary, enclosed by Bandaranaike, listed the following: (i) a review of development plans of Bandung countries; (ii) stabilization of prices of primary products; (iii) production and trade of in foodgrains, (iv) trade and tariff policies; (v) training and research in nuclear energy; (vi) development of shipping; (vii) establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies; (viii) population policies.



I enclose, for your consideration, a note indicating certain items suggested for the agenda of the preparatory committee of officials.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 214. In the Lok Sabha: Persons of Indian Origin in Ceylon<sup>145</sup>

Question:<sup>146</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware that the Ceylon Government have abolished special electorates reserved for persons of Indian origin registered as citizens of Ceylon; and
- (b) if so, the reactions of the Government of India thereto?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The manner in which a particular class of Ceylon citizens should be represented in their legislature is of domestic concern to the people and Government of Ceylon.

Shri D.C. Sharma: May I know whether all such special electorates have been abolished or only those special electorates for persons of Indian origin have been abolished.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I could not catch the question.

Mr. Speaker: His question is whether all electorates have been abolished. How can all electorates be abolished?

145. Reply to questions, 6 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVII, cols 4753-4756.

146. By Congress MPs D.C. Sharma, Rameshwar Tantia, H. Siddananjappa, N.R. Munisamy; GNP MP S. Mahanty; DMK MP E.V.K. Sampath.

Shri D.C Sharma: I wanted to know whether all such special electorates reserved for certain persons have been abolished or only those special electorates reserved for persons of Indian origin have been abolished.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I cannot with any certainty say, but my own impression is, that there are no separate electorates there. In fact, what happened was that, some five years ago, when the then Prime Minister of Ceylon came here, there were some talks on this question, and it was a suggestion by him, on behalf of the Government of Ceylon, that for certain people of Indian origin, who were registered as citizens, they should have a special electorate for ten years to give them a chance; it was not our proposal. Since they proposed it, we said, certainly if you so wish it, we shall agree.<sup>147</sup> And later a provision to this effect was introduced in that Act, but in effect, it was never given effect to. And recently, they have removed that provision.<sup>148</sup>

Apart from the reason given by my colleague that it is a domestic matter, we can hardly stand for separate electorate; we have not normally done so anywhere. So, when the Prime Minister of Ceylon informed me that they were going to do it, I merely noted that fact; I did not object to it nor did I commend it.

Shri Sampath: In view of the fact that the conditions of life of the people of Indian origin are already becoming very much worse, may I know whether this step taken by the Ceylon Government will not deteriorate their condition still further, and if so, what steps Government contemplate to tackle this situation?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This particular step by the Ceylon Government has no effect at all on the deterioration or amelioration of the life of persons of Indian origin there. They have never had that facility given to them; if it had been given, it meant very little, because, as far as I remember, about 12,000 to 13,000 persons got the vote. That is, about 1, 00,000 people have been registered under the new Act. Of those, 13,000, who were adults and who would have got the vote under this, were spread all over Ceylon in little groups. It has really no

147. The reference is to the Indo-Ceylonese Agreement, signed on 18 January 1954, which provided for four seats to Ceylonese Indians. See SWJN/SS/24/pp. 613-617.

148. In the House of Representatives, a Government-sponsored Constitutional Amendment Bill which, among other things, provided for the abolition of separate electoral lists and representation for registered Ceylonese citizens of Indian origin in Parliament.



effect—no electoral effect, I mean,—they never had it, and now they have removed it from the Statute book. So it has really no direct result now.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: This is not a suggestion. But I just want to explain that Ceylon in my plan is within 'Aryan'. Culturally Ceylon is a Buddhist country. Therefore, I ask whether the Prime Minister has approached the Ceylonese Government from this view-point, because when we ask them as foreigners 'we, Indians, and you, Ceylonese', they do not listen to us, but if we approach them as Buddhists having common culture and as Aryans within 'Aryan', I think that will settle this question.

Mr. Speaker: It is a suggestion for action.

श्री रामेश्वर टांटिया :<sup>149</sup> पाँच बरस पहले सीलोन के प्रधान मन्त्री ने हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री को कहा था कि हम इस इलेक्टोरेट के सिस्टम को दस साल तक रखेंगे लेकिन वो अब उसको इतनी जल्दी बदलना चाहते हैं। क्या इस बारे में उनसे कोई लिखा-पढ़ी नहीं की गयी?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मैंने अभी अर्ज किया कि उन्होंने एक तजवीज़ की थी जिसको हमने न मंज़ूर किया था और न नामंज़ूर किया था। वो एक चीज़ करना चाहते थे तो करें। अब वो उसको हटा रहे हैं। हमारी राय में उससे किसी बहुत फ़ायदा या नुक़सान नहीं होता।

[Translation begins:

Shri Rameshwar Tantia:<sup>150</sup> Five years ago the Prime Minister of Ceylon told our Prime Minister that they would keep this system of the electorate for ten years, but now they wish to change it so soon. Has no correspondence taken place with them in this regard?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just said that they had submitted a proposal which we had neither accepted nor disapproved. If they wished to do something they could do so. Now they are removing it. In our opinion it does not benefit or harm anyone in particular.

Translation ends]

149. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sikar, Rajasthan.

150. See fn 149 in this section.

Shri Thanu Pillai:<sup>151</sup> The terms of the agreement contain many clauses, of which one relates to this electorate. In view of the fact that the Government of Ceylon is changing it, will our Government consider abrogating other clauses wherein we are obliged to register citizens who continue to be residents of Ceylon to become Indian citizens?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member suggests...

Mr. Speaker: Retaliation.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Was he suggesting retaliation?

Shri Thanu Pillai: Not retaliation, we are obliged to do certain things as per the agreement. They are now giving the go-bye to that agreement. Why should we alone carry the baby and continue to fulfil the obligations?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I can appreciate the hon. Member's feeling about it. But this supplementary has got no relation to this question. There are problems between India and Ceylon about the people of Indian descent. According to an agreement arrived at, they were to register them, those who fulfill their qualifications as their citizens, and we were to register those who fulfill our qualifications as Indian citizens. There is no question of our saying—and it would be improper for us to say that we will not register a person whom we think is an Indian citizen. That is not retaliation. We cannot say that at any time. What we have laid stress is that we will only register such persons as qualify and as decide to do so without compulsion, that is compulsion in Ceylon. That is our position and we hold by that, regardless of what the other party may do. Anyhow, that has no relation to this particular question.

151. P.T. Thanu Pillai, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Tirunelveli, Madras.



**215. To M.S. Aney: Ceylon Workers Welfare<sup>152</sup>**

March 28, 1959

My dear Mr. Aney,

Please refer to your letter of the 18th March<sup>153</sup> about the fund you started in Ceylon.<sup>154</sup> On enquiry, I find that this fund, called the Ceylon Estate Workers Education Trust, has been receiving an annual grant of Rs. 7, 500/-. This is continued from year to year and will be continued. The amount of the grant is debited to the Education Ministry's funds and that is why you did not find it in the External Affairs Ministry accounts.

The affairs of the Trust, however, are rather in a bad way as local contributions are no longer forthcoming. We have felt that the High Commissioner<sup>155</sup> should not be directly associated with the management of this Trust. If it is properly managed, we are prepared to increase the grant, but we feel that the High Commissioner and our officials should withdraw from the Board of Management.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**216. To Rajendra Prasad: Visit to Ceylon<sup>156</sup>**

March 31, 1959

My dear Mr. President,

I enclose a copy of a letter from the Prime Minister of Ceylon.<sup>157</sup> The High Commissioner of Ceylon<sup>158</sup> came to see me today and delivered it. He has got a letter addressed to you from the Governor-General of Ceylon extending an invitation to you to visit Ceylon next June.

152. Letter.

153. See Appendix 16.

154. During his tenure as representative of the Government of India in Ceylon, 1943-47.

155. Y.D. Gundevia.

156. Letter.

157. Bandaranaike had invited Rajendra Prasad to visit Ceylon and to be the Chief Guest of the Vidyalandara University at its inauguration, due in mid-June.

158. Richard Aluwihare.

If it is convenient to you to go to Ceylon then for a few days, I would suggest that you might accept the invitation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iv) UK

**217. To Harold Macmillan<sup>159</sup>**

Thank you for your personal message which was delivered to me by your High Commissioner.<sup>160</sup> I am grateful to you for the interesting account you have given of your recent discussions with President Eisenhower. As you know, I have welcomed the initiative you have taken, beginning with your visit to the Soviet Union, in securing agreement to the holding of effective high level negotiations to bring about a lessening of international tension. On the conclusion of the round of talks on which you have been engaged, I should like to congratulate you on the successful outcome of these talks. It is a matter of gratification that events are now gradually being so shaped as to hold out some promise of satisfactory results. I hope that it will be possible to fix a definite date for the Summit meeting. I agree with you that it would be unwise to delay this meeting too long.

2. I entirely agree with you that our thinking and approach in dealing with these difficult international issues should be flexible and that every avenue should be explored and an attempt made to understand each other's point of view. Such an attempt helps in creating a more favourable atmosphere for discussion and in lowering the barriers of suspicion.

3. Your impression of the attitude of President Eisenhower in this context is of particular interest. I am glad to learn that he retains his larger vision and receptivity to new ideas. I hope that his great influence will help in moderating the rigidity of the American official attitude.

4. I do not wish to offer any detailed comments on particular proposals. In regard to the Berlin issue, it seems to me that the two Germanys will have to be closely associated with matters which concern them both and are of common concern to the German people. I do not think any solution will be practicable if

159. Message to Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, New Delhi, 29 March 1959.

160. Malcolm Macdonald.



it is aimed at compelling the absorption of one part of Germany by the other. I have long been of opinion that the establishment of an area of disengagement in Central Europe would lead to a considerable lessening of tension and help towards reaching an agreement on Germany on problems of European security. Your suggestion of inspection and limitation of armaments in an agreed zone of Europe would certainly be helpful, but by itself it will not go far enough.

5. As you know, it has been our earnest wish that nuclear tests should be suspended indefinitely, both because their continuance is harmful to humanity and because this will also help in creating an atmosphere conducive to settlements. I trust that the Geneva Conference will lead to some understanding even though it might not give full satisfaction in regard to all the technical requirements.

6. The situation in Tibet has caused us much concern. I made a statement in our Parliament on the 23rd March. In case you have not seen it, I am asking our High Commissioner<sup>161</sup> to send you a copy. Our information has been chiefly derived from reports from our Consul-General at Lhasa. He has been able to report only what he saw from his Consulate and does not know much about happenings outside Lhasa. In Lhasa itself fighting has died down, and the Chinese Government appears to be in full control. But it is not clear what is happening in other parts of Tibet. According to our information, a number of important buildings in Lhasa have suffered considerable damage as a result of firing and shelling, and probably quite a number of Tibetans have been killed. Both sides are agreed that the 17-Point agreement reached in 1951 between the Central Government of China and the Tibetan representatives has broken down. The Tibetan local government has ceased to function, and the Chinese Military Control Mission has taken over charge of Lhasa. There is reason to believe that the Khampas have spread out in some strength in areas south and south-east of Lhasa.

7. Owing to the intimate contacts between India and Tibet and the long history of religious and cultural relations, there is naturally a great deal of sympathy for Tibet in India, and more particularly, there is concern about the Dalai Lama's safety, though it is recognised that it is not feasible for us to intervene in what is essentially an internal matter of China.

161. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

## (v) USA

**218. To M.C. Chagla<sup>162</sup>**

I have received cable from John D. O'Connell, Editor, *American Weekly*,<sup>163</sup> 575 Lexington Avenue, New York City, inviting me to comment on President Eisenhower's recent speech in which he asked for advice which might help to solve Berlin crisis. Please inform O'Connell that I regret I cannot send him any message on this subject.

**219. To Thomas R. Stone<sup>164</sup>**

March 30, 1959

Dear Mr. Stone,

I have your letter of February 4, 1959, and I was interested to read it.<sup>165</sup>

You have asked me for "a few words of encouragement" for your convention. I gladly send you my good wishes. I am sorry that owing to stress of work, I cannot write at any length. But I do feel that it is of the utmost importance that the youth of today should prepare themselves on the right lines for the future which they may have to shape. The world is passing through a very troubled period. Perhaps this is the prelude to a better world. But there is also the danger of great disaster by war or other and more subtle ways.

There is the "cold war" today and the bitter hatreds which it has generated. There are racial conflicts and there is the great difference between the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries. It is not through hatred and violence or through racial conflict or the continuance of great differences between nations, that a better order will come into existence.

162. Telegram to the Indian Ambassador to USA, 20 March 1959.

163. The Hearst Corporation's *The American Weekly* began publication in 1896, changed its name to *Pictorial Living* in 1963, and ceased publication in 1966.

164. Letter to the President, Pacific Student Presidents' Association, Brigham Young University, Utah. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

165. Stone had requested Nehru to permit him to quote Nehru's reply at the 34th annual convention of the Pacific Student Presidents' Association, to be held from 6 to 9 May 1959, at Nevada University. Composed of student body presidents and vice presidents representing 125 colleges and universities of eleven western states, Mexico, Hawaii, and British Columbia, this association aimed to prepare leaders for national and world communities.



We have in the world today the capacity to achieve material progress everywhere if only our energies are directed to that end and not wasted in conflict. But even material welfare is by itself not enough. We must have some ethical background in order to make life worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vi) South Africa

## 220. To Radhakrishnan: Visit to South Africa<sup>166</sup>

March 25, 1959

My dear Radhakrishnan,

You wrote to me on the 18th March 1959 about two invitations to you to visit the Union of South Africa.<sup>167</sup> One was from the Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Natal, and the other from Mr. Pather<sup>168</sup> who describes himself as the President of some Indian organisation in South Africa. I did not reply to your letter immediately as I was not quite clear in my mind. I consulted some of my colleagues in the Cabinet informally and also the senior officials of the Ministry of External Affairs.

We are all agreed that it would not be proper for you to accept the invitation given by Mr. Pather. Mr. Pather represents a minority group among the Indians in South Africa and his activities have met with the strong disapproval of the

166. Letter to the Vice President of India. File No. UPD-6/59-AFR-I, pp. 2-3/corr., MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

167. Radhakrishnan had written that he was inclined to decline the invitation from the University of Natal "on account of the treatment of Indians in South Africa." However, "the only matter" which was making him hesitate was Pather "who is the President of the Indian Community in South Africa." Pather had informed Radhakrishnan that the Indian community would be celebrating the centenary of the first arrival of Indians in South Africa and that the South African Government would be sending him an official invitation soon.

168. P. R. Pather (1895-1970); Secretary, Aryan Young Men's Progressive Association and the Hindu-Tamil Institute; worked for the Durban Indian Child Welfare Society and the Natal Indian Council for Child Welfare; Joint Secretary, Natal Indian Congress; founder member, Colonial Born and Settler Indian Association; founding member, Natal Indian Organisation; associated with South African Indian Teachers Association; President, South African Hindu Mahasabha and the Natal Tamil Vedic Society.

majority of the people of Indian descent in South Africa. In fact, when he came here, I did not even meet him. I forget now if he asked for an interview with me. His visit to India itself aroused some apprehension in the minds of the major Indian organisations in South Africa. Also, I do not think that the occasion justifies your visit.

If, however, the South African Government send a direct invitation to you for this purpose, we might consider this matter afresh.

As for the invitation from the Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Natal, we are of two minds. My Ministry thinks that you should not accept it. One or two of my colleagues in the Cabinet are of a like opinion. On the other hand, one or two other colleagues feel that it would, on the whole, be desirable for you to accept this. Your visit, even as Chancellor of the Delhi University, would certainly be a great event in the Natal University, and might well produce a powerful impression in the educationists and others gathered there. It would also, in a way, increase the prestige of India in the eyes of South Africans and thus rather indirectly help the Indian cause.

I have put to you both viewpoints. It is entirely for you to judge how you should react to this invitation.

I am returning to you the correspondence with the University of Natal which you were good enough to send me.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 221. To M.J. Desai: Studying Africa<sup>169</sup>

The letter of Shri P.S. Joshi<sup>170</sup> is interesting and contains some valuable suggestions.<sup>171</sup> I rather doubt if it is possible for the President to nominate a person, as suggested. Those nominations are strictly limited by the Constitution to certain categories of persons.

2. (1) I agree that there should be periodic briefing of newspapers on developments in Africa.

169. Note, 30 March 1959. File No. MRE-30/59-AFR-II, p. 1/Note, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

170. Scholar and historian; studied in Junagadh, Saurashtra; lived in Johannesburg, South Africa for 37 years; wrote on race relations.

171. Desai had forwarded Joshi letter of 23 March 1959 asking for more publicity in India for African causes.



(2) We should produce literature on this subject. This can best be done by the Indian Council of World Affairs and the School of African studies. We should give assistance for this purpose and request them to do it.

(3) I shall consider the question of having a small Committee of MPs to specialise in Indians overseas as well as African affairs.

(4) I do not think that we should establish a new Institute of African-Indian overseas affairs. There is an institute of Indian overseas affairs in Bombay, though I do not know what it has been doing recently. The National Congress, however, might pay special attention to African and Indian overseas affairs. There is a proposal to start an association for African affairs. The idea is that the Congress should sponsor it, but should invite others too.

3. You might send a copy of Shri Joshi's letter to the Congress President<sup>172</sup> and tell her what we propose to do. You might suggest to her also that the A.I.C.C. might specially interest itself in these matters.

(vii) Ghana

## 222. To Kwame Nkrumah<sup>173</sup>

March 17, 1959

My dear Nkrumah,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th February 1959 which I was happy to receive.<sup>174</sup> I need not tell you how much we enjoyed your visit to India and I am glad to learn that this visit brought you a number of pleasant experiences and some memories.

I can well understand your difficulties and the problems you face. All of us who happen to shoulder heavy responsibilities have to face these problems. I have myself had a harder time in the past few weeks or more than perhaps at any time previously. Indeed I have had to come to the regretful conclusion that I should stay on in India and try to help in solving these problems. I had almost decided to go abroad and, more especially, to visit Ghana this summer. But, I fear I must postpone this visit now. I hope you will understand and forgive me.

172. Indira Gandhi.

173. Letter to the Prime Minister of Ghana.

174. Nkrumah fondly recalled his trip to India and wrote that he was "greatly moved by the generosity and hospitality of the people everywhere and their sincere desire to help in whatever way lay in their power the people of Africa." He wrote about his official visit to Nigeria and ironing out many misunderstandings. He again invited Nehru to visit Ghana.

Events in Africa have moved fast and the kind of conflict that we have all wished to avoid seems to be upon us. I spoke today in our Parliament about Nyasaland and the Central African Federation.<sup>175</sup> Yesterday the Working Committee of our National Congress also passed a resolution about Nyasaland.<sup>176</sup> I think that this will have some little good effect because in this context the views of India have some importance in London and elsewhere.

The next few months are going to be very critical in world affairs. On the whole, I think, that the danger of war is likely to be avoided. But the situation continues to be serious in Berlin and Germany. In the Middle Eastern region, the suppressed hostility between Iraq and the UAR has now flared up. This is very unfortunate as it will be exploited by others.

All good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 223. To Kwame Nkrumah<sup>177</sup>

I am happy to learn from your telegram of the birth of your son and that both mother and child are doing well. My daughter and I send you and your wife our congratulations and our good wishes for the son.

175. See item 186, p. 439.

176. See item 17.

177. Telegram, 20 March 1959.



(viii) Iraq

**224. To Subimal Dutt: No Evacuation of Indians Iraq<sup>178</sup>**

I see a message in the evening paper to the effect that the British Government has consulted the Indian and Pakistan Governments on a situation which might lead to the evacuation of their nationals from Iraq.<sup>179</sup> I think you should send a message to our Ambassador in Baghdad<sup>180</sup> and make it clear to him that we should not associate ourselves in any way with any proposals for the withdrawal of our nationals. Indeed we should not even discuss this matter, and make it clear that we have no intention of withdrawing our nationals.

**225. To N.R. Pillai and M.J. Desai<sup>181</sup>**

With reference to the attached telegram, I do not think that it will be advisable for us to take any such joint step.<sup>182</sup> If something has to be done, and I doubt if the present is the time for it, it should be done quietly and informally by representatives of Governments. A joint approach becomes rather official and creates resentment.

178. Note, 12 March 1959.

179. After the revolution in Iraq on 14 July 1958, he Prime Minister of Iraq, Abdul Karim Kassem had dissolved the Union with Jordan, and did not join the United Arab Republic led by Nasser. Kassem received support from the Iraqi communists and this led to rebellion by the Arab nationalists in Mosul. To counter any possible trouble, Kassem encouraged a communist backed rally of 250,000 in Mosul on 6 March 1959. Though the rally passed off peacefully, skirmishes continued from 7 to 10 March between the communists and nationalists.

180. I.S. Chopra.

181. Note, 19 March 1959. File No. 5(28)-WANA/59, p. 3/Note, MEA.

182. The Indian Ambassador in Jakarta, J.N. Khosla, had conveyed to M. J. Desai on 18 March the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Subandrio's, concern over Iraq. He felt Kassem was weak, inexperienced and ill-advised; Nasser's outbursts had inflamed the situation; and the West saw "Nasserism as lesser evil than communist threat to Iraq" but obviously could not help. To pre-empt communist domination, Subandrio proposed that India and Indonesia should jointly persuade Kassem and Nasser to meet for personal discussion.

(ix) Other Countries

**226. To Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra<sup>183</sup>**

March 2, 1959

My dear Tunku,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th February.<sup>184</sup> I was indeed a little surprised to learn of your resignation as Prime Minister. Your subsequent explanation of the reasons for your resignation brought some satisfaction. You are the best person to judge what steps should be taken in Malaya to further the good of the people there. I am glad, however, to know that your influence will continue to be exercised in the Government as well as outside.<sup>185</sup>

You can rest assured of our goodwill for the Government and people of the Federation of Malaya and our desire to cooperate with them.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

183. Letter to the Prime Minister of Malaya.

184. See Appendix 3.

185. He resigned on 9 February 1959, and announced that Dato Abdul Razak, the Deputy Prime Minister, would succeed him as Prime Minister. He explained that he was "tired and ill" and would take a holiday; he would work for strengthening his party, the United Malays National Organisation for the coming federal elections. General elections were held in Malaya on 19 August 1959.



## 227. To Alberto Lleras Camargo: Diplomatic Relations with Columbia<sup>186</sup>

March 12, 1959

Dear Mr. President,<sup>187</sup>

I am grateful for your letter of February 11, 1959<sup>188</sup> which was forwarded to me by our Permanent Representative with the United Nations.<sup>189</sup>

Our decision to open diplomatic relations with Colombia is a matter of great satisfaction to me personally and to our country.<sup>190</sup> We hope that this step will help the people of India and of Colombia to know each other better. Because of the distance between our two countries and for other reasons, it has been difficult in the past to have proper appreciation of each other's thoughts and feelings. We hope to improve our relationship with all South American countries as and when some of the practical difficulties which we face now have been removed. The cooperation that has existed in New York between our delegation and the delegations of the Latin American countries to the United Nations encourages me to believe that further contacts would be mutually beneficial.

I have read with great interest and appreciation the kind sentiments you have expressed about the work of Shri Arthur S. Lall and am grateful for the invitation you have extended to him. Unfortunately, he is now on special duty with the United Nations Visiting Mission on Samoa<sup>191</sup> and is not expected to be free before the middle of June. If after his present task is over, it is convenient

186. Letter to the President of Columbia.

187. Alberto Lleras Camargo (1906-1990); journalist and statesman from Colombia; Speaker, Chamber of Deputies, 1931 and 1933; Minister in the Alfonso Lopez Government, 1935-38; elected to Senate, 1943; President of Colombia, 1945; Secretary General, Organisation of American States, 1948; President, Republic of Colombia, 1958-1962.

188. Lleras had written: "For the first time, Columbia is establishing diplomatic ties with a nation of great stature and ancient culture with which it has maintained continuous cooperation in the international organisations." He invited Arthur S. Lall to visit Bogota since he personally knew him at the UN.

189. C.S. Jha.

190. On 19 January 1959.

191. The three-member UN Mission with Arthur Lall as chairman visited Western Samoa in March and April 1959 on the request of the New Zealand Government. Western Samoa was being administered by New Zealand under the United Nations trusteeship.

for Your Excellency to receive him, we shall be happy to ask him to go to Colombia for a brief visit.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest esteem,

Jawaharlal Nehru

### 228. To M.J. Desai: The Central African Federation<sup>192</sup>

I agree with you.<sup>193</sup> We should present an aide memoire to the U.K. High Commissioner<sup>194</sup> expressing our grave concern at the developments in Nyasaland and in other parts of the Central African Federation.<sup>195</sup> We should point out to him that all these occurrences have caused much distress here, and naturally Indian opinion has reacted strongly to this patent policy of racial discrimination and suppression of the great majority of the inhabitants of these areas. We feel that the least that can be done is for clear expressions of opinion against any form of racial discrimination and something about the rights of the Africans—not only to have their rights protected, but to share in the advance towards freedom which is taking place in other parts of Africa.<sup>196</sup>

192. Note, 14 March 1959.

193. Referring to various communications about disturbances in Nyasaland, M. J. Desai suggested: "As the latest disturbances in Nyasaland have involved damage to property held by persons of Indian origin, I would, provided P.M. approves, use this information to present an aide memoire to the U.K. High Commissioner here reviewing our previous communications and pointing out the complete failure of the Central African Federation authorities to develop a State based on a multi-racial pattern." See also Appendix 10.

194. The aide memoire was presented to Malcolm Macdonald on 17 March 1959.

195. Emergency was declared in Nyasaland on 3 March 1959 following serious disturbances from the middle of February 1959 and the arrest of members of the Nyasaland African National Congress (NANC), including its leader, Hastings Banda. The NANC had been demanding secession from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Raja Surendra Singh Alirajpur, India's Assistant Commissioner in Salisbury, reported on 3 and 10 March 1959 to R.K. Tandon, Joint Secretary, MEA, about the disturbances, arrests and rioting.

196. Nehru had received the following telegram dated 14 March 1959 from Nyasas, Kyela, Tanganyika: "People of Nyasaland beg you call on Indian community of the protectorate not to interfere with unquestionable political rights of the people. Our problem today was your problem yesterday and freedom is dear to all but mostly to us who do not possess it. Let the Indian people join us in prayers for our leaders now in detention without trial. With the rest of Africa Nyasaland is on the march to freedom."



2. You might add that, in these circumstances, for the Federation to be given independence and to become a full member of the Commonwealth would be, in our opinion, to hand over the African population of these territories to a small racial minority which is suppressing them. It has been bad enough for a member of the Commonwealth like the South African Union to declare and practise a policy of racial suppression. To add to this area would be a reversal of what, we believe, the Commonwealth as a whole stands for, and will have serious repercussions.

## **229. In the Lok Sabha: Royal Air Force Station in Maldives<sup>197</sup>**

Mr. Speaker: I have received notice of an adjournment motion from Shri Vajpayee:

“To discuss the grave situation arising out of the presence of the Royal Air Force in the Maldives for the ‘defence’ of the Commonwealth countries, including India”.

This is completely outside our country.

Shri Vajpayee : We are opposed to the stationing of foreign, troops on the soil of other countries. Here in Maldives, the Royal Air Force is present on the ground that it will be useful for the defence of India and Ceylon. Recently, the Maldivian representative, Mr. Ahmed Zakki,<sup>198</sup> has been in Delhi. He met the hon. Prime Minister. The House would like to know what is the policy of our Government regarding the stationing of foreign troops in the Maldives. It is an urgent matter.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I will gladly state what I know about it. But I fail to see how it is a matter for the adjournment of this House, how it is an urgent matter. It is a matter which is proceeding for months and months and it is likely to do so. It is outside India.

Till recently, there was a big base, the U.K. base in Ceylon at Trincomalee—a naval base plus air base and other things. That is gradually being wound up

197. Reply to questions, 17 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 6665-6667.

198. Zakki was Maldivian representative in Ceylon.

by an arrangement between the Government of Ceylon and the Government of U.K. It appears that as an alternative to that Ceylon base, the U.K. Government is having an air base in one of the islands of the Maldive group.

The hon. Member who gave notice of this motion seems to say something about this being for the defence of the Commonwealth and India. I am not aware of having seen that anywhere. Certainly, if it is imagined that it is for the defence of India, I repudiate that suggestion completely. We want no such defence. We want no air base of any foreign Power round about India, so far as we are concerned - to consider it for our defence. It is completely wrong to do so. Nobody is going to attack us. If anybody does, we will look after that attack ourselves. We are not eager to have defence pacts or the help of any country in such matters.

It is rather difficult for me, apart from this general statement, to say what the position is in the Maldive islands. All I can say is that we disapprove of such policy, of such bases anywhere, and that the least that can be said is that the wishes of the people of the country concerned must decide finally, and nothing should be imposed upon them.

Shri Jaipal Singh: May I seek a clarification?

Shri Braj Raj Singh: No positive steps have been taken by this Government for checking that base.

Shri Jaipal Singh: The hon. Prime Minister told us that the Royal Air Force base in the Car Nicobar islands was going to cease to exist. May we know what is the latest position? Is it still there? Or has it disappeared?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no base at all. There is a certain facility we have offered, but not to the Air Force, a certain facility of landing and taking petrol. There is no base at all, and if there is anything. We can stop it.

Shri Vajpayee rose -

Mr. Speaker: I am satisfied that this does not form part of India. Therefore, we have no jurisdiction over that, over what others do. Further, it is a continuous affair. All steps are being taken to protect India against any invasion or anything of the kind. Therefore, this does not concern us. Whatever happens elsewhere, what outsiders do, cannot be the subject matter of an adjournment motion here.

Therefore, I withhold consent to this adjournment motion.



**230. To Roy McCorkel: World Cooperative Bank<sup>199</sup>**

March 19, 1959

Dear Mr. McCorkel,

Thank you for your letter of March 13, 1959.

I have read Mr. Maranz's proposal and I have also consulted some of my colleagues here about it. Our immediate reaction is not in its favour, that is to say, it does not appear to be at all a practical one. The approach is emotional, and no details have been worked out. Practically all that is said is that someone should launch an appeal for a world cooperative bank. I doubt if this appeal will bear fruit to any marked extent. Apart from this, it is not at all clear what is to be done afterwards. Who is to manage the bank and how will its monies be used?

My name has been suggested as the sponsor of this idea. I am reluctant for India to play a part which might well appear rather presumptuous.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**231. To C.P.N. Singh: Buddha Jayanti Celebrations in Japan<sup>200</sup>**

Please convey following message on my behalf to organisers of Buddha Jayanti celebrations.

I am happy to learn that the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha is being celebrated in Japan.<sup>201</sup> The delegates from India have already gone there to participate in this celebration. The message of the Buddha is as alive and vital today as it ever was and it is particularly needed in this world of storm and conflict torn by the cold war. It is a message meant for the world but it unites particularly the countries of Asia which have been blessed by this message and have responded to it. May the deliberations at the time of the Jayanti celebrations help in bringing about peace of mind and calmness of spirit so that all of us

199. Letter to Roy McCorkel, a resident of Pennsylvania.

200. Message to C.P.N. Singh, Indian Ambassador to Japan, 23 March 1959. File No. 16(2)-EA/59, 32/corr., MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

201. From 28 March to 1 April 1959. The highlight of the celebrations was a four-day symposium on "Buddha and the Present-day world."

may help a little in producing that atmosphere which will lessen tensions and reduce conflict. I pay my homage to the Buddha and his message,<sup>202</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru.

### 232. To N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M.J. Desai: Laos<sup>203</sup>

The Soviet Ambassador<sup>204</sup> came to see me this afternoon (27th March, 1959). He referred first of all to Laos.

He said conditions in Laos were bad. There was great repression and even murders of the Pathet Lao, and the Government was moving towards closer cooperation with SEATO. They had sent observers to the military manoeuvres of SEATO held in Thailand in January 1959. Considerable quantities of American military equipment and arms were being sent to them.

The last Government had further rejected the obligations arising from the Geneva Agreement.<sup>205</sup> While they had no relations with the People's Republic of China, they were beginning to have some relations with Chiang Kai-shek.

It was essential that the International Commission of Supervision should renew its activities there. The Soviet Government hoped that the Indian Government would take this stand.

I told him that only a few days ago, I explained our attitude in regard to Laos to Mr. Mukhitdinov. We ourselves were anxious that the International Commission should be in a position to function. Unfortunately, there was no Canadian member of it, and we have been pressing for the nomination of a Canadian representative. The Laotian Government, however, had been coming in the way. Also, that it was against the spirit and letter of the Geneva Agreement for Laos to become directly or indirectly a member of a military alliance. The whole idea behind Geneva was that the countries of Indo-China should remain apart from military groupings.

I further added that I had spoken about this matter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose opinion was that Laos should on no account tie itself up with any military alliance and should remain away from power groups. Further that the International Commission should be in a position to function.

202. India, Ceylon and several other countries celebrated the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Maha Parinirvana during 1956-57. See also SWJN/SS/35/pp. 617-624.

203. Note, 27 March 1959.

204. P. K. Ponomarenko.

205. On Laos and Indo-China in general, in July 1954.



2. The Ambassador then referred to what he called the coming celebration in April of the 10th Anniversary of NATO. He said that this was going to be celebrated to justify military blocs. The NATO and Baghdad Pact were really one great bloc. Also, these blocs opposed freedom movements in Eastern countries and they obstructed the move towards peace. The Soviet Government highly appreciated India's efforts for peace.

He said that the Soviet Government was going to make an official declaration soon about NATO and its aggressive designs. He added, however, that no doubt both sides put forward their own viewpoint of this position.

I replied that, as he knew, we were opposed to military alliances and pacts and did not think that they led to peace, I referred to Mr. Macmillan's visit to Moscow and said that Mr. Macmillan was trying his best to lessen tension and to bring about a Summit meeting. The Ambassador said it was by no means certain that a Summit meeting would take place although that was the only way to deal with present-day problems.

### **233. To R.H. Abdul Kadar: Bandung Pledges Broken<sup>206</sup>**

March 28, 1959

My dear Ambassador,

Thank you for your letter of the 26th March.

I think it is right that the Bandung Conference should be kept alive in people's minds and the decisions taken then should be renewed from time to time. But I am not sure in my mind how far it is desirable for me to participate in such functions at this time. The fact is that the pledges of Bandung have been broken more than they have been kept and it becomes a little embarrassing for me to refer to them in the air and not deal with the many cases that have occurred in breach of those pledges. I have, therefore, avoided such functions and I hope you will appreciate my position.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

206. Letter to the Indonesian Ambassador to India.

## V. MISCELLANEOUS

### 234. To Robert F. Goheen: Honorary Degree from Princeton<sup>1</sup>

March 2, 1959

Dear President Goheen,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of February 23 and for the honour done to me in inviting me to Princeton University to confer upon me the honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws.

I have long admired Princeton University for its tradition of encouraging liberal and humane learning and ideas. It would be a great privilege for me to attend your Commencement Exercises and to accept an honorary Degree from your University. But I fear it is not possible for me to leave India in June next. I am very heavily occupied here with my work, and I find it increasingly difficult to leave India. I hope that you will appreciate my difficulty.

Thanking you again,

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 235. To G. Ramchandran: Meeting Martin Luther King<sup>3</sup>

March 5, 1959

My dear Ramchandran,

Thank you for your invitation to meet Dr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King<sup>4</sup> and Dr. L.D. Reddick<sup>5</sup> on the 8th of March. I am sorry I cannot attend as I shall not be in Delhi then. But I should like to pay my tribute to the work being done by

1. Letter.
2. (1919-2008); educator; taught at Princeton University, 1948-72, and President, Princeton University, New Jersey, 1957-72; US Ambassador to India, 1977-80.
3. Letter to the Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.
4. Civil rights campaigner; he and his wife Coretta King were in India from 10 February to 10 March 1959.
5. (1910-1995); professor of History and head of Library, University of Atlanta, 1948; worked closely with Martin Luther King Jr. during the late 1950s and early 1960s, also taught at various universities and colleges of the USA; co-author, *Crusader Without Violence, A Biography of Martin Luther King* (New York, Harper & Bros., 1959).



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Dr. Martin Luther King. It was a great pleasure to meet him and his wife, as also Dr. Reddick.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 236. To V.R. Bhatt<sup>6</sup>

March 5, 1959

My dear Bhatt,<sup>7</sup>

I have just seen your note in which you tell me that, for the reasons you state, you are resigning from Government service and accepting a post in the *Hindustan Times*. I am sorry that we shall not have the benefit of your help and guidance in future. I have appreciated your work very much. I did not know that Government rules came in the way of the proper utilisation of your services. If I had known this earlier, perhaps I could have helped.

All my good wishes go to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 237. To Syed Mahmud: No Time for Loquacious Persons<sup>8</sup>

March 5, 1959

My dear Mahmud,

Thank you for your letter. I am very glad to know that you are better. If you are well enough, you might come to my house tomorrow, 6th March at 7-30 P.M. to see a film of my visit to Bhutan. This will last about half an hour.

I have read Dr. M.S. Patel's letter and glanced through the other papers he has sent. I have met him many times and I shall, of course, see him here if he comes at a time that is convenient to me. But any person who wants three or four hours of my time goes down in my estimation. I have found Dr. Patel

6. Letter.

7. Worked in PMO, 1951-55; PRO, Indian delegation to UN, 1955-58; joined the *Hindustan Times*, 1959.

8. Letter to Syed Mahmud, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gopalganj, Bihar.

knowledgeable and with good ideas, but extremely long-winded. I am not aware of any subject under the sun which needs discussion for three hours continuously. The right course is for him to write concise notes on such subjects as he wishes to bring to my notice. Even these notes should be brief. Then he can talk to me about them. Reading the various papers he has sent me, I find that they are needlessly long and repeat many things which everybody knows.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **238. To Private Secretary: No Portrait of Annie Besant in Central Hall<sup>9</sup>**

Please reply to this letter and say that it will not be possible to put up a portrait of Dr. Annie Besant in the Central Hall of Parliament as all the places there are either occupied or reserved for particular portraits. But it may be possible to put up her portrait in some other part of Parliament House. For this, the permission of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha<sup>10</sup> will have to be taken. Such a portrait should not be of too big a size as this will not be suitable for most of the rooms of Parliament House.

### **239. To K. Srinivasan<sup>11</sup>**

March 7, 1959

Dear Shri Srinivasan,

I am sorry for the great delay in acknowledging your letter of the 31st January which I was interested to read.

I was particularly interested to read about the boy, Shiring Dhawa. I met Holmes when I was at Manali last year. He was on his way to Lahaul then. I would like to help this boy, Shiring Dhawa, in his education.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Note, 7 March 1959.

10. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.

11. Letter to Srinivasan, a resident of Karol Bagh, New Delhi.



## 242. To Hal Broun Morison: Harrow<sup>12</sup>

March 7, 1959

Dear Mr. Morison,

This is a very belated reply to your letter of February 7th which I was pleased to receive.

I shall indeed be happy to receive from you a copy of the book *Harrow School Yesterday and Today*<sup>13</sup> and the picture of the Hill. Both will remind me of the days long ago when I was at Harrow.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 241. To Private Secretary: No Truck with Nehru Biography Committee<sup>14</sup>

Please write to Shri Hans Raj Sharma<sup>15</sup> and say that I am surprised to learn of this request for financial help from S. N. Mangalamurti.<sup>16</sup> No help should be given. I have nothing to do with this matter.

2. Also, write to Shri S. N. Mangalamurti and say that I have learnt with surprise that he has constituted what he calls Pandit Nehru Biography Publication Committee. Tell him that I do not approve of this at all. I am surprised to learn that he is asking for financial help for this. I consider this very improper.

12. Letter to a resident of Sussex, Brighton.

13. Edward Dalrymple Laborde, *Harrow School: Yesterday and Today* (London: Winchester Publications, UK, 1948).

14. Note, 13 March 1959. File No. 9/42/59-PMS.

15. Private Secretary to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

16. Mangalamurti, author and chief editor of Pandit Nehru Biography Publication Committee, Dhantoli, Nagpur, had approached the Punjab Government for financial help. Sharma enquired whether the prior consent of the Prime Minister had been given.

242. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>17</sup>

March 15, 1959

[Nan dear,]

This morning I sent you a telegram<sup>18</sup> about the tragedy of Shashi Bhushan's death.<sup>19</sup> This was indeed most extraordinary as it was most tragic. It is not yet quite clear to me how he managed to die except that he was crushed between the two railway carriages which were shunting as he was trying to cross the line in the evening. Evidently he was a little late in reaching the Station to catch the train. He left the car at the level crossing and wanted to dash across on foot, between the loose carriages standing there. He had a companion who crept through between them and just passed. Shashi Bhushan followed. As he was in between the carriages, some shunting took place and he was crushed to death. If he had been a second earlier or later, he would have escaped. Poor Sri Prakasa is quite broken down. He has had a succession of misfortunes, and I feel very sorry for him.

You know that Chandrabhal<sup>20</sup> is off his head and so is one of his sons. Shashi Bhushan was a bright lad and a good engineer. Sri Prakasa mentioned to me to ask you specially to send for Priamvada and to break this terrible news to her and console her. The brother and sister were apparently greatly attached to each other.

17. Letter.

18. The telegram said: "On 13 March evening Chandrabhal's son Shashibhushan, serving Engineer, was crushed to death by shunting carriages while trying to cross railway line near Okhla. Sri Prakasa rushed to Delhi yesterday and attended cremation. Today has taken ashes to Banaras. He is naturally deeply affected. He would like you to send for Priamvada and gently break sad news to her and console her. She was very fond of her brother."

19. Shashi Bhushan (Shashibhushan), aged 32, an executive engineer of the UP Irrigation Department in Mathura, died at Okhla. He was the son of Chandra Bhal, younger brother of Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Bombay.

20. Chandra Bhal (Chandrabhal) (b. 1894); elected to United Provinces Legislative Council, 1937, 1940; elected Deputy President, UP Legislative Council, 1948 and its Chairman, 1949-58.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You wrote to me the other day about an invitation to Indu from the Conservative Party of the U. K.<sup>21</sup> Indu was invited by the President of Mexico<sup>22</sup> long ago, that is, long before she became President of the Congress. The President also sent me a message asking me to urge her to accept the invitation and telling me that she would be treated as a most honoured guest of the State. I had advised Indu to accept the invitation as Mexico is a country we would like to cultivate. Unfortunately, we have not been able to do much in this direction. My own intention of going to Mexico or the South American States still remains in the air.

Indu intends leaving India on the 16th May and going direct to Mexico via Paris. She would probably spend about ten days there and then go to New York for two or three days. From there she will go to London now and spend also two or three days there. You might inform the Women's Section of the Conservative Party of the U.K. that Indu is grateful for their invitation. She cannot spend much time in England as she has to hurry back to her work here, but she hopes to be able to meet the members of the Women's Section of the Conservative Party during her brief stay in London.

As you know, Edwina has been here for about five weeks now. She and Pamela have been visiting various places—Bhakra-Nangal, Chandigarh, Jaipur, Ajanta and Ellora, and Bombay. She is very much better now than she was when she came, and has taken a fair amount of rest. She intends returning to England about the end of this month.<sup>23</sup>

[Yours,  
Jawahar]

21. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit wrote on 6 March that the invitation to Indira Gandhi was to be extended in her capacity as a prominent social worker in India but "the Party is now anxious to invite Indu as President of the Congress and, having heard that there is a possibility of her visiting Mexico, they feel that a visit here should also be included in the programme."

22. Adolfo López Mateos.

23. See also SWJN/SS/44/p. 685 and SWJN/SS/46/pp. 650-652, 656, 662.

**243. To Har Inder Singh Bahadur: Drunken Maharaja<sup>24</sup>**

March 16, 1989

Dear Raja Sahib,<sup>25</sup>

I am writing to you about an unpleasant subject. I feel, however, that I should let you know what I have heard about an incident in which you were concerned.

I am informed that on the 26th of January, Republic Day, you went to dinner at the U.K. High Commission in New Delhi. Even before the dinner, you appeared to be under the influence of drink and behaved in an improper manner. During dinner this behaviour became worse. After dinner this continued till your host, the High Commissioner,<sup>26</sup> helped you to leave the house.

In the course of the evening, you are reported to have made some very objectionable remarks. Among these remarks was that you hated the white caps and would like to kill the lot of them.

This report has come to me from a reliable source. Nevertheless, I am writing to you to have your version of this incident. I realise that if you were under the influence of drink, you are hardly likely to remember clearly how you behaved on that occasion. Even so, it seems to me very extraordinary and highly objectionable that a person of your position should, at any place and at any time, function in this way, bringing discredit on yourself and the country. More especially, such behaviour is deplorable in a Foreign Embassy.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

24. Letter.

25. (1915-1989); succeeded his father Brij Inder Singh as Raja of Faridkot, 1918; invested with full powers, 17 October 1934; commissioned into the Indian Army, 1933 ; merged his state with PEPSU, 1948.

26. Malcolm Macdonald.



**244. To Nathan M. Pusey: Honorary Degree from  
Harvard<sup>27</sup>**

March 16, 1959

Dear Dr. Pusey,<sup>28</sup>

I have already sent you a telegram in reply to your kind message. I need not tell you how honoured I feel by the decision of the President and Fellows of Harvard College to confer an Honorary Degree upon me on the occasion of the Commencement ceremonies in June next. Harvard University is one of the great universities of the world, and it would be a privilege and a pleasure for me to visit it. Unfortunately, however, I am so tied up with work and problems in India that it is not possible for me to leave the country. At one time I had thought of going abroad during this Summer, but I had regretfully to give up the idea.

I hope you will accept my apologies and regret.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

27. Letter.

28. (1907-2001); taught History and Literature; President, Harvard University, Massachusetts, USA, from 1953; President, American University; Chairman, Board of Directors, Fund for Theological Education Inc.

**245. To Asoka Mehta: Passport for Narayan Dutt Tiwari<sup>29</sup>**

18th March, 1959

Dear Asoka,

Your letter of March 16th about Narayan Dutt Tiwari<sup>30</sup> having been chosen by Gunnar Myrdal<sup>31</sup> for some kind of scholarship to go to Sweden.<sup>32</sup> There will be no difficulty about his getting a passport.<sup>33</sup> As for the foreign exchange involved, as you know, we are rather strict in this matter. But, I am sure, Morarjibhai will do what he can for you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**246. To Richard J. Walsh Jr: Abridged Edition  
of *The Discovery of India*<sup>34</sup>**

March 21, 1959

Dear Mr. Walsh,

Thank you for your letter of March 4, 1959.<sup>35</sup> I have also received the Anchor Book edition of the autobiography of William Butler Yeats.<sup>36</sup>

I have looked through the papers you have sent me and noted the parts of my book which it is proposed to be omitted. I do not remember having met

29. Letter.

30. (b. 1925); Member, UP Legislative Assembly, 1952-62, 1969-79, 1984-85, 1988-89, 1991-93; Chief Minister, UP, 1976-77, 1984-85, 1988-89, and Uttarakhand, 2002-2007; held various portfolios in the Union Government; Governor, Andhra Pradesh, 2007-2009.

31. Swedish economist and politician, Professor of International Economy, Stockholm University.

32. This was instituted for six months' study in Sweden. See also SWJN/SS/46/p. 657.

33. Nehru asked S. Dutt on the same day to "have a passport issued to Shri Narayan Dutt Tiwari."

34. Letter to the Executive Vice President, The John Day Company.

35. Walsh Jr referred to Nehru's assent for a condensed paperback of *The Discovery of India* and had enclosed Robert Crane's suggestions.

36. *The Autobiography of William Butler Yeats*, (New York: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1958).



Professor Crane,<sup>37</sup> but from what you have written about him, it appears that he is certainly a person who is fully capable of abridging my book.

It is difficult for me to send any constructive suggestions in this matter. Any abridgment of the book has to keep in mind the kind of audience for which it is meant. Thus, if the abridged book is meant for an American audience, it would be differently treated than if it was meant for an Indian audience. I take it that Professor Crane had an American audience in view.<sup>38</sup> Some parts of the book obviously have to go out because they deal with matters which were of some importance at the time the book was written and have no particular significance today. There are other parts of it about which probably opinions may differ.

In any event, I feel that I cannot offer any useful suggestions and the matter might be left to the discretion of Professor Crane.<sup>39</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 247. To Louis Mountbatten<sup>40</sup>

March 21, 1959

My dear Dickie,

I have written to you separately about the oil position in India.<sup>41</sup> I am now writing about Edwina. I am glad to say that the rest she has had here has done her a great deal of good. You will see this for yourself when she returns. We have been very happy to have her and Pammy with us, and we shall be sorry when they go away. As I have told you, both of them have paid visits to various

37. Robert I. Crane (1920-1997); worked as Desk Officer, India-Iran-Afghanistan Desk, Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State, Washington, 1943-44; taught history at University of Chicago, 1949-56, University of Michigan 1956-60, Duke University, 1960-68, and thereafter at Syracuse University.

38. Crane had explained in his note his reasons for retaining those portions of the original text which would give the American reader an "opportunity to get to know Prime Minister Nehru by reading this book" and which "seem to be most fundamental for an adequate understanding of the history, culture and institutions of India."

39. The abridged edition, published as, Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, edited, with a foreword and comments, by Robert I. Crane (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1960).

40. Letter.

41. See item 146.

parts of India—Bhakra-Nangal, Chandigarh, Jaipur, Aurangabad, Ajanta and Ellora, Bombay and Elephanta. But they spent most of their time in Delhi and they have avoided social functions and big engagements. That was a wise decision.

This afternoon I did something which I had been thinking of for the last ten years or more. Edwina and Pammy took me right up the great dome of Rashtrapati Bhavan and we looked at the city of Delhi spread out before us on all sides. It has grown greatly.

Summer is coming on us with some rapidity. It is pleasant enough still, but every day is a little warmer than the previous one.

I had at one time thought of going out of India during this Summer and visit some of the countries of Africa, especially Ghana and Nigeria, and possibly Morocco and Ethiopia. But I have given up that idea now. There is so much work to be done here and so many problems which confront us that I have decided to stay on and face them. At the most, I shall take ten days off in the mountains.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 248. To Umesh Mishra: Visiting Indology Institute at Allahabad<sup>42</sup>

March 23, 1959

Dear Dr. Mishra,<sup>43</sup>

Thank you for your letter of March 20. I am sorry I shall not be able to visit the Research Institute of Indology when I go to Allahabad next. I shall be there only for two days, and I will spend most of the time in the villages. Perhaps some other time when I go to Allahabad, I might be able to have the pleasure of visiting the Institute.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

42. Letter.

43. (1895-1967); Maithili scholar, Secretary, Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.



## 249. To Mihir Sen: Helping Out<sup>44</sup>

March 25, 1959

Dear Mihir Sen,

I have your letter of the 22nd March.<sup>45</sup> You should ask the West Bengal Government or the Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy, for the £100. You may state that you are doing so at my suggestion.

When you come here, I shall certainly be glad to meet you, but I shall not be in Delhi on the 7th April. I shall return on the forenoon of the 8th.

I am afraid it is not possible for me to attend a meeting of the University students. As you suggest, this meeting should be held in Delhi University and it takes a long time to go there and I am terribly busy these days. But I would like you to address them and if you so wish, I can ask the Vice-Chancellor to arrange such a meeting.

You refer to the Explorers' Club or Aviyatri Sangh. The idea is attractive, but it is not clear to me at all how this is going to be organised and how it will function. It is no good starting something without suitable foundation. The Americans and the Russians have gone ahead because they are advanced in science and technology and have thus built up great institutions. Unless we advance in science and technology we shall remain backward in spite of the best will in the world.<sup>46</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

44. Letter to Mihir Sen, a lawyer by profession, and famous for swimming across the English Channel. File No. 40(176)/59-60-PMS.

45. See Appendix 20.

46. On 4 April, Nehru asked his PPS, K. Ram, to write to Mihir Sen saying that there was no chance of his getting any financial help from the Government or private donors.

**250. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>47</sup>**

March 26, 1959

[My dear High Commissioner],

I have received your letter of the 23rd March about Zubin Mehta.<sup>48</sup> I am enquiring as to what we can do about him. It is very difficult now to make any proposal which involves foreign exchange.<sup>49</sup>

I have also received your other letter of March 23rd<sup>50</sup> in which you refer to a talk with Lord Scarbrough.<sup>51</sup> I think that there is no harm in your inviting the Queen and entertaining her in your Embassy. I do not know what protocol is involved. But anyhow you will explain this matter to Lord Scarbrough. I do not myself see why a large crowd should be invited. It should be a relatively small affair.

As for the Queen inviting our President, I think that, for the present at least, this should be discouraged. I do not wish to rule this out completely but on the whole it is better not to raise this question at this stage. Any such visit would have questions at this stage. Any such visit would have to be carefully considered from many points of view. Apart from wider issues, President's health is none too good and any extra strain tells on him.

[Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru]

47. Letter.

48. See Appendix 22.

49. N.R.Pillai informed Nehru on 29 March that he had gathered the impression that "the other Ministries concerned will consider this proposal favourably if it receives the backing of this Ministry." To this Nehru replied on the same day: "I think we should put it forward with our favourable comments and send it to the Ministries concerned." Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit informed Nehru on 6 April 1959: "Thank you very much for your assistance in getting the money for Zubin Mehta's fare to Canada. The sanction has come but as I find the actual amount is only £173 I shall return the balance to the Ministry."

50. See Appendix 23.

51. Scarbrough, 11th Earl of, Lawrence Roger Lumley (1896-1969); Governor of Bombay, 1937-43; Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India and Burma, 1945; President, Royal Asiatic Society, 1946-49; President, Central Asian Society, 1954-60; Lord Chamberlain of H.M. Household, 1952-1963; Chairman, Governing Body, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1951-59; Chairman, Commonwealth Scholarships Commission, 1960-63.



**251. To R. R. Diwakar: Abridged Edition of Nehru's Works<sup>52</sup>**

March 29, 1959

My dear Diwakar,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st March. In this, you suggest that Shri M. S. Hombali should bring out abridged editions of my *Glimpses* and *Discovery of India* in Kannada.<sup>53</sup>

Normally, an abridged version is brought out by the publisher who has brought the full edition, and it would not be proper for another publisher to do so. I find that the *Discovery of India* was published by the Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore, Kannada translation by S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, the first preference should be given to these publishers to bring out an abridged version of *Discovery*.

As for *Glimpses of World History*, so far as I know, this has not yet been published in Kannada at all. I would have no objection to an abridged edition of this book being published in Kannada as you suggest.<sup>55</sup>

But I do not at all like the idea of a process of double translation, that is, the Kannada version to be translated from Hindi, which is itself a translation from the English. Surely, there is no lack of persons knowing English and Kannada, who can translate directly from the original.

I appear to have no record with me about the publication of a Kannada abridged edition of my *Autobiography*.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

52. Letter to Diwakar, the founder and sole trustee of Loka Shikshan Trust, Hubli; and Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

53. Diwakar had enclosed a letter from M. S. Hombali of Arun Prakashan, Hubli, to Nehru seeking his permission for doing so.

54. Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, had translated *The Discovery of India* into Kannada.

55. On 10 April 1959, Hombali thanked Nehru for according permission to him for publishing an abridged version of the *Glimpses* in Kannada.

**252. To Private Secretary<sup>56</sup>**

Please send the following letter to the sender of this telegram:-

“Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received your telegram of the 30th March. The account he has received about your behaviour when you met his Principal Private Secretary is very different from what you have said. He has been informed that your behaviour was highly improper and insulting. In these circumstances, he can do nothing further in this matter. Apart from this, he has already told you that he is not prepared to meet anyone so long as the so-called dharna is taking place in front of his house. Yours faithfully,”

**253. To the Managing Editor of *World Christian Digest*<sup>57</sup>**

March 30, 1959

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of March 26th, 1959. I am surprised to read the quotation from an American magazine, which you have sent me. It certainly is a travesty of the truth. So far as I am aware, I do not bear hatred for any country or any people; certainly not for England. I have often written and spoken about this. If I had felt this hatred towards England, I would not have advised my country to associate itself with the Commonwealth.

But, perhaps, I am not a good judge of this. A more objective answer can be obtained from any person in England who has known me or is acquainted with India's policy. That person can belong to any Party in England. In fact, perhaps, the most suitable persons would be those who had opposed Indian freedom and sent many of my countrymen to prison during our struggle for independence.

Yours faithfully,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

56. Note, 30 March 1959.

57. Letter.



## VI. APPENDICES

### 1. G. B. Pant to Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

*[Refer to items 11, 12 and 27]*

New Delhi  
2nd April 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

There has been some correspondence with the Comptroller and Auditor General as to the general principles which should guide the State Governments in meeting expenditure incurred by them in connection with Congress sessions held in their respective states. It is difficult to lay down any precise rules in this matter.

2. It is accepted that in view of their responsibilities regarding public health, law and order and security the State Governments cannot avoid incurring expenditure for such purposes whenever there is a large congregation of people. But it would be difficult to admit in audit any expenditure from public funds on other items which are not related to these responsibilities. He also feels that Government agency should not be utilised even on payment for the preparation of the site, construction of the camps and other allied activities. If, however, such agency is utilised in special circumstances full recovery should invariably be made.

3. As I have already stated, no hard and fast rules can be framed but the general principles indicated above should be borne in mind. If in any special circumstances any deviation becomes necessary it would be advisable to refer the matter to us here before reaching any final decision. If necessary we could consult the Comptroller and Auditor General. This would leave no room for any criticism or comments in audit notes or reports about the expenditure incurred by the State Governments on such occasions.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. Letter. File No. 532, p. 220, JN Papers, NMML.

## 2. Chou En-lai to Nehru<sup>2</sup>

[Refer to item 190]

Peking

January 23, 1959

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I have received your letter dated 14th December 1958 forwarded by Mr. Ambassador Parthasarathi.

Thank you for the credit you gave to the achievement of our country in economic construction. It is true that, through the joint efforts of the entire Chinese people, our country made in industry and agricultural production in 1958 an advance which I describe as a "great leap forward". However as we started from a very poor economic foundation, our present level of increase in production is still very low. It will take us a number of years more of hard work in order to bring about a relatively big change in the economic picture of our country.

Our Government heartily welcomes the sending by the Government of India of two delegations to study our agricultural and iron and steel industries respectively. And as I understand, another delegation has already arrived in China to study our water conservancy and irrigation work. We welcome them to our country and will be glad to provide them with every possible convenience. We also hope to learn from them Indian experience in the respective fields. The exchange of such specialised delegations and the interflow of experience will undoubtedly be without exception to the economic construction of our countries. We too have always taken a great interest in the progress of India's second five-year plan, and wish it success.

We note with pleasure that, in the past year, friendly cooperation between China and India has undergone further development. I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of the Chinese Government, to express thanks to the Indian Government for its efforts at the 13th session of the United Nations General Assembly for restoring to China its rightful place in the United Nations. We are also grateful to the Indian Government for its support to our country on the question of Taiwan and the coastal islands.

In your letter you have taken much space to discuss the question of Sino-Indian boundary and thus enabled us to understand better the Indian

2. Letter. Reproduced from Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper* (n.p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 52-54. Also available in JN Collection.



Government's stand on the question. I would also like now to set forth the views and stand of the Chinese Government.

First of all, I wish to point out that the Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited. Historically no treaty or agreement on the Sino-Indian boundary has ever been concluded between the Chinese Central Government and the Indian Government. So far as the actual situation is concerned, there are certain differences between the two sides over the border question. In the past few years, question as to which side certain areas on the Sino-Indian border belong were on more than one occasion taken up between the Chinese and the Indian sides through diplomatic channels. The latest case concerns an area in the southern part of China's Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, which has always been under Chinese jurisdiction. Patrol duties have continually been carried out in that area by the border guards of the Chinese Government. And the Sinkiang-Tibet highway built by our country in 1956 runs through that area. Yet recently the Indian Government claimed that that area was Indian territory. All this shows that border disputes do exist between China and India.

It was true that the border question was not raised in 1954 when negotiations were being held between the Chinese and Indian sides for the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India. This was because conditions were not yet ripe for its settlement and the Chinese side, on its part, had had no time to study the question. The Chinese Government has always held that the existence of the border question absolutely should not affect the development of Sino-Indian friendly relations. We believe that, following proper preparations, this question which has been carried over from the past can certainly be settled reasonably on the basis of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence through friendly talks. To this end, the Chinese Government has now proceeded to take certain steps in making preparations.

An important question concerning the Sino-Indian boundary is the question of the so called MacMahon Line. I discussed this with Your Excellency as well as with Prime Minister U Nu. I would now like to explain again the Chinese Government's attitude. As you are aware, the "MacMahon Line" was a product of the British policy of aggression against the Tibetan Region of China and aroused the great indignation of the Chinese people. Juridically, too, it cannot be considered legal. I have told you that it has never been recognized by the Chinese Central Government. Although related documents were signed by a representative of the local authorities of the Tibetan Region of China, the Tibetan local authorities were in fact dissatisfied with this unilaterally drawn line. And I have also told you formally about their dissatisfaction. On the other hand, one cannot, of course, fail to take cognizance of the great and encouraging changes:

India and Burma, which are concerned in this line, have attained independence successively and become states friendly with China. In view of the various complex factors mentioned above, the Chinese Government, on the one hand finds it necessary to take a more or less realistic attitude towards the MacMahon Line and, on the other hand, cannot but act with prudence and needs time to deal with this matter. All this I have mentioned to you on more than one occasion. However, we believe that, on account of the friendly relations between China and India, a friendly settlement can eventually be found for this section of the boundary line.

Precisely because the boundary between the two countries is not yet formally delimited and some differences exist, it is unavoidable that there should be discrepancies between the boundary lines drawn on the respective maps of the two sides. On the maps currently published in our country, the Chinese boundaries are drawn in the way consistently followed in Chinese maps for the past several decades, if not longer. We do not hold that every portion of this boundary line is drawn on sufficient grounds. But it would be inappropriate for us to make changes without having made surveys and without having consulted the countries concerned. Furthermore, there would be difficulties in making such changes, because they would give rise to confusion among our people and bring censure on our government. As a matter of fact, our people have also expressed surprise at the way the Sino-Indian boundary, particularly its western section, is drawn on maps published in India. They have asked our Government to take up this matter with the Indian Government. Yet we have not done so, but have explained to them the actual situation of the Sino-Indian boundary. With the settlement of the boundary question—which, as our Government has repeatedly pointed out, requires surveys and mutual consultations—the problem of drawing the boundary on the maps will also be solved.

In recent years, there occurred between China and India some minor border incidents which are probably difficult to avoid pending the formal delimitation of the boundary. In order to avoid such incidents so far as possible before the boundary is formally delimited, our Government would like to propose to the Indian Government that, as a provisional measure, the two sides temporarily maintain the status quo, that is to say, each side keep for the time being to the border areas at present under its jurisdiction and not go beyond them. For the differences between the two sides, naturally, a solution may be sought through consultations like those held on the Wu-Je (Hoti) question. As to negotiations regarding Wu-Je, we also regret very much that no agreement has yet been reached, as we formally thought a solution would not be difficult to achieve through negotiations and on the spot investigations. We still believe that this small question can be settled satisfactorily through the continued efforts of our



two sides. The Chinese Government hopes that the above proposal about temporary maintenance of the present state of the boundary between the two sides will be approved of by the Indian Government.

I need not reiterate how highly the Chinese Government and people value Sino-Indian friendship. We will never allow any difference between our two countries to affect this friendship and we believe that India shares the same views. I hope that this letter will help you getting a better understanding of our Government's stand on the Sino-Indian boundary question.

With sincere regards,

(Sd.) Chou En-lai  
Premier of the State Council  
of the  
People's Republic of China

### 3. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra to Nehru<sup>3</sup>

*[Refer to item 226]*

Federation of Malaya  
Kuala Lumpur  
14th February 1959

Dear Panditji,

It has no doubt come as a surprise to you the news of my resignation as Prime Minister. I am writing to assure you that my resignation does not in the least affect the Government of the Federation in any way as I shall be in control of the Party which is running the Government. This means, in effect, that although I am outside the Government. I shall still be in control of its policy.

I have had to take this step in order to make doubly sure of winning the forthcoming General Election with a big majority. To do this the party machinery has got to be tuned up in readiness to fight the elections in the eleven States as well as the Federal Election in August this year. With a bit of luck I hope to come back and lead the Government again.

I thank you for all the co-operation and goodwill which you have always shown to me in the past, and I hope that Dato Abdul Razak may continue to enjoy the same happy relations with you when he succeeds me in April.

I take this opportunity of renewing to you the assurance of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra

#### 4. B.C. Roy to Nehru<sup>4</sup>

*[Refer to item 102]*

Calcutta  
1st March, 1959

My dear Jawaharlal,

You know that according to the Bagge Award, the demarcation on site has been completed indicating the midstream boundary between Murshidabad and Rajshahi districts. The fishermen, mostly refugees of the Indian Union, who used to fish in the waters of Padma and Bhagirathi before, have now been deprived of their livelihood because they cannot fish in those waters any more due to the implementation of the Bagge Award. Large tracts of the Padma River have now fallen to Pakistan and the fishermen of the upper reaches of the Padma which fully fall within the Indian Union, also find it very insecure to fish in the river because during fishing they easily may run into Pakistan waters and get their boats, costly nets and themselves also seized by the Pakistani Police or nationals. In short all along the Padma river, Indian fishermen, mostly refugees, of the district of Murshidabad have stopped fishing and have been facing acute distress verging on starvation.

Many of the fishermen who lived so long under the jurisdiction of West Bengal have now been transferred to Pakistan as a result of the Bagge Award. It is therefore necessary to take early steps to relieve the distress of these people. There are about 14,500 families or about 60,000 people involved—probably more. We have given them some temporary relief but they are in such acute distress that they are selling their household goods and utensils in order to meet the pangs of hunger. Some of them stated that their boats had been stolen by Pakistanis in this melee. At the present moment they are being employed on test relief work and also gratuitous relief is being given to those who are not able to do any work.

One way to solve this might be for the Government of India to approach the Pakistan Government to allow these fishermen to continue to fish in that

4. Letter. File No. 4 (19)-Pak-III/59, p.1/corr., MEA.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

area and to bring their catch for sale in India. I doubt very much whether Pakistan would agree but even if they agree in principle, in actual practice they will not allow the fishermen to take away their catch. The other alternative is to try and put them in some other fishing areas. There are a few Government fisheries in that area which have not yet been settled with others and these may be given to the Bagge Award affected fishermen. If all of them cannot be employed in such Government fisheries, it may perhaps be found out if they cannot be taken to Dandakaranya for the purpose of continuing their vocation. There are not many sweet water fisheries in West Bengal and therefore the only way to relieve them is to take them to some place where they can catch fish. Thirdly, a question has been raised as to whether those persons who were living in this area but now on account of the Bagge Award have to migrate to India could not be given refugee rehabilitation benefits.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Shri Mehr Chand Khanna.

An early decision in the matter is necessary.

Yours affectionately,  
Bidhan

### 5. G.M. Sadiq to Nehru<sup>5</sup>

*[Refer to items 35 and 37]*

Jammu Tawi  
3rd March 1959

My dear Panditji,

I am afraid I am going to touch rather a sordid subject in this letter. It gives me no pleasure to do so, but when attempts are made to drag the Central Government, obliquely or even inadvertently into a local business racket, it hurts us politically.

I have so far avoided to give you the details of corruption associated with some members of the Government here. I have felt, perhaps wrongly, that it would not be decent to do so. At any rate the facts of such corruption are too well known to bear repetition from me.

In the field of transport, I am informed, that out of four Truck Manufacturers in India, dealership for three i.e. Tata-Mercedes-Benz, Hindustan Motors and Ashoka Leyland is held by some members of Bakshi Sahib's family. The latest

5. Letter. File No. KS-25/59., pp. 23-24, MHA.

acquisition of the dealership of Tata-Mercedes trucks was made by coercing their local representative to split the agency with Bakshi Majid and thereafter an order for over two hundred Mercedes trucks was placed by the Transport Department. Thus they have a virtual monopoly for supply of trucks, buses and cars to the Government Transport and other Department. They are reported to have seriously approached the fourth manufacturers, The Premier Automobiles Ltd, for acquiring their agency, but somehow the deal has not come off as yet. Similarly, I have been informed reliably that pressure is being brought to bear upon Messrs. Mahindra & Mahindra Ltd, the Jeep manufacturers to change their local agents.

These tactics look irremediable because they are pursued so blatantly, that even the censure of local public opinion is of no consequence. My worry however arises from the fact that by making out an apparently special case for Kashmir the import and the foreign exchange restrictions are sought to be by-passed. Nearly a year ago, foreign exchange was secured for the import of several 'Unimog' vehicles for being plied on Zojila-Kargil road, even though the Army uses one-ton jeep vehicles on this road and such a vehicle was recommended for the use of the State Government also. But Bakshi Majid held the Agency for "Unimog" and as such it is alleged that these special arrangements were made.

Similarly, now, I am told that in order to bring further pressure on the jeep manufacturers to change their local agents, foreign exchange is being arranged for the import of Land-Rovers. This is being done in spite of a reported Circular from the Central Government enjoining on every Government Department to prefer the alternative of Willy's jeeps in view of the absolute ban on the import of Land-Rovers.

Kashmir, unfortunately is a small place and this smallness is sometimes reflected in our attitudes and behaviour also and even petty things become subjects of animated gossip. If any information is correct I think we should avoid any action which gives a wrong impression to the people.

It took me some time to overcome my hesitation in writing this letter to you. Even now I am not sure whether I should have written to you at all about this matter. I however thought that keeping you informed would perhaps do no harm.

With the deepest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
G.M. Sadiq



## 6. S.M. Abdullah to Nehru<sup>6</sup>

*[Refer to items 39 and 42]*

Special Jail, Jammu  
5-3-1959

My dear Panditji,

I trust you will not mind this intrusion on your busy time.

In your last letter to me you hoped and felt sure that my lawyer will be given full facilities to carry out his work properly. Earlier, when I was first produced before the court here, I asked for and obtained similar assurances from the presiding magistrate that all the facilities necessary for a fair trial would be afforded to me. Unfortunately, as things have turned out, these hopes have not materialised.

As things are, I had to face serious difficulties in finding a suitable counsel and finally when, on the advice of friends like Sir Sultan Ahmed and Shri Jai Prakash Narain, I did select one Shri Nageshwar Prasad of Patna and while I was making an attempt to arrange some sort of accommodation for him here in Jammu and waiting for the case to make a real start, the Government through whom all my correspondence naturally passed and who were therefore aware of my having selected him, engaged the very same lawyer for the prosecution.

I sent for one of my workers, Abdul Ahad of Sapore (Kashmir), a young law-graduate, who had recently been released after 3 years of detention, to help me in procuring law-books and lending a hand in the defence arrangements. While on his way to Jammu, he was arrested, man-handled and put behind the bars again.

Since the Government had engaged for the prosecution most of the senior local lawyers in the initial stages of the case, some of the accused were left with the only choice of obtaining a junior local lawyer, one Mr. Mohd. Latif. He was of some help to me also in carrying my petitions for submission to courts here and in Delhi, and sometimes conveying advice to and from a counsel

6. Letter. File No. KS-16/59, pp. 1-3, MHA. Also available in File No. 18/11/59-K, MHA and JN Collection.

in Delhi and doing other odd jobs connected with the defence. He was being permitted to interview me in presence of the jail authorities, after thorough search both on entry into and exit from the jail premises. But now even he has been denied all contact with me.

Before I was included in the case, the other accused had applied for the transfer of the court from Kud to Srinagar as necessary facilities for the conduct of their defence were not available to them at Kud, so far away from their home town. This was rejected and the court was instead shifted further away to Jammu. One of the pleas of the prosecution was that books and accommodation for the defence and their lawyers would be easily procurable at Jammu and made available to them. Efforts to procure accommodation at Jammu for the counsel I was engaging were not allowed to fructify. Beg Sahib was forced to write to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd (copy of his letter enclosed) asking for official assistance in securing suitable accommodation and Mr. Latif was deputed to personally see the Chief Secretary. Not only was no accommodation made available but even a small house belonging to one of the accused was also taken over by the Government, and Mr. Latif had perforce to put up in the Dak Bungalow. Apart from such a public place being unsuitable for keeping defence documents and preparing the defence, he was every now and then ordered to vacate which he had to do.

I was assured of free interviews with my relatives and friends. Interviews with the latter were actually never allowed, as the very first attempt by Mr. Balraj Puri resulted in the unfortunate incident you are aware of. This naturally scared away other friends. As for my relatives, there was my nephew Abdul Majid nominated by me to look after my defence arrangements, who used to see me off and on. He was searched both on entry into and exit from the jail and interviewed me in my room in presence of jail authorities. For over four weeks even this has been disallowed now. My son Tariq, who has not seen me for over six months now, came all the way from Delhi. He with my nephew Nazir who had come to see me from Srinagar were not allowed the interview either.

The latest plea for refusal of these interviews is that the interviewers cannot be allowed inside the jail. The jail building is a conversion from an old go-down and does not have an interview-room. One such room is under construction, but pending its completion, the jail authorities introduced the system of holding interviews in our respective rooms in their presence and after the interviews were thoroughly searched. This system is sought to be changed now and the accused taken out of the jail premises, searched in the most degrading way possible and asked to hold interviews in the small office-room of the Jail Superintendent. Police personnel all around. I have naturally refused to subject myself to this humiliation.



These are some of the facts that show that all possible difficulties are being created to sabotage my defence arrangements. I repeatedly brought these difficulties to the notice of the Magistrate, and my latest attempt in this connection is an application to him, copy whereof is enclosed herewith. But actually nothing has availed,

I am not keen to put in my defence as a means to serve my release. My main desire in cooperating with the proceedings was to help in sifting truth from the whole mass of false and malicious propaganda carried on during the past six years. I hoped that the present proceedings will provide a chance to disclose the real situation and place before the public the actual truth.

I wrote to you from Srinagar on 11th April 1958, during the brief spell of my release about the sad state of affairs obtaining in the unhappy valley. The reports that filter to me in the jail and the public statements of the Opposition parties like the D.N.C. and the Praja Parishad and even of the ruling Party workers confirm that things are fast deteriorating. What have people done to deserve all this? Is this the reward for following the secular, truthful and non-violent concepts of Gandhiji who could see a ray of hope only in Kashmir in those days of darkness and savagery. Other States whose past is less unblemished have by now settled down to pursuits of a peaceful life and national reconstruction. But this sword of Damocles in the shape of instability and uncertainty is still hanging over our heads, and it is this instability, responsible as it is for all the ills of the people, which must be terminated. It is no use to rake up the past and apportion blame.

I have told you earlier, and I hope you know it very well, that I am not at all interested in holding an office in the Government. My sole anxiety is, as I know it must be yours, to help in easing the situation and clearing the atmosphere, in order to assist not only to end the agonies of Kashmiries, but also to pave the way for peaceful and amicable relations between the two neighbours—a devout wish that you have so often expressed. Unfortunately this is not advantageous to vested interests and they are out to fabricate things and otherwise defeat this purpose. But difficulties, however great, should not deter one, and I am sure they will not deter you to pursue the noble course. I am, therefore, sanguine in my hope, that it is quite possible to deliver Kashmir, for which you have always had the best of intentions, from its miseries. I need hardly add that my own efforts, however, humble, are dedicated to the same purpose.

I trust you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah

P.S. Since this letter was written, Tariq and Majid were allowed to interview me for a short while. So was Latif, but Nazir had already left for Srinagar. I learnt from Tariq that after having been completely disappointed here, he had wired to you to kindly intervene. I am, however, afraid that difficulties will be created afresh, as in the past.

It'd. <sup>7</sup> xxxxxxxx  
7.3.1959

## 7. G. M. Bakshi to Nehru<sup>8</sup>

[Refer to item 37]

Jammu Tawi  
March 5, 1959

My dear Panditji,

You had sent two letters dated December 28 and 29, 1958, forwarding the communications you had received from Shri P.N. Dogra and Shri G.M. Sadiq respectively. Later another communication addressed to you by Shri P.N. Dogra on 13th February was also sent to me.<sup>9</sup> I did not send the reply earlier as I was having necessary information collected in regard to the issues raised by these gentlemen. The leaders of the Praja Parishad and Democratic National Conference have subsequently spoken about these matters during the current session of our Legislature.

It is obvious now that there is a complete identity of views between the two political parties in regard to various issues that they have raised. It appears that they have joined hands in opposition to the State Government for reasons and to gain ends about which one can only venture to guess. The point of view of the Praja Parishad is understandable in the context of its character as well as its past. I do not, however, see the principles which induced the Democratic National Conference to ally itself with an organisation which has avowedly communal objectives. In the past much trouble and embarrassment have been caused both nationally and internationally by the activities of the Praja Parishad. Its change of tactics at present cannot, therefore, deceive any one either in the State or outside.

The unholy alliance that the Democratic National Conference has entered into with the Praja Parishad has obviously created adverse reactions even among

7. Abbreviation for "Initialed".

8. Letter. File No. KS-25/59, pp. 25-29, MHA.

9. Letters and Appendices mentioned here are not available.



the handful of their own workers in Kashmir. Shri Sadiq has not made it clear what considerations forced him and his colleagues to part company with the National Conference. At present they seem to be somewhat uncertain whether any principles were involved at all in this separation. Perhaps they had raised certain hopes among their workers about "capturing" the Government and the political field at the cost of the National Conference. Now that this goal has eluded them, they are feeling greatly disappointed and frustrated. This sense of frustration is reflected clearly in Shri Sadiq's letter to you.

Anyway, I do not wish to deny both these political parties their right of expressing their points of view. If they succeed in appealing to public opinion in Jammu and Kashmir, their strength will be a fitting reward for their labours. But it remains to be seen whether they have been able to make any headway in reflecting the sentiments and aspirations of the people in general. The Praja Parishad draws its main strength from the group of RSS workers and the Democratic National Conference is confined either to those persons who have lost positions of power and privilege or the small group of workers who owe their loyalty to the Communist Party of India. I feel that the issues raised by Shri Dogra and Shri Sadiq in their letters have to be appraised against the background of the political groups they happen to represent.

The fact that some persons have raised a few slogans does not necessarily mean that these slogans are crucial at the present moment when more urgent tasks of economic reconstruction face our State as in the rest of the country. Briefly the following is a list of the "grievances" made out by Shri Sadiq in his letter:-

1. Restriction of civil liberties and freedom of assembly and press,
2. Acts of lawlessness,
3. Charges against the administration,
4. Defective execution of 5 Year Plan,

Shri Dogra's allegations, however, cover more fundamental issues like:-

1. Mode of general elections,
2. Mode of election of State MPs to Parliament,
3. Amendment of certain provisions of Constitution of India in respect of Supreme Court's jurisdiction and the control of the Election Commission,
4. An all-party and comprehensive plan advisory council,
5. Wholesale transfer of senior State Officers to places outside the State.

Besides, Shri Dogra has repeated charges of lawlessness and corruption in his letter of 18th December, 1958. Shri Dogra has brought certain specific charges against the manner in which the recent Town Area Elections were held.

Taking the last allegation first, I would like to say that Government have

already appointed a Judicial Officer to enquire into allegations of official interference in the recent Town Area Elections held in Jammu and his report is awaited. As such I feel it would be rather premature to give you a detailed report in regard to this matter. All the same, you will perhaps be interested to know the facts as stated in annexure 'A' enclosed with this letter.

In regard to the various allegations made by Shri Sadiq, the enclosed note (Annexure 'B') will reveal the actual position in regard to the various charges that have been brought up against the State Government. I had earlier dealt with such allegations in my letter to you dated December 26, 1958.

Something has been mentioned about the press not being free in the State. You will perhaps be interested to know that there are at present 41 newspapers issued from Jammu and Srinagar, including four daily papers. Only one newspaper, viz., *KHIDMAT*, is the official organ of the National Conference. The Democratic National Conference has two newspapers, the *JAMMU SANDESH* published from Jammu and *KASHMIR* from Srinagar. Praja Parishad has one newspaper, *JAI SANDESH* published from Jammu. The *MARTAND* is the official organ of All State Kashmiri Pandits Conference. The Praja Socialist Party has *PAYAM-I-INQILAB* published from Srinagar as its official organ. *NAWAI-QOME* represent the Gujars while *MAZDOOR* is the official organ of the Labour Union. All other papers are independent and are as critical of the State Government and the ruling party as of any other party. All the same, no discrimination is being meted out in the distribution of official advertisement and opposition party papers also receive these advertisements from time to time. As a matter of fact, the advertisement revenue received by the newspapers of the National Conference is small as compared to that of the papers of the opposition. The Government does not own any newspaper, excepting the three magazines, *KASHMIR TODAY*, the *TAMEER* and the *YOJANA*, which are published by the State Information department. The department does not issue any newspaper from the plan publicity funds.

In the annexure 'C' some opinions of the prominent visitors as well as those of visiting foreign dignitaries have been reproduced.

As regards allegations of lawlessness and restrictions on political activities, I had in the course of my previous letter of December 26, '58 occasion to mention in detail the actual position in regard to this matter. At present there is no ban on public meetings anywhere in the State and the opposition parties are at perfect liberty to conduct meetings and demonstrations. The Praja Parishad and the Democratic National Conference are fully exercising this freedom and on every possible occasion they speak publicly in the most bitter terms against the Government. These days there are hardly ten detenues in the State and the law operates in the same way as in the rest of the country, through the machinery



of the law courts.

It is a matter of regret that wild and unspecified charges of corruption and mal-administration are levelled against the State administration by the members of the opposition. Apart from the distorted picture that such allegations are likely to create in the minds of some people, it is obvious that their repetition is bound to affect adversely the morale of the services. We do not wish to claim perfection in maintaining standards of absolute honesty and integrity among all of our officers. There are black-sheep everywhere and our State is no exception in this respect. But Government takes prompt steps to bring the culprits to book. We have appointed a Special Officer, a man with the highest reputation for honesty and integrity, to deal with such cases immediately they come to the attention of the Government. Apart from this, it seems somewhat novel and unprecedented to suggest that there should be a wholesale transfer of senior officers from the State. As you know, in pursuance of our desire to raise standards of general administration we created a cadre of IAS and IPS officers in the State. Most of these officers have now been trained outside and they are serving on important positions in the State. At present, however, the full complement of the quota has not been recruited and I do not think it would be proper to have the entire cadre manned by officers from outside. The effects of such a move would be immediately felt in other services. Moreover, there is hardly any precedent to justify such a step.

Both Shri Sadiq and Shri Dogra have conveyed in their letters that the execution of plan schemes has been a failure. I do not know on what grounds such a dismal conclusion has been arrived at by these gentlemen. You may perhaps have come across reports of our budgetary position as given in my budget speech before the Legislature. At no time, did the State enjoy a better financial position as in the course of last two years. Our revenues have doubled since 1954 and the plan targets have by and large been fulfilled by various departments. It is true that in a few cases results achieved so far have not come up to our expectations. But this experience has been common all over the country, particularly in the matter of extending irrigation facilities and stepping up of food production. I would request you to go through the annexure 'D' which briefly gives the progress of the plan schemes during the last three years.

Shri Dogra has mentioned the need for association of parties with the implementation of the 5 Year Plans. This is hardly understandable as a Plan Advisory Board and Food Advisory Board are already working with the participation of the representatives of almost all major political parties in the State. Shri Dogra is himself a member of the Plan Advisory Board and he has not so far informed the Board in what manner he would like to extend its scope.

Shri Dogra has raised some constitutional issues. Though Shri Sadiq has

not touched them in his letter, his party has fully supported the stand of the Praja Parishad on these issues. I had occasion to speak about this matter in our Legislative Assembly. I informed the House about the progress that we have achieved in bringing the State at par with other States so far as the substance and the spirit of the Indian Constitution is concerned. In this connection, I am sending you a pamphlet which we have issued to clarify the position (annexure 'E').

As you know, we have all along felt the need for a realistic approach to this problem on account of the delicacy of the local situation and the irritating distraction of the Pakistani campaign against our country. It is our belief that the process of integration should be gradual and spontaneous. In spite of many difficulties that face us here in the State I am glad to say that the progress in this direction has not only been considerable but speedy. The process has not halted and it would be unfortunate if further difficulties are created in our way by people who assume unnecessary "anxiety" to hustle our Legislature into snappy decisions. The nature of these added difficulties becomes obvious when we take into consideration the character of the parties like the Praja Parishad, who are talking in a language which suggests that such decisions should be imposed and forced on the State Government and the State Legislature. You will perhaps agree that such an unfortunate impression would create fresh snag in the growing and human and happy relationship that all of us desire.

I am sorry I have written at some length but the issues raised by Shri Dogra and Shri Sadiq are of vital significance and the way the Praja Parishad and the Democratic National Conference are campaigning here as well as in other parts of the country, suggests an impression that the State Government is a stumbling-block in the political, economic and social progress of this part of India. This is likely to create a wrong impression in the minds of many people who are not fully acquainted with conditions prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir. It is true that a few facile and misleading slogans may earn these parties some publicity but I have no doubt in my mind that ultimately their attitude and activities will give rise to unhappy reactions, besides embarrassing the position of our country internationally.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
G.M. Bakhshi



## 8. Tara Singh to Nehru<sup>10</sup>

[Refer to item 53]

Amritsar

5th March, 1959

In replying to my letters, one dated the 3rd of January, 1959, and the other dated the 5th of January, 1959, you pointed out on the 7th of January, 1959:

- (a) That in matters before the Punjab Legislature it is not desirable for you to interfere.
- (b) That the proposal embodied in the Gurdwaras Amendment Act, 1959, was being arrived at to make somewhat better arrangement for representation of Sikhs till elections took place as the old arrangement was not representative or satisfactory.

In regard to (a) *supra*, I appreciate your stand of non-interference with "provincial autonomy". As you say this is all subject to discussions between the Centre and the State on various matters from time to time.

In regard to (b) *supra*, I venture to give short history of the Gurdwaras Amendment Act, for your information. In 1925 the Sikh Gurdwaras Act was passed by the Punjab Legislative. That Act has been extended to the erstwhile Pepsu State by the Gurdwaras Amendment Act, 1959. The undisputed facts are:-

- (1) On the first of November, 1956, State of Pepsu was merged in the Punjab State. On the 22nd of February, 1957, the Punjab Govt. appointed an Advisory Committee to report to the Government on the Management of the Gurdwaras situated in the erstwhile State of Pepsu. The Advisory Committee made its report on the 14th of September, 1957. In this period five meetings of the Advisory Committee were held.
- (2) On the 27th of November, 1957, and the 14th of February, 1958, two meetings of the Advisory Committee were held. The Bill was introduced in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha on the 8th of April, 1958, when it was referred to the Regional Committees. The Regional Committees held their meetings on the 28th of April, 1958 and the Bill was referred to the Joint Sub-Committee of both the Regional Committees. Between the 28th of April and the 13th of November, 1958, five meetings of the Joint Sub-Committee were held.
- (3) Meanwhile the Joint Sub-Committee of the two regional committees submitted their report on the 30th October, 1958. In clause 148 B no procedure for election was contained.

10. Letter.

(4) On the 16th of November, 1958, annual election of office-bearers of the SGPC was held under the Act. In that election dissidents from the Shiromani Akali Dal and the Communists defeated the nominee of the Shiromani Akali Dal in the presidential election by three votes, in the contest where 151 votes were polled. In this situation there was strong feeling against the Shiromani Akali Dal and their joining the Communists in the SGPC election. This being so, proposal was mooted to move no-confidence motion against the new Management of the SGPC under section 63 of the Act. In fact within one week of the annual election of the office-bearers in November, 1958, several members of the dissidents group, disassociated themselves from that group and joined the parent organisation.

(5) On the 27th of November, 1958, the report of Joint Sub-Committee came up before the Regional Committees. In the first report the Regional Committees proposed that 34 members of the SGPC from the Pepsu area may be elected by 13 members of the Interim Board and 12 members of the Pepsu area who were already members of the SGPC.

(6) That on the 22nd of December, 1958, special session of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha was summoned. That session was adjourned to the 23rd of December, 1958. On the 27th of December, 1958, the Regional Committees adopted clause 148 (B) of the Bill. The Bill was passed on the 31st of December, 1958.

(7) That on the 3rd of January, 1959, the Punjab Legislative Council passed the Bill and on the 8th of January, 1959, the Governor of Punjab gave his assent. In the Act it is provided that elections under Section 148 (B) of the Act will be held within 40 days of the commencement of the Amending Act. As stated above the elections of office-bearers of the SGPC were held on the 16th of November, 1958. Motion of no-confidence could be moved against the new Management on or after the 16th of February, 1959. Under the Amending Act, elections have been completed under Section 148 (B) of the Act on the 14th of February, 1959.

(8) That the facts are these:

(i) That hurried proceedings were taken between the 16th of November, 1958 and the 3rd of January 1959 to pass the Amending Act.

(ii) That the controversial provisions of clause 148-B were proposed in the Regional Committees on the 27th of December, 1958. In the meetings of the Regional Committees party whip was issued that no amendment to clause 148-B was to be made, no member of the party was to attack the provisions of section 148-B of the Amending Act and no one was to absent himself at the time of voting.

(iii) That between the 16th of November, 1958 and the 3rd of January,



1959, the Amending Act had at every stage the support of the Punjab Govt. As stated above, the Punjab Government did not show any interest in the Amending Act between the 1st of November, 1956 and the 16th of November, 1958. The final report of the Joint Sub-Committee that was made on the 30th of October, 1958, did not contain the controversial provisions of clause 148-B. That report bears the approval of Giani Kartar Singh, Chairman of the Joint Sub-Committee.

- (iv) That the electoral College under Section 148-B consists of persons who are directly or indirectly under the influence of the Executive Government. The Sikh sarpanches and Sikh Nayay Pardhans and Panchayat adalats can be suspended or removed from office by the Director of Panchayats under section 123 of the Panchayat Act. Again, every person who was immediately before the commencement of the Amending Act, a member of the Gurdwara Interim Board, Patiala, constituted by Punjab Government, Home Department, notification No. 18-Gurdwaras, dated the 10th of January, 1958, is under the Amending Act a member of the SGPC. I may mention here that when the Punjab Chief Minister was contemplating to get control of the Pepsu Gurdwaras in the end of 1957 by nominating members of his choice upon the Gurdwara Interim Board, I strongly protested this interference by the Govt in our Gurdwaras and wrote a letter to Pandit Pant, Home Minister, India, in which I had used the words, "But now he (Chief Minister Punjab) thinks he has got a bigger opportunity and he is out to create a position which we must resent and which may create an ugly situation soon if not immediately", and at another point I had again said, "Such an effort on the part of the Chief Minister of a secular state is certainly highly objectionable. I do not know if it is proper for you to interfere in this matter: but as it is likely to lead to undesirable complications now or in the near future, I think it my duty to give you this information for ultimately all responsibilities fall on your shoulders. Gurdwaras and other religious places should be the last thing for interference by any Government." Instead of desisting from this interference, the Government have thrust the same members now in the management of the Punjab Gurdwaras also.
- (v) That to rush through the elections new rules were framed and different qualifications of elections were prescribed with the result that under the new rules the electors in the erstwhile State of Pepsu number less than 1400. In case the elections were held under the existing rules the number of electors would have been over six lacs. No member of the Akali Jatha was given the right to vote though in the general elections

of the SGPC the Akali Jathas captured 112 seats out of a total of 132 seats.

In this letter I have attempted to give a brief account of the circumstances in which the Amending Act has been passed, to enable you to form your own judgment as to the bona fides or mala fides of the Punjab Govt. I have done so because I thought it my duty to acquaint you with the facts of the case before leading a "silent procession" in Delhi on the 15th of March, 1959, to protest against the interference of the Punjab Govt in the management of Sikh shrines. I have no doubt that you will find time to go through this letter for I shall be waiting for your reply before formulating my future course of action for the remedying of the grievous wrong done to the Sikh Community.

## 9. H.J. Bhabha's Note on Mathematical Research<sup>11</sup>

*[Refer to item 178]*

### DEPARTMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY

#### RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADVANCED STUDY AND RESEARCH IN MATHEMATICS

India has made no contribution to the tremendous advances in mathematics which have taken place during the last hundred years, with the sole exception of Ramanujan, who was a solitary genius in a wilderness. With the establishment of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research in 1945, one of the principal aims of which is to foster advanced study and fundamental research in mathematics, the position began to change, and the foundations were laid for a modern school of mathematics. In 1956, after exhaustive enquiries by the Cabinet Secretariat had established that no other ministry was giving substantial grants for advanced study and research in mathematics, the Government of India recognised the Institute as the National Centre for Mathematics. Since then its School of Mathematics has developed very rapidly, and has established an international position for itself as the only significant school for advanced study and research in modern mathematics outside Europe, USSR, and USA. There is little doubt that with a proper policy on the part of Government, this National Centre for Mathematics can become in a few years one of the foremost centre of mathematics in the world.

2. The building up of mathematics in India does not require a large expenditure of money, but a correct policy on the part of Government and the

11. Note to Nehru, 9 March 1959. File No. 61/CF/59, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.



advice of high grade mathematicians. The same policy, which has been successful in building up atomic energy in India within a period of about ten years, would lead to equally good results in mathematics within about the same period. This policy requires, on the one hand, a concentration of effort on one large national centre for mathematics, where a large number of able young mathematicians can be collected together so that they can benefit not only by the guidance of senior mathematicians but from their mutual contacts, and on the other hand, the judicious encouragement of good work and good workers in the universities. The first part of the policy is being followed by Government through the Department of Atomic Energy, which is the administrative ministry for the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. This National Centre for Mathematics will be given all the necessary facilities to build itself into a leading centre in the world. The purpose of this note is to deal with the second requirement of the policy.

3. Mathematics has developed tremendously during the last hundred years, indeed, to such an extent that no mathematician today can really have an expert knowledge of all its different branches. The recognition and encouragement of good work in the country as a whole, therefore, requires the advice, not of a single mathematician, but of a group of mathematicians covering all the different branches of mathematics. To quote a Tamil proverb "Only the learned can recognise the learned". A Group of the required type is only found in the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. A successful execution of this second part of the policy, namely, that of encouraging good mathematicians and good mathematical work in India, therefore, requires that the Government of India's responsibility for advanced study and research in mathematics, including grants to the universities and research institutes (other than those which may be given through the University Grants Commission), and the grant of scholarships, fellowships, etc., in mathematics should be placed on the Department of Atomic Energy, which has the largest number of pure mathematicians, applied mathematicians and theoretical physicists in the country in institutions under its administrative control.

4. By a notification issued by the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research (Department of Scientific Research and Technical Education) on November 26, 1957, the Government of India constituted a National Committee in India for dealing with the International Mathematical Union consisting of seven members with Dr. H.J. Bhabha as the Chairman, and Professor K. Chandrasekharan as the Convener, the other members of the Committee being Professor S. Minakshisundaram, Andhra University, Professor Ram Behrai, Delhi University, Professor S.N. Bose, Vice-Chancellor, Vishwa Bharati, Father C. Racine, Loyola College, Madras, and Professor N.R. Sen, University College

of Science and Technology, Calcutta. The objects of the Committee are:

- a) to promote international co-operation in mathematics;
- b) to support and assist the International Congress of Mathematicians and other International Scientific meetings or conferences;
- c) to encourage and support other international mathematical activities considered likely to contribute to the development of mathematical science in any of its aspects—pure, applied, or educational.

The Committee maintains international contacts through the Department of Scientific Research and Technical Education. In view of the fact that the Chairman of Atomic Energy Commission is the Chairman of the Committee, and its Convener is a member of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, which is in the administrative charge of the Department of Atomic Energy, it is clearly desirable that the National Committee for Mathematics should be placed in the administrative charge of the Department of Atomic Energy. Whenever a new National Committee for any scientific subject is appointed, the matter is invariably considered by the Scientific Advisory Committee to the Cabinet, so that automatic liaison will be maintained with the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. The change, will, however, make for more speedy and effective action, for obvious reasons.

5. If the Prime Minister will signify his general approval of the above proposal, we shall request the Cabinet Secretary to call an Inter-departmental meeting so that agreed proposals on these lines may be put upto him.

H. J. Bhabha  
9. 3. 59

## 10. I.J. Bahadur Singh to R.K. Tandon<sup>12</sup>

[Refer to item 228]

March 10, 1959

My dear Tandon,

You will perhaps, by now, have received Surendra Sinh's despatch No. S D2/59 of the 5th of March, regarding the political situation in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

2. Since my return from Salisbury, I have been attempting to keep track on developments in the Federation and particularly, about what is happening in Nyasaland where the situation seems to have deteriorated. It is not possible, from this distance, to get precise and first-hand information. One is, therefore,

12. Letter to Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.



driven to rely a good deal on reports over the B.B.C. and the British and local newspapers.

3. As I indicated in my letter of even number dated the 3rd March, dispatched on my return from the Federation, there seemed to have been no reason apparent in Salisbury why the South-Rhodesian Government thought it fit to declare a state of emergency. While there was some panic, there does not seem to have been signs of any impending uprising in South Rhodesia. It is quite likely, therefore, that the declaration of the emergency was, as Surendra Sinh suggests, a prelude to the arrest of Dr. Banda and others in Nyasaland.

4. Because of the present set-up in the Federation and the division of powers between the three constituent units, the Federal Government seemed to have been irritated by the fact that they could not interfere more effectively in the establishment of law and order in Nyasaland. Internal security being a territorial subject, they could only send Defence Forces when requested to do so by the Governor of Nyasaland. The use of these forces was entirely at the discretion of the local administration. The Federal Government was very much in the position of a helpless onlooker. The declaration of the emergency in Nyasaland placed them in a better position to intervene and had the effect of their circumventing the constitutional requirements of not interfering in the internal situation in Nyasaland.

5. To suggest, as the local administration has done and as the British Government has accepted, that the purpose of the uprisings was to indulge in a wholesale massacre of the Europeans, Asians and the moderate Africans is, if I may say so, attempting to pull wool over the eyes of the outside world. As I have indicated in my last letter, while I have no doubt that Dr. Banda may have planned a country-wide demonstration to highlight the need for constitutional reforms, the allegation of a country-wide massacre plot is obviously intended to justify the oppressive action taken by the Nyasaland and Federation authorities. Their sole purpose seems to be to suppress African nationalism.

6. I am inclined to agree, therefore, with the view set out by Surendra Sinh that a decision to arrest Banda had been taken beforehand and that the declaration of the emergency in Southern Rhodesia was the first step leading up to this action. I may add that this view was confirmed by Mr. John Stonehouse, the British MP who has just returned to Kenya from the Federation. You will recall that he was declared a prohibited immigrant and expelled from the Federation.

7. The root of the trouble, of course, is in the very nature of the Federation itself. All these developments, particularly in Nyasaland, were foreseen by a number of people in 1953 when the Federation was first set up. As the date (1960) for a revision of the constitution came nearer, it was clear that there was

bound to be trouble. Our Assistant Commissioner in Salisbury has repeatedly referred to the likelihood of these developments. It appears that only the Federation politicians and the UK High Commissioner, Mr. Rupert Metcalfe, were blind to the possibility of these developments.

8. All that has taken place lends full support to the view that Colonial Office control over Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia should continue to be exercised beyond 1960. It would be fatal if these two territories were abandoned and made reluctant partners in an independent Dominion. If this were to happen, the African population will be placed completely at the mercy of the White settlers who are "racialists" in disguise, the most liberal of whom think in terms of achieving partnership in fifty years.

9. During the short time that I was in Salisbury, I could not help wondering to what extent the UK Government were receiving an objective appraisal of the forces at work in the Federation. Mr. Metcalfe, the High Commissioner, has been in the Federation for many years and seems to have become identified with the more reactionary elements in Federation politics. On the occasions on which I met him, he was much too anxious to impress upon me the "liberalism" of Sir Roy Welensky. He has the reputation of placating the White politicians rather than attempting to be a sobering element.

10. I think as a member of the Commonwealth, we should, when an appropriate opportunity arises, utter some words of caution to the UK Government. The grant of Dominion Status in 1960 will, of course, be fatal. The seeds of discord and disaffection will have been irretrievably sown. The best course will be to defer any change in the present constitution until Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have responsible Governments in their own areas. When these two territories have been brought up sufficiently to the level of Southern Rhodesia, it may be possible to have a loose Federation with the three constituent units, determining for themselves how the Federation should work.

11. This position is, of course, bound to be resisted by the present Federation Government and by Southern Rhodesia. There are fears that if Dominion Status is not granted in 1960, South Rhodesia may be driven to join the Union of South Africa. I would venture to suggest that, to a certain extent, this is a threat held out by the Southern Rhodesian politicians—a threat which is not likely to be easily executed. I am not suggesting that South Rhodesia, if isolated, may not want to join the Union. This will only happen, however, if the hope of some sort of Federation with the other two territories has receded beyond redemption and, if the economic pull from the Union becomes irresistible.

Yours sincerely,  
I.J. Bahadur Singh



**11. B.C. Roy to Nehru<sup>13</sup>**

*[Refer to item 105]*

Calcutta

The 11th/12th March, 1959

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have received your secret letter No. 558-PMH/59 of the 7th March.

The present problem so far as I can see is that over 60,000 fishermen, the majority of whom are refugees, now find it quite insecure to fish in the waters of the Padma and Bhagirathi. They apprehend that as a result of this adjustment of midstream boundary, there is a great risk of their fishing implements and boats being seized if they cross the Indian boundary into Pakistan water and this they have to do to get a good catch. The only answer to the problem is to approach the Pakistan Government to allow these fishermen to continue to fish in these waters undisturbed.

As there is little likelihood of Pakistan agreeing to this arrangement, the only other alternative is to settle them in areas where there is scope and possibility of fishing, but such areas are very rare in this State. Therefore, I would strongly urge that the Government of India should draw up schemes to resettle these people in areas outside this State where they can continue their avocations. In the meanwhile, the State Government have already arranged for employing over 5,000 people in relief works, but it is reported that these people are not suited for earth work. Doles have also been given to the vulnerable section of those people. We, however, intend to find work for these people, temporarily till they are settled properly. We expect that the entire expenditure on this account should be borne by the Central Government. We have not publicly made any statement undertaking any responsibility for rehabilitation of people affected by adjustment of boundaries.

Yours affectionately,  
Bidhan

13. Letter. File No. 4 (19)-Pak-III/59, p.9/corr., MEA.

## 12. Tara Singh to Nehru<sup>14</sup>

*[Refer to items 54 and 55]*

Dharamsala Sub-Jail  
Dharamsala  
14th March, 1959

My dear Pandit Ji,

I tried to convince you that the Punjab Government has been interfering in the management of our Gurdwaras since the division of our country in 1947; and that this interference has been increasing upto now. More than a year ago, the Punjab Government brought the Pepsu Gurdwaras under its thumb by misuse of its power; and I complained of it to Pandit Pantji as soon as the contemplated step by the Government of having a hand in the management of the Pepsu Gurdwaras was brought to my notice. Please refer to my letter dated 11.12.1957 addressed to Pandit Pantji, copy of which, I being in jail, cannot enclose herewith; but it can be had from S.A.D. office or from Sardar Harnam Singh ex-Judge, High Court, Punjab, now residing in East Patel Nagar, Delhi.

The Punjab Government and the Punjab Congress Parliamentary Party have now deliberately used their power to strengthen the hold of the pro-government party over the Gurdwaras in the Punjab hastily in order to save it from the threatening no-confidence motion (which was expected to be moved soon after 16th February 1959 when the constitutional ban of 3 months to the no-confidence motion expired), and not in order to give representation to the Pepsu Sikhs. The issue is very clear now, I charge the Punjab Government for taking a mala fide step in order to strengthen the hold of its party in the S.G.P. C. and the Punjab Government charges me for opposing the objected sec. 148-B of the Gurdwara Amendment Act with a view to prevent the representation of the Pepsu Sikhs in the S.G.P.C. So my personal honour is also at stake. The issue is purely moral, and it must be decided on moral grounds. This need has increased by the decision of the High Court which has said that it can decide only the constitutional points and that it cannot enter into the motives of the individuals responsible for the amendment. I, therefore, request you to rise above all other considerations and have the issue decided by arbitration. In view of your committals and position, and in view of the opinion of the court, arbitration by a gentleman commanding universal confidence and respect, has become absolutely necessary. I venture to suggest the names of Acharya Vinoba Bhave,

14. Letter. Pandit Sunder Lal Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.



Shri Rajgopal Acharya (Rajagopalachari) and Shri Jai Parkash Narain as arbitrators. All the three or any two of them or any one of them may be requested to be kind enough to arbitrate. I have no doubt these gentlemen will agree to help in solving such a fundamental issue having bearing upon freedom of religion. Please don't make it a point of prestige. I remembered a parallel case. Mahatma Gandhi Ji had to resolve to go on a fast to death when the Diwan of Rajkot did not agree to Gandhi Ji's interpretation of a certain settlement. The British Government agreed to the principle of arbitration and Sir Maurice Gwyer (if I remember the name correctly) chief justice of the federal court was agreed upon, by the parties, to be arbitrator. The award had gone in favour of Gandhi Ji's interpretation. If you do not agree to the arbitration of these gentlemen or any other gentleman trusted by me also, the only course left to retrieve my honour and to prevent undue and unfair interference in the religious affairs of the minorities by those holding political power, is to begin my fast unto death, which I shall do on the morning of the 23rd instant at 10 AM, if I do not receive a satisfactory reply till then.

Yours sincerely,  
Tara Singh Master

### 13. Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri to Nehru<sup>15</sup>

*[Refer to item 106]*

New Delhi  
15th March, 1959

Dear Prime Minister,

I am writing this letter to you in order to draw your attention to the sorry plight of about 30 to 40 thousand refugee fishermen in the Jangipur, Lalbagh and Berhampore Sub-divisions of the district of Murshidabad, West Bengal, in consequence of the recent border readjustment according to the Bagge Tribunal between Murshidabad and Rajshahi.

2. Most of these fishermen used to eke out their living by fishing in the Ganga. Most of them had migrated to Murshidabad, 9 or 10 years ago, from old Malda areas of East Pakistan and from the Rajshahi, Pabna, Kustea and the Faridpur districts of East Pakistan. As a result of the exchange of territories and char lands between India and Pakistan on the 15th of January last under terms of the Prime Ministers' Agreement and the final demarcation and fixation of

15. Letter. File No. 4 (19)-Pak-III/59, pp.11-13/corr., MEA.

the boundary between the two States in accordance with the Bagge Award, the major portion of the fishing tracts on the Ganga facing the right bank of the river between Nurpur in P.S. Suti and P.S. Jalangi have gone to Pakistan. On account of this, these people have lost their livelihood for good.

3. Widespread distress has already started amongst these fishermen and many have been reduced to sheer beggary. Besides these fishermen, there are about 8 thousand refugee craftsmen, blacksmiths, barujibis (betel leaf growers), small traders etc. whose livelihood depended upon the economic wellbeing of the fishermen community. These people are also facing economic destitution and starvation.

4. I addressed a letter recently to Mr. P.C. Sen, the Minister for Refugee Rehabilitation and Relief in West Bengal, requesting him to do something for these people who have lost their all, for a second time, for no fault of theirs. I also gave in my letter a few suggestions as to what could be done. The District Magistrate of Murshidabad, I understand, has also made some sort of a stop-gap arrangement for these people by providing them with Test Relief Work. But the real problem is not one of securing this kind of stop-gap relief assistance or doles for these men, but one of providing them with alternative work for their permanent economic rehabilitation.

5. The best solution in the matter would of course be found if we could arrive at some sort of a definite understanding with the East Pakistan Government, whereby fishermen living on either bank of the river Ganga, whether in Murshidabad on the Indian side or in Rajshahi on the Pakistan side would be allowed to catch fish in the river by payment of usual revenue, rent or fee to the various lessees of the river fisheries or to the Government department concerned, whether in India or Pakistan. You will find from the letter (copy enclosed) that I have received from Mr. P.C. Sen that he also agrees with me in this regard. I do not know, if in the present posture of our relations with Pakistan this would be very easy to arrange. But I find from the newspapers that Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, our High Commissioner in Pakistan, has proceeded to Dacca. Could he take up this matter with the East Pakistan Government? If it is possible for him to take up this question with the Pakistan Government, then I have two suggestions to make which might be placed before the Pakistan Government as a part of an overall settlement of border questions on the Murshidabad-Rajshahi sector of the frontier and the removal of recurring causes for friction there:

- (i) Fishing on the Ganga in between Rajshahi and Murshidabad, where the boundary between the two States is formed by the line of mid-stream channel of the Ganga, should be open and unrestricted for fishermen from both sides on payment of appropriate dues as mentioned above.
- (ii) Traffic by country-boats for the nationals of both the States on the river in



this sector should also be uninterrupted, provided such boats starting from the Indian side have a destination on the Indian side of the river bank, and boats starting from the Pakistan side have a destination on the Pakistan side of the river, and further provided they do not carry anything contraband like arms etc.

If necessary, some kind of authorisation by local police officials with certificates as to the number of men and type of goods and merchandise carried in such boats, may be introduced so that border authorities on either side might have a normal check over the traffic.

6. I do recognise that it may not be very easy to come to some conclusive arrangement like this merely by talks on the level of diplomatic missions. But if you think that my line of suggestions can be pursued usefully, I would be very much obliged if you take necessary action through our High Commissioner. For, I feel, this sort of arrangement would be beneficial for the people living in the border areas of both sides and might go a long way to remove causes of petty frictions which sometime assume an unduly exaggerated significance.

Thanking you and with my kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,  
Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri

#### **14. MEA to Political Officer, Gangtok, and Consul General India, Lhasa<sup>16</sup>**

*[Refer to item 196]*

Your telegrams 131 and 340 of March 14. You will have seen our separate telegram to Consul General, Lhasa. In the present situation, it is highly important that there is no confusion in any instruction that may be issued to the Consul General. We suggest that you should not issue any instruction direct. We say this only by way of caution.

2. Prime Minister is quite clear in his mind that, if the Dalai Lama seeks protection in Indian territory, we should give him asylum. You should not, however, reveal this to anybody at this stage. As regards Tibetans seeking asylum in our territory, we have already issued instruction to you in our telegram 24306.

16. Telegram. 15 March 1959. *Revolt in Tibet, Dalai Lama's Arrival in India 1959*, Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, p. 13. Also available in JN Collection.

In a developing situation all possibilities cannot be foreseen and you have to exercise your best judgment. If in fact Tibetans come to India and ask for permission to make their case known to the world, we shall consider their representation at appropriate time.

## 15. Naushir Bharucha on Atomic Energy Research<sup>17</sup>

[Refer to item 177]

### DEMANDS FOR GRANTS DEPARTMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up the discussion and voting on Demands Nos. 100, 101 and 139 relating to the Department of Atomic Energy, for which one hour has been allotted. Hon. Members desirous of moving cut motions may do so now.

#### DEMAND NO. 100—DEPARTMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,14, 000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in the course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1960, in respect of ‘Department of Atomic Energy’ ”.

#### DEMAND NO. 101—ATOMIC ENERGY RESEARCH

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4, 03, 97,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1960, in respect of ‘Atomic Energy Research’ ”.

#### DEMAND NO. 139—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

17. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 16 March 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. VII, cols 6383-6392.



“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,01,42,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1960, in respect of ‘Capital Outlay of the Department of Atomic Energy’ “.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: Several speakers want to speak; the time may be extended.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member was there at the time when the Business Advisory Committee allotted the time.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: At that time it was thought that no one would speak. Now many Members want to speak.

Mr. Speaker: How does he know that?

Shri V.P. Nayar: The annual report of the Atomic Energy Commission has been made available to us only on Saturday evening. Without referring to the annual report, it is just impossible for us to think of any cut motions. Sunday intervened and we could not send cut motions.

Mr. Speaker: Members may speak on this. If necessary, I will extend the time by half an hour.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: By now it appears that this hon. House has started taking notice of the development of nuclear energy in our country and I am sure as time passes, more interest will be generated. Nuclear energy is the energy of our future and our future as an industrial country depends both on the ability of our scientists to discover secrets of nature and our speed in applying new techniques of science to our needs.

As the House is aware, sometime back the Atomic Energy Department has been converted into the Atomic Energy Commission, thereby releasing our top workers for the tasks they have been assigned and relieving them of routine administrative matters. But the mere constitution of the Atomic Energy Commission certainly does not take away all the administrative work. One of the purposes of my speech here today would be to show that there are numerous subject matters at present dealt with by the atomic energy establishment, which could be safely left to other departments and thus relieving the work of the atomic energy establishment to that extent. As the House is aware, the atomic

energy establishment works under four major groups: the physics group, the chemistry group, the engineering group and the biological, medical and health group.

Taking the physics group, of course theoretical physics and applied mathematics naturally relate to the problem of atomic energy, as also the activities of the nuclear physics division and the reactor control division. But when we examine, for instance, the work done by the air-monitoring, health physics and electronics division, we find that some of the subjects could be safely left to other departments so as to relieve the Commission to look after the more relevant aspects of its work. For instance, under the air-monitoring and public health division, we find that one of the studies undertaken is the study of tidal movements and water renewal rates in the Bombay Harbour with a view to establishing the permissible daily discharge of radioactive waste into the estuary. I think a task like that could be very easily left to the shipping and navigation department which looks after inland waters or the marine survey under the Defence Department. I do not know why the atomic energy department should waste its time on this.

Regarding the activities of the electronics division, it has produced 165 radiation meters for prospecting atomic minerals and 169 other laboratory instruments. I want to ask why the atomic energy establishment should be troubled with this and whether this task cannot be taken over by the Bharat Electronics. Why should it be necessary that the atomic energy establishment should manufacture all the electronic instruments required for its purposes? I think if some such thing were arranged and the departments reorganised accordingly, it would save the establishment a great deal of labour and time.

Now, coming to the chemistry group, we find that one of the divisions of the chemistry group is the analytical chemistry division. We have been told in the Report that that division has analysed over 1,900 samples by conventional chemical methods as well as methods based on spectro-photometry, spectroscopy, fluorimetry polarography, mass spectrometry, electro-chemistry ion exchange etc. I am sure that all these analyses of 1,900 samples could have been left to the Universities or the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research or the Indian Science Institute, Bangalore. What I am trying to point out is that our atomic energy establishment is cluttered with too many other activities which could safely be transferred to various other departments, because in the very near future this establishment will have to face very heavy tasks which rightly belong to its domain.

Then, if you examine the Isotope Division, you will find that it undertakes tracer study, including silt movement in Bombay Harbour, in co-operation with the Hydraulic Research Station of U.K. Now a subject like studying the silt



movement in Bombay Harbour does not rightly belong to the atomic energy establishment. This can very well be left to the Marine Survey Division of the Defence Ministry or any other body can look after this.

Then again there is another point. It is stated in the Report that the isotope application is being studied in connection with wear at the cutting edge of machine tools and in internal combustion engines under different conditions of lubrication. Is that a task of the atomic energy establishment? Surely not. A thing like that could be left to the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. Just because atomic energy comes into the picture incidentally or in a very negligible manner, that does not mean that the entire work should be handed over to the atomic energy establishment.

Then, if you come to Biology and Medical Group, I am of the opinion that practically the whole of this Group may have to be distributed amongst various other institutions. The research programme of the Biology Division centres round the study of the nature and origin of various biological and bio-chemical processes involved in normal growth, in the induction of cancer and in the production of useful mutations in plants of economic importance. The first two, I am sure, could be safely left in the hands of the Medical Research Centre and in the hands of the Cancer Research Institute. As I mentioned last year, the scope of these subjects is so vast that the atomic energy establishment will be completely lost if it tries to explore what I call practically a universe of knowledge about them. If we start studying various biological and biochemical processes involved in normal growth, I do not know where it will land us. Surely, this is a work which can be left to the Medical Research Department as it belongs to that domain, and to that extent the work of this Department will have to be rationalised.

Then the atomic energy department wants to study problems of purely fundamental importance to cell biology as well as structure and mode of duplication of genes and use of specially radio-active chemicals. Just because this study requires the use of radiation, it does not mean that it rightly belongs to the atomic energy division. I am of the opinion that the entire block of this should be taken away from there and transferred either to the Universities or the Medical Research Centres.

If we take the Medical Division, it looks after the questions of radiation and fertility and also questions relating to routine investigation of cancer. I think these relate to the domain of medical science. It is true that there is the question of radiation. But it is the medical domain and not the atomic energy domain that is concerned and I am of the view that the entire branch should be transferred to medical science.

Also, it is very clear that the Atomic Energy Department is dispersing its

energy in tasks which can better be handled by other departments. For instance, on page 16 of the Report, we have been told that the functions of the Atomic Minerals Division are:

“(i) geological survey for and development of atomic minerals, including terrestrial, aerial and marine surveys, prospecting and planning for development; (ii) geophysical survey, including radiometric survey; radiometric logging of bore holes, radiometric assay and mine face survey; (iii) geo-chemical survey; (iv) mineral technology; (v) drilling; (vi) mining; (vii) stockpiling; (viii) conservation of atomic minerals; and (ix) technical assistance and training.”

Now, mineral technology, drilling, mining and stockpiling could be easily left to the Indian Bureau of Mines or the Geological Survey of India or the Mineral Advisory Board. The point that I am making is that the atomic energy establishment has taken upon itself not only what really belongs to its domain but also what could be transferred to other divisions. Therefore, I submit that the hon. Prime Minister might consider the advisability of so rationalising the department as to take away the heavy load from its shoulders and leave it to tackle things which it should tackle.

Here one of the main problems to which we are looking forward is the generation of power by nuclear energy. Now that is a very important task. In the Report we have been given one page on this subject where it has been stated:

“The proposals of the Atomic Energy Commission were discussed with the Planning Commission last year, and it was decided that a minimum of 250,000 kilowatts of nuclear power should be included in the Third Five-Year Plan.”

The Report says that the expenditure for one unit of 250,000 kilowatts is expected to be of the order of Rs. 45 crores. Speaking about these things one may say that though our coal and metal resources are not so exhausted as in the case of the United Kingdom, still I am convinced, as many would be convinced, that if a little study is made of the economics of production of nuclear energy and nuclear power, in the long run, say, after fifteen years, electrical energy produced by nuclear energy will compete very successfully with even thermal power. Therefore, it is very necessary that we should develop it. The cost is given as Rs. 45 crores for a station producing 250,000 kilowatts. I was rather surprised to hear that, because in Great Britain the cost of production was given as £20 million for 200 megawatts, which really means that our cost is almost double. I do not know what are the cost factors considered and though it has been said that it is not a correct estimate, I am inclined to think that the estimates are on the high side.

Also, in the Report it has been stated that the nuclear power station would



be functioning by the end of 1962. Frankly, I am not as optimistic as the Chairman of the Commission, because even in Great Britain the period that elapses between a decision to establish a station, an ordinary conventional electric power station and the time it comes into operation is seven years. I do not know how the Commission hopes to put up a station of 250,000 kilowatts which will start functioning by the end of 1962. I think the timing is very optimistic. But that does not matter. Even if it takes a year or two or more years than the schedule, a beginning has been made and it is all to the good.

Also, we find it stated in the Report that the cost of nuclear energy per unit is estimated to come to Rs. 2.6 nP. which is a very attractive rate. It compares very favourably even with the existing rate of unit of thermal power. The production cost ultimately depends upon so many factors which are today uncertain. Apart from the capital cost, construction of the reactor and other things, it will also depend upon fuel costs such as cost of raw materials like uranium, the processing cost including conversion of ore into fabricated fuel elements, the chemical processing of the used fuel elements and the extraction of plutonium from them and the 'level of irradiation', that is, the amount of heat that can be extracted from each ton of fuel in the reactor before it has to be taken up. All these factors are indeterminate and so I do not think the cost may come to so low a figure as Rs. 2.6 nP. Anyhow, as I said, we have made a beginning and I am sure the House will support this enterprise and I hope that we shall be able to fulfil the promise which have been given in the Report.

I have got two more points. One is the question of disposing of atomic waste. It would appear from the Report that the Commission is studying the tidal waters in Bombay Harbour so that they can discharge the waste into the sea without any prejudicial effects on either the fish or any other human beings connected with the harbour movements. I am of the opinion that it is rather a very dangerous thing to do. Of course, I speak with due deference to the knowledge that the Commission possesses on the subject. But, it would be much desirable that, instead of discharging more atomic waste into the sea, we bury it in a concrete vault deep under the ground. There is an advantage in this also that later on, if uses are discovered, as it is quite likely, of this atomic waste, that can be reclaimed and used. The second point is, at least in the initial stages when our knowledge as to the hazards of radiation are very limited, it may not be desirable to discharge any atomic waste into the sea. After all, Bombay harbour is a very thickly populated place and there is considerable activity in the harbour. Additional precautions therefore require to be taken.

There is one final point which I would like to raise more in the spirit of obtaining information than in a spirit of criticism, and that is about the High altitude cosmic ray laboratory. This laboratory is being built at Gulmarg or

Khilenmarg-Apharwat. I should like to know whether this becomes really necessary now that we have had cosmic ray computation by means of instruments in the sputniks and explorers and this information is likely to be available to us. In view of the fact that we find that sputniks have gone hundreds of miles high up and discovered so many aspects of cosmic ray, whether this fundamental elementary knowledge of cosmic rays at the cost of creating this High altitude Cosmic ray station is still desirable or not, I am not sure and I would like the hon. Prime Minister also to look into this in more detail.

## 16. M.S. Aney to Nehru<sup>18</sup>

*[Refer to item 215]*

New Delhi

18.3.1959

Dear Sir,

When I saw you in the Lok Sabha on the 17th in the Question Hour, I informed you that I would send you a communication in regard to the position of the Fund for the benefit of the boys and girls of the labourers of the tea and rubber plantations in Ceylon.

During the period of my office as the Representative of the Government of India in Colombo, 1943-1947, I found that young boys and girls of the labourers who lived in the plantations of Tea and Rubber had no facilities whatsoever for education beyond the primary standard. These plantations are situated in the mountainous parts of that country away from the big cities and towns like Kandy and Colombo etc. Middle schools, high schools and University teaching institutions are at a great distance from these labour colonies and the admission of boys and girls of the colonies into them was also beyond the pecuniary resources of the parents who were all labourers. With the cooperation of certain philanthropic Indian lead in Ceylon, I succeeded in starting fund for the education of these boys and girls. A sum of Rs. 50,000/- to 60,000/- was then collected and formed into an endowment under a special Act of the Ceylon Legislature under which a Board of Administrators was also appointed. The corpus was left untouched. Its interest was to be used in giving scholarships to deserving boys and girls for prosecution of higher studies in high schools and colleges. Besides the interest, every year some effort was made to collect money

18. Letter. File No. 1801 (5)-S.D./59, pp. 1-3/corr., MEA.



by arranging charity shows and securing donations from well-to-do persons to meet growing recurring expenses. The number of boys who were getting benefit of it was somewhere near 25 when I left in 1947. My successors, Messrs. V.V. Giri and Desai took great interest in this educational work and I learnt that the Government of India was persuaded by one of them to give some annual grant to the Fund also. I do not know what the exact amount was. Most probably Indian High Commissioners who went to Ceylon have been keeping me duly informed of the affairs of this Fund. Recently I learnt that the Board's activities in this direction have not been receiving good response from the Indian people living in Ceylon. That is probably due to the state of uncertainty of their own position and status felt by the Indians due to the anti-Indian feeling which unhappily is growing there. I am anxious to know whether the Union Government has been giving the Fund any monetary assistance at present or not. If not, since when have they stopped it. I suppose Government must be getting an annual statement from the High Commissioners as regards the position of this Fund every year. In the Demands for Grants for the Ministry of External Affairs, I looked into the figures from the High Commissioner's office of Colombo (Ceylon). I did not see any figure of allotment by the Central Government for this purpose. The position of the Indians in Ceylon has become almost hopeless. They are entirely at the mercy of Government who for reasons best known to them have been recently not only unsympathetic or apathetic but antipathetic. This Fund, though small, is a visible symbol of the interest which the mother country is taking in the position of her unfortunate children in that country. I hope and trust the Government of India will continue its grant.

I regret that I was not able to give a cut motion and raise the point for discussion on the Floor of the Lok Sabha but as you assured me that you would go into the matter and supply me with the necessary information, I thought of writing to you this letter.

With kindest regards,

Yours truly,  
M.S. Aney

**17. B.C. Roy to Nehru<sup>19</sup>***[Refer to item 109]*

Calcutta

March 19, 1959

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am enclosing a letter which has been sent to me by Prof. Bhattacharyya<sup>20</sup> of the Legislative Council in which he pleads for giving to the persons displaced from Murshidabad area due to transference of those areas to Pakistan, compensation for loss of property, etc. I had written to you previously regarding treating them as refugees and giving them all the facilities allowed to such persons. This is a new proposition, namely that we should give each one of them who have lost their properties as the result of implementing the Bagge Award, some compensation. This is a matter which should be dealt with by the Centre. I have no idea as to how many people are affected. I am asking the District Magistrate of Murshidabad to furnish the necessary details.

Yours affectionately,

B. C. Roy

**18. Govind Das to Nehru<sup>21</sup>***[Refer to item 114]*

33, फिरोज़शाह रोड,

नयी दिल्ली

20.3.1959

श्रद्धेय पंडित जी,

कल ही सत्यनारायण जी सिंह से मेरी आपके हिन्दी भाषा के ज्ञान के सम्बन्ध में चर्चा हुई। यह बात इसलिए निकली कि शिक्षा मन्त्रालय ने अनुदानों के सम्बन्ध में जो भाषण मैंने ता. 17 मार्च, 1959 को लोकसभा में दिया था, उसमें आपके हिन्दी और भारतीय भाषाओं के ज्ञान की आलोचना की थी।

आप जानते हैं कि आपके लिए मेरे मन में कितना अधिक आदर है। 17 मार्च के अपने भाषण में भी आपकी आलोचना करने के पहले मैंने आपके सम्बन्ध में निम्नलिखित वाक्य भी

19. Letter. File No. 4 (19)-Pak-III/59, pp.45-46/corr., MEA.

20. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya.

21. Letter.



कहे थे :- यह हमारा सौभाग्य है कि पं. जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी के सदृश हमारे नेता हैं। इस देश में अशोक के बाद कोई ऐसा व्यक्ति नहीं हुआ जिसने संसार में भारत के सम्मान को इतना बढ़ाया हो जितना पंडित जी ने।

सत्यनारायण जी ने मुझे आपके हिन्दी के ज्ञान के सम्बन्ध में कई बातें कहीं। दुर्भाग्य से आपका और मेरा पत्र-व्यवहार सदा अंग्रेज़ी में हुआ है। उन्हीं के कहने से आपको मैं यह पत्र हिन्दी में लिख रहा हूँ। मेरी 60 वर्ष की आयु होने पर आपने मुझे जो अभिनन्दन ग्रंथ दिया था, उसमें आपका जो हिन्दी पत्र छपा था, उसके सिवा मैंने हिन्दी में आपका न तो कोई पत्र पढ़ा, न कोई लेख। हस्ताक्षर अवश्य देखे हैं। इसी प्रकार भाषणों में आपकी हिन्दी को सुना। यदि सत्यनारायण जी का कथन ठीक है तो यह हमारे देश के लिए और भी बड़े सौभाग्य की बात है कि हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री उस भाषा का अच्छा ज्ञान रखते हैं जो इस देश की राजभाषा के पद पर प्रतिष्ठित हुई है और जो यहाँ के लगभग आधे लोगों की मातृभाषा है तथा जिसे इस देश के अधिकांश लोग समझते हैं। आपके हिन्दी ज्ञान का कुछ प्रकाश मिलने पर मैं अपनी राय बदलने को तैयार हूँ। परन्तु, उस दिन बम्बई की सभा में आपका “कृत्रिम नभोमंडल” के स्थान पर आर्टिफिशियल प्लैनिटोरियम [प्लैनिटेरियम] शब्द को पसन्द करना मुझे सर्वथा उचित नहीं जान पड़ा। इस विषय में आपका और मेरा मतभेद भी है कि हमारे देश की वैज्ञानिक शब्दावली हमें वर्तमान अंग्रेज़ी की शब्दावली ही स्वीकृत करनी चाहिए अथवा नयी शब्दावली बनानी चाहिए। अंग्रेज़ी की वैज्ञानिक शब्दावली को मैं अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मानता ही नहीं हूँ। केवल 6 देशों में यह शब्दावली चलती है :- इंग्लैण्ड, इंग्लैण्ड के चारों उपनिवेश, कैनाडा, ऑस्ट्रेलिया, दक्षिण अफ्रीका, न्यूज़ीलैण्ड तथा अमरीका। यह प्रश्न थोड़े-से शब्दों का न हो कर लाखों शब्दों का है और यदि हम अंग्रेज़ी वैज्ञानिक शब्दावली को स्वीकार करते हैं तो हिन्दी अथवा भारतीय भाषाएँ हिन्दी व भारतीय भाषाएँ न रह कर कोई दूसरी ही भाषाएँ हो जायेंगी। हमारे पड़ोसी स्याम देश तक ने संस्कृत में अपनी वैज्ञानिक शब्दावली बनायी है। हाँ, हमारी वैज्ञानिक शब्दावली ऐसी अवश्य बननी चाहिए जो हमारे संविधान में स्वीकृत चौदहों भाषाओं में प्रयुक्त हो सके। खैर, इस विषय में मतभेद हो सकता है और समय ही इस बात को सिद्ध करेगा कि इस सम्बन्ध में आपका मत ठीक है या मेरा मत। आप जो प्रजातन्त्र के इतने बड़े समर्थक हैं, इस प्रकार के मतभेदों को शायद बुरा भी न समझते हों।

विनीत,  
गोविन्द दास

[Translation begins:

New Delhi  
20-3-1959

Respected Panditji,

Yesterday, while talking to Satyanarain Singh ji the subject of your knowledge of Hindi came up. The reason was that while speaking on the grants of the Education Ministry in the Lok Sabha on 17 March 1959 I had made comments on your knowledge of Hindi and other Indian languages.

You know what a great respect I have for you. On 17 March also, before criticizing you, I had said the following words about yourself—it is our good luck that a man like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is our leader. In this country no other person after Asoka has enhanced the prestige of India abroad as much as Panditji.

Satyanarain ji told me several things about your knowledge of Hindi. Unfortunately, you and I have always corresponded with each other in English. Only on his suggestion I am writing this letter to you in Hindi. The commemoration volume which you presented me on my 60th birthday contained one letter written by you in Hindi. Except that, I have read no other letter or article by you in Hindi. Your signature of course I have seen. I have also heard your Hindi speeches. If what Satyanarain ji says is correct, then it is still more fortunate for our country that our Prime Minister has good knowledge of the language which has been exalted to the position of official language and which happens to be the mother tongue of about half of the countrymen and which is understood by most of the people. After being enlightened about your knowledge of Hindi I am ready to change my view. But that day in the meeting held at Bombay I did not consider it at all proper your approval of the expression “artificial planetarium” in place of “kritrim nabhmandal”. As for the scientific terminology, you and I already have differences on whether we should accept the already current English terms or coin new ones. I do not consider the English terminology as international terminology. It is in vogue only in six countries—England, the four dominions of England, that is, Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, and America. This question relates not only to a few words but to lakhs of words, and if we adopt the English terminology then Hindi or other Indian languages will cease to be Hindi or Indian languages and become some other languages. Even our neighbouring country Siam has prepared its scientific terminology from Sanskrit. Of course, our terminology should be so evolved so as to fit in all the fourteen languages recognized by the constitution. However, opinions can differ on this subject and only time will prove whether in regard to this your view is correct or mine. You being a great champion of



democracy perhaps may not mind such differences in opinions.

Yours,  
Govind Das

Translation ends]

## 19. Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of China to the Indian Ambassador<sup>22</sup>

[Refer to item 191]

We have received a report from our Foreign Affairs Bureau in Lhasa that they were going to meet the Indian Consul General in Lhasa and convey to him following three points:—

1. The local Government in Tibet under instigation and support of the imperialists and foreign reactionary elements have torn up the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet and begun armed revolt by attacking Government offices of the Central Government and the functionaries thereof and the Central Government troops. The Central Government of our country never permit such high treason of the local Government of Tibet and we are certain to put down this revolt. This is entirely an internal affair of China and we shall never permit interference from outside. Tibet is an integral part of China's territory and any intrigue aimed at splitting Tibet away from China is doomed to total failure.

2. We are willing to give protection to the functionaries of the Indian Consulate General at Lhasa and we hope that they will move into and live in the houses which we shall assign to them.

3. It is hoped that the Consul General of India in Lhasa will inform all Indian nationals in various parts of Tibet to abide by the Chinese laws and, as far as possible, to stay indoors where the revolt is taking place so that no accident may occur. Wherever we have our troops stationed we shall do our best to give protection to Indian nationals. It will be better for Indian nationals to move away from those centres where there are no Central Government troops.

22. Statement, 22 March 1959. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper* (n.p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], p. 67.

**20. Mihir Sen to Nehru<sup>23</sup>***[Refer to item 249]*

Calcutta

22nd March 1959

Respected Panditji,

I have just received a letter from Sri K. Ram, I.C.S. enclosing a draft for Rs. 4,000/-. He further informs me that the Government of West Bengal has decided to grant me £100. 0s. 0d., after you had written to Dr. B.C. Roy about it.

I am most deeply grateful to you for coming to my rescue at this hour of my great need. By this favour you have bound me in ties of gratitude which I will always wear and admit proudly. I also take this act of yours as an act of the Nation and through you, of the people—my people. My future career and actions will only prove and confirm how deeply I feel obliged to you and our Country.

I have heard nothing up to the time of writing this letter from the Government of West Bengal. It is indeed interesting to learn that the Hon'ble Dr. B.C. Roy did, after all, find £100. 0s.0d. to help me, although he ignored even to acknowledge my letter and had refused to help as the Government did not have 'any funds'!

Your £300. 0s.0d. (Rs. 4,000/-) and West Bengal Government's £100. 0s.0d. makes a total of £400. 0s.0d. and thus leaves me to find another £100. 0s. 0d. to wipe out the debts I have in England. The total debts incurred in connection with my Channel Swim last year amount to £500. 0s. 0d. However, this difference I will try to make up by raising it here.

I am going to New Delhi on the 7th April for the Investiture Ceremony. I shall stay from the 7th to the 11th April in the Capital. On any one day during this period I would like to call on you at your residence. I shall be very happy indeed to be able to meet you at the Prime Minister's House.

Finally, I have one more wish. I know you are a very very busy man. But it is one of my dearest wishes to be able to address a meeting of young men presided over by you, where I can dwell briefly on my experiences on the English Channel (which will be interesting) and put before the Nation my dream of an EXPLORERS' CLUB, through which, once again, we can fire the youth of the Nation with the flame of Adventure and the dauntless spirit of Pioneering, which had made Hindustan once the leader of the world. Delhi University, I might humbly suggest, may be an appropriate venue. Please consider this request in the context of the present frustration amongst the Nation's youth and the need for giving them something bold, something new, which will excite their

23. Letter. File No. 40 (176)/59-60-PMS.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

admiration and command their whole hearted devotion.

Do you, Sir, want emaciated, frustrated, cynical University undergraduates, or bold young men with hope in their eyes and fire in their hearts?

In a very small way Sir, I can help you transform the former into the latter. I have a plan and I am one hundred per cent certain it will work. This is the Explorers' Club or AVIYATRI SANGH. This will be an organisation not just to explore the earth's crust or the sea bed. The Aviyatri Sangh will produce Indian pioneers in every field of human activity by fostering a daring and adventurous outlook to life and the world outside. It makes me weep in helpless rage to see the Russian and the American spirits of adventure leave the bounds of this planet and streak into the blue sky and to a future, perhaps million times more promising than Columbus's voyage to the unknown West. Must the Europeans, after annexing a good part of this globe, will now be left unchallenged to annex the 'stars' in the outer space?

I feel the Indian Youth is capable of answering this Challenge of Europeans and the time has come for us to swing into action.

If you give me your blessing, we could start right now.

Once again, I beg of you to let me meet you when I will tell you of all my dreams and the hopes I have for the future of the Nation's Youth and our great Country.

Unless it is virtually impossible, please do not deny me the great honour of speaking under your presidentship to the youth of Delhi.

With very best wishes,

I remain,  
Yours respectfully,  
Mihir Sen

### 21. B.C. Roy to Nehru<sup>24</sup>

*[Refer to item 110]*

Calcutta  
March 23, 1959

My dear Jawaharlal,

Please refer to your letter No. 617-PMH/59 dated March 16, 1959 regarding fishermen of Murshidabad district. My Chief Secretary has written two letters to the Commonwealth Secretary (copies enclosed) and has also forwarded to

24. Letter. File No. 4 (19)-Pak-III/59, pp. 68-69/corr., MEA.

him a large scale map of the areas concerned.

It now appears that the number of fishermen affected is 4125 families with 20,625 persons including children. Most of these people are East Bengal refugees who came and took up fishing as their means of livelihood. It seems that the implementation of the Bagge Award on the 15th January last is not the principal cause of the trouble. It appears that up till recently our fishermen were allowed to navigate freely along a section of the river which ran entirely through Pakistan so that these fishermen could reach fishing waters which fell within the Indian territory. In fact, fishermen with small nets were even allowed to fish in Pak territorial waters. Since East Pakistan came under military rule, this concession of taking boats along the Pakistan portion of the river has been withdrawn and since the 15th January, when the Bagge Award was implemented, the Pakistan Border Force have become very strict and refuse to allow our fishing boats to travel on the portion of the river falling entirely within Pakistan in order that they may reach the Indian portion of the river on the other side of this stretch. Then again, where one bank of the river is in our possession and the other bank is in the possession of Pakistan, our fishermen now are afraid to fish even on our side of the river because they fear that on the pretext of the boats having violated the boundary, Pakistan Police would fire on the boats, arrest the fishermen and confiscate the boats. If the Pakistan Government can be induced to allow free navigability along the entire width of the river, all this trouble would be obviated. We do not want that our fishermen must be allowed to fish in Pakistan waters but, if in the course of fishing, they have to travel over Pakistan waters they should be allowed to do so without being molested. It may be possible to find alternative fishing grounds for some of the fishermen. For this purpose they want some help in the form of housing in the new areas and transport of their tackle.

Yours affectionately,  
Bidhan

## 22. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru<sup>25</sup>

*[Refer to item 250]*

23 March 1959

I am writing to you about a young Parsi lad Zubin Mehta who is guest-conductor of the Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra. Zubin is the son of Mehli Mehta

25. Extract from a letter. File No. 48 (8)/59-AMS, p. 4/corr., MEA.



who, I think, has been introduced to you and who is well-known to Pan Narielwala and music lovers in India. Zubin came here to study and has achieved considerable success. He is the youngest guest-conductor in England and has received high recognition in the world of music in Europe. I have heard excellent reports about him wherever he has been and I have no hesitation in saying that he has considerably enhanced the prestige of India. He has a pleasing personality and is a very humble person—a quality so rare in any one who has achieved a degree of success these days.

Zubin has received an invitation from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to visit Canada as the guest-conductor of their Orchestra. The fee being offered to him would not cover his passage to and from Canada and he came to me to ask if I could assist him in meeting the cost of his return passage London-Toronto/London which is approximately £200. He is eager to go to Canada as this will give him some publicity and probably open new avenues for him.

I venture to trouble you about this because I know if you could see this young man and hear about the reputation he has built up for himself, you would consider it a legitimate charge on Government funds to assist him in going to Canada. He has made no other claim on us and is not the sort of person who will take advantage of the Government's generosity should it be extended to him. He is due to leave on or about the 12th April, therefore a reply before that date would be greatly appreciated.

### 23. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru<sup>26</sup>

*[Refer to item 250]*

London

March 23, 1959

Bhai dear,

I met Lord Scarbrough two days ago and he said he wished to put two questions to me on behalf of the Queen in "strict confidence". In fact he was speaking to me informally because they did not wish to make any enquiry through their own High Commissioner.

The first question was whether it would be appropriate for the Queen to send an invitation to our President to visiting London. She would not wish the invitation to be taken to mean that she should receive a reciprocatory invitation to India immediately, but in view of the great welcome given to Prince Philip it

26. Letter. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML.

seemed the courteous thing to do. Lord Scarbrough said reason for this secrecy was because they would not like to take any step which you might consider as not appropriate at the moment.

The second thing he mentioned was regarding my leaving this post. He said that a rumour had reached the Queen and everybody was most distressed—was it true? I explained that I had asked Government to allow me to give up my post here in October by which time I would have been here one month short of five years. The reason was largely on grounds of health and also because I now felt I would like to be back at home closer to my family and occupy myself with work of a less strenuous nature. After paying me a few compliments about the position I occupy in the hearts of the ruling class as well as ordinary people in this country (which, I hope, was genuine), he suggested that before I leave I might entertain the Queen. I told him that for a long time I had wanted to do so because the Queen and other members of the Royal Family had been extraordinarily kind to me and had, in fact, treated me with far more warmth than was usually extended to an Ambassador. I, however, pointed out that I had hesitated because of the protocol involved—the fact that a lot of people had to be invited, that space in our Embassy was very limited and so on. He said in the case of India none of these things would matter and if an invitation had to be extended it would have to be done very soon because the Queen's programme was filled up weeks ahead. I told him I would think this matter over and get in touch with him a little later. Regarding the question of an invitation to the President I said I would communicate with you immediately.

Love  
Nan

## 24. Tara Singh's Note on Governmental Interference<sup>27</sup>

*[Refer to items 59 and 60]*

Instances of interference in the religious  
affairs of the Sikhs by the Government

At the time of the partition of the country Shiromani Akali Dal had an absolute and overwhelming majority in the SGPC. Immediately after the partition the Government encouraged some of its members to break off from the parent

27. Undated note.



body, to form a separate Nationalist Sikh Party in the SGPC and then to take possession of the SGPC and the Gurdwaras.

2. Thereafter Jathedar Udharn Singh became the President of the SGPC. A glaring instance of the Government interference at that time was that one of the ministers of the Central Govt. instructed the D.C. of Nander (Bombay) to see that the Mahant of Shri Hazur Sahib (Deccan) was made to attend the meeting of the SGPC and vote for Jathedar Udharn Singh against the Akali Dal. The non-Sikh ministers of the Punjab Govt. also interfered in those elections openly.

3. Some time after that the Nationalist Party was defeated and S. Paritarn Singh Kharanj was elected the President of the SGPC with the support of the S.A. Dal. At that time there was no provision for moving a vote of no-confidence in the President. But the Nationalist Party, though in a minority, succeeded in using the Government to pass an amendment in the Gurdwara Act to the effect that a no-confidence motion could be moved against the President after three months. The SGPC was not committed at the time of this amendment in 1953 against all conventions.

4. Immediately after the General Elections to the SGPC in the year 1954 the Punjab Government dramatically dismissed S. Buta Singh, the President of the Judicial Commission (Gurdwara) telegraphically without giving him any chargesheet or an opportunity to defend himself. It may be remembered that the out-going committee of the SGPC backed by the Government wanted to incur huge improper expenditure before handing over charge. But the Judicial Commission issued an injunction not to do it. So the Government replaced S. Buta Singh by S. Sardool Singh Advocate who was an undisputed follower of the Jathadar group and was never known for any outstanding ability. This is a glaring example of the fact that the Govt did not hesitate to interfere even in the judicial functions relating to the Gurdwaras. It may also be mentioned here that Judicial Commission presided over by the same S. Sardool Singh issued an injunction on the 26/27 December, 1958, against the requisition of a meeting after the Presidential election of S. Prem Singh.

5. Panth desired a popular control of the Pepsu Sikh Gurdwaras also, but the Rajpramukh appointed an Interim Board without consulting the community or the SGPC. Later Bhrish Bhan, Chief Minister, replaced that Board on the basis of a settlement between the two main parties of the Sikhs. On the merger of Pepsu with Punjab the Punjab Government threw overboard that arrangement and appointed a new board ignoring the Akali Party.

6. Last straw was added very recently to break the camel's back. A new Gurdwara Amendment Act has been passed without consulting the SGPC or any other representative body of the Sikhs. This has broken all previous

conventions. The Sikhs of Pepsu have not been given a right to elect their representative to the SGPC. The method of indirect election has been introduced against the wishes of the Panth, and the members elected on non-Sikh votes have been given a right to elect members of the SGPC. This has been purposely done to strengthen the present thin majority of the present ruling party by adding 49 members and to make a no-confidence motion impossible. Indecent haste in passing this Act also exposes the intention of the Government.

7. There were allegations of malfeasance, embezzlement of Gurdwara funds and abuse of powers against the Manager of the Tarn Taran Gurdwara. Sardar Partap Singh Kairon went out of his way to save this manager and made personal request to a member of the SGPC for assistance. The Manager was dismissed subsequently and a case for recovery of the money embezzled by the Manager is pending before the Gurdwara Judicial Commission.

## 25. D.R. Gadgil's Note on Cooperatives<sup>28</sup>

*[Refer to item 136]*

### Implementation of Nagpur Resolution on Cooperatives

The Nagpur Resolution consists of many recommendations. Some of them may admit of controversy, but underlying the Resolution itself is an objective which may be said to be shared by all the important parties and almost all progressive people. That objective is to reorganise our agrarian economy on a cooperative basis in as large a measure as possible and as short a period as practicable. The objective has to be given concrete shape. In other words, it has to be translated into a plan of action. We are not working on a clean slate. There is considerable past experience and this must be drawn upon. Further, there is considerable diversity of conditions between different parts of India and this must be fully taken comprehensive [...] but also practical and flexible. The following is an attempt to set down the components of such a plan in the briefest and broadest possible way. The components are of two kinds. First there are those distinct aspects of the rural economy which are of special or strategic significance to the farmer: marketing, processing and credit, for example, or production, storage and warehousing. These can be considered both separately and in that inter-relation. Secondly there are what may be called "stages" of the plan from the point of view of action and achievement. The "stages" however, are not

28. March 1959. File No. 60/CF/59, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.



necessarily chronological in the sense of being successive phases of the programme. Rather they indicate a logical order implicit in the different aspects of the agrarian economy itself. Where a region is economically and cooperatively developed, for example, all or most of the stages could start being implemented simultaneously.

The first stage is that of a credit cum marketing and processing organisation. Without an effective cooperative marketing system linked with it, a sound credit structure is difficult to build up; and wherever processing is an important activity, cooperative processing can become a central factor in building up and strengthening the credit and marketing structure. This coordinated system is the minimum essential for all further progress and the aim should be to cover every village and all rural areas with it early as possible.

Cooperative credit is essentially a matter of local knowledge combined with technical competence. To ensure the first, the coverage of a credit society should be compact. It is at the same time equally necessary that a credit society should be viable. Viability in this context means essentially the ability to make fully adequate loans in cash and in kind, to supervise their utilisation and to make timely recoveries. All these require the services of trained personnel and it is universal experience that they cannot be satisfactorily performed by a part-time agency. Viability thus indicates a minimum turnover which will enable the society to employ the required trained personnel.

In relation to marketing and processing the area covered by a society will be governed by such considerations as the location and area of marketing centres and the minimum needs of the economic operation of the needed arrangements for processing. Societies in centrally located villages should be able to combine marketing and credit; elsewhere local societies could act, where required, as assembling agents of the central marketing society. To act as assembling agents they will, however, need appropriate storage facilities.

As the movement grows, a number of other functions could be combined with the primary ones noted above. These will chiefly be trading functions for satisfaction of the production and consumption requirements of members. A primary society will, in this context, act mainly as the agent of the higher purchase and supply organisation.

The bulk of the members of a village society will be agriculturists; it may, therefore, be useful if the society undertakes such activities for the promotion of increased agricultural production as it can combine with its other activities. It may be pointed out that finance which adequately covers the current consumption and production needs of the agriculturist is itself an important instrument of a programme for increasing production. Also, some of the aspects of agency supply—as that of improved seeds, implements, fertilisers, insecticides

etc., —may be constituent parts of the production programme. The larger societies with ample resources could take up other aspects of a programme for “better farming” such as arranging for technical advice; the smaller ones could, at least, serve as vehicles of the dissemination of information and literature and provision of technical aid.

It is doubtful, whether it would be desirable to entrust more specialised functions to the general multipurpose primary society. For example, the organisation of the production of cottage, or other rural industry presents peculiar problems which may best be tackled separately by independent cooperative organisations. Similarly, where the benefit of an activity is limited to a group as in some lift-irrigation societies, the activity should preferably be organised for and by itself.

The pattern of State trading activities in rural areas is not yet clear. Whatever the pattern that emerges it should fully incorporate the cooperative structure within it. Wherever cooperative sale and purchase and processing organisations are developed, State trading should utilise these, preferably on an agency basis, for its purchase and sale activities. Where the cooperative structure is yet undeveloped the operations of state trading should be directed towards building up, spreading and strengthening the cooperative trading organisation. There are in some States grain golas<sup>29</sup> which could be utilised for organising the collection of foodgrains in villages.

There is an urgent need for a clear definition and articulation of the functions and operations of the Central and the State Warehousing Corporations and their coordination with the system of cooperative purchase and sale. The location of warehouse owned and directly managed by the Warehousing Corporations should clearly reflect this division of functions. The cooperative marketing societies should at the same time be enabled to have at every important primary trading centre adequate storage facilities. A programme directed towards this end should be completed within a short time. If the resources of the warehousing corporations are utilised towards financing this programme link will have been established between the two systems. Organisation of these arrangements postulates the provision of marketing finance on a large scale. The Reserve Bank of India and the State Bank of India will have to be associated in the systematic development of credit facilities for this purpose.

An important feature of the present situation about processing activities is the existence of excess capacity. In the circumstances, instead of adding to existing capital equipment while setting up new cooperative processing units,

29. Grain market.



it would be desirable if the cooperatives are enabled to acquire the existing plants and equipments.

The programme for attaining the goal of joint farming requires developments in other fields also. Notably, without appropriate land reforms and other legislation the programme cannot be launched on any appreciable scale. However, even, before these developments take place, it would be useful to attempt a large number of experiments in joint farming spread widely over the country. The results of these experiments will provide highly useful data in constructing the details of the future programme. During the stage of experimentation, aids may be extended to the societies somewhat on the lines recommended in the Majority Report of the R.K. Patil delegation to China. There are some contexts in which such experimentation may prove specially appropriate. Where the State has any surplus reclaimed or other area (e.g. the surplus lands when ceilings on holdings begin to operate) to bring under cultivation this should be invariably attempted through joint farming. Also, in all villages where consolidation is being currently undertaken special efforts may be made to induce cultivators to experiment with joint farming in a compact, consolidated area. While the former indicates a situation in which the experiment will relate chiefly to cooperative farming by landless labourers, the latter will provide experience in relation to joint farming by cultivators.

As already stated the foregoing is an attempt to outline in brief a programme of action which concretises the recommendations of the Nagpur Resolution in the list of past experience. It is presented in somewhat general terms as it is keenly felt that all programmes of cooperative development should leave full scope for adjustment to local needs and experience and that details should be worked out only in consultation with local non-official agencies and workers.

Since the subject of Cooperation is in the States List, several States have their own State legislation on the subject. There are variations arising out of local conditions and development. Recently a model piece of legislation has been drawn up by a Committee appointed by the Food and Agriculture Ministry. It may be examined whether the model should incorporate suitable provisions for the delegation or transfer of some of the powers of the Registrar of Cooperative Societies to appropriate cooperative federal institutions. But more than the law it is administration that comes in for criticism. For instance there is the practice of appointing officers of the Revenue or Cooperative Department as Chairman of cooperative institutions at various levels and of having the accounts of village primary societies written up by persons appointed by the Cooperative Department. Such a practice should be put a stop to.

The main programme before Congress workers should be to associate themselves actively with various cooperative bodies—at all levels—concerned

with rural economic development. This they should do without impairing the non-political character of cooperative organisations. Propaganda in the sense of education of the rural community in the need for and suitability of cooperation in its various aspects can be undertaken by Congress workers. But, for this purpose it is necessary to diffuse widely a knowledge of Cooperation among Congress workers themselves. Mandal committees may well arrange for their members to take advantage of training classes, refresher courses etc. At some centres it may be possible for Congress Committee to organise training arrangements for their members as well as for others.

D.R. Gadgil  
March 1959

## 26. J.S. Mehta to Indian Representatives Abroad<sup>30</sup>

[Refer to item 197]

2 April 1959

I enclose a short note giving the background leading to the present situation in Tibet for your information and guidance.

2. Subsequent events and our official policy have been clarified in the statements made by the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha on the 23rd and 30th March, 1959. Our policy regarding the grant of asylum has also been enunciated by the Prime Minister in response to a short notice question on 30th March, 1959 (text enclosed).

Please acknowledge receipt.

### THE SITUATION IN TIBET

The vast semi-circular region consisting of Kham, Amdo, Golok, Lithang and Batang were quasi-autonomous territories (sometimes referred to as Inner Tibet) and were inhabited by war-like and unruly semi-tribal people. Since 1914, these areas were supposed to be politically under the suzerainty of the Central Government of China, but owed religious allegiance to the Dalai Lama. With the impact of Chinese Communist occupation in the wake of advance towards Tibet, heavy taxes and, to some extent, under the influence of the anti-Chinese

30. Letter from Deputy Secretary, MEA. *Revolt in Tibet, Dalai Lama's Arrival in India 1959*, Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, pp. 47-48.



Mimang leadership, the Khampas revolted against the Chinese in 1956. This rebellion in turn provoked strong repressive action by the Chinese including aerial bombing, destruction of monasteries and the displacement of a large number of the settled population. In 1957, the Dalai Lama, on his return from India, was reported to have pleaded to the Chinese for clemency towards the Khampas.

Displaced from their homeland and somewhat encouraged by the reported sympathy of the Dalai Lama, between January and March 1958, about 50,000 to 60,000 Khampas and some Gholapkas migrated to various parts of outer Tibet, nearly 4,000 of them going to Lhasa. The Chinese authorities, though outwardly conciliatory, created apprehension of possible arrest and seizure by various security precautions and insistence on identity papers which were imposed exclusively on these Khampa refugees. Whether it was the apprehension of a Chinese swoop or a genuine desire not to endanger Lhasa and the person of Dalai Lama, the Khampas started leaving Lhasa in small batches at the beginning of June 1958. Smarting against the Chinese for the damage to their homeland and true to their warlike tradition, they started preparing for an armed clash to settle accounts with the Chinese.

An Amdo-Khampa United Party, pledged to fight the Chinese, became the nucleus of the resistance movement. Mules and arms were purchased at exorbitant prices and volunteer groups from Central, Eastern Tibet as well as from those resident in India congregated in one or two well-defined areas, particularly in the north and south-east of Lhasa. According to reliable reports, 13,000 armed Khampas concentrated in a small triangular area in the Lokha region (south-east of Lhasa) alone.

The Chinese authorities in Tibet endeavoured to control this Khampa threat through the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Kashag. In August, they urged the Dalai Lama to use Tibetan troops to suppress Khampas, but the suggestion was turned down for fear of troops deserting and joining the Khampas. A letter was despatched to the Khampa leaders and later a delegation of Tibetan officials and representatives of the monasteries was proposed to be sent; but even though wide publicity was given, it never actually undertook the mission. Since the Khampas had divided their forces, in September, three separate missions were sent to Khampa strongholds; but for one reason or another, they proved equal failures. At the same time, serious clashes between Chinese and Khampa guerillas, resulting in casualties and losses on both sides, occurred at periodical intervals in various parts of Tibet. The Chinese took protective measures to strengthen their garrisons, placed fresh restrictions on Tibetan traders and imposed almost a complete ban on the movement of pilgrims to India. They suspected that Tibetan officials were sympathetic with Khampa activities. The

Dalai Lama, apprehensive of the consequences of continued Khampa defiance and of Chinese suspicion of half-heartedness, in December 1958, appointed a Committee of 62 led by a member of the Cabinet most trusted by the Chinese to deal with the Khampa problem.

Large Chinese reinforcements were brought to the Sikang region (East of Tibet) and heavy casualties have been reported amongst the inhabitants in this area. There have been reports of 4 million Chinese (Han) being settled in these comparatively fertile valleys.

Meanwhile, in Central Tibet, the winter months were utilised by the Khampas to gather strength and consolidate their complete hold over a vast area lying between the south bank of Tsangpo and Bhutan-India border extending eastward from Nagartse (near Gyantse) upto Lho Dzong. The Khampa rebels took upon themselves the title of "Voluntary force for the defence of religion" and seemed to have re-established contact with the anti-Chinese Mimang party. Food supplies and arms were acquired by fair purchase and expropriation from the local population. Estimates of the Khampa force vary from 15 to 25,000. They are equipped with small arms, but probably have limited supplies of arms and ammunition. There have been reports, not confirmed indisputably, of an air strip having been built at Trigu where K.M.T. planes are alleged to have dropped ammunition and equipment.

In spite of the fact that the Chinese were treading warily in Tibet and even postponed their programme of "civil reform" in 1956, there was a general feeling among Tibetans that the Chinese had not observed either the letter or the spirit of the 17-Point Agreement of 1951 guaranteeing Tibetan autonomy in internal and religious affairs. Nevertheless, until the recent trouble, there was an apprehension amongst responsible elements that the violent course of action adopted by the Khampas would only endanger the position of the Dalai Lama and what remained of Tibet's own way of life. The invitation issued last November for the Dalai Lama to visit Peking, though declined, did however increase the anxiety for his future safety. The cancellation of the Prime Minister's proposed visit to Lhasa apparently also added to the sense of despair about the prospect of being able to preserve Tibetan autonomy and the fabric of her institutions.

The recent trouble in Lhasa started when it was rumoured that the Dalai Lama had been invited to lunch and advised not to bring any personal armed guards with him. It is reported that as many as 30,000 people gathered to prevent the Dalai Lama from accepting an invitation which may have resulted in his being taken prisoner. The reported danger to the person of Dalai Lama provoked an uprising in which obviously all caution was abandoned and the people openly demonstrated against the Chinese authority in Tibet. These recent events seemed



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

to have finally forged the unity and identity of Tibetan aims and methods with those of the Khampas. On 11th March, Tibetan officials summarily announced their severance of all connections with the Chinese and were reported to be preparing a statement listing points of difference with Chinese rulers and in conclusion demanding the independence of Tibet.

## GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIFACS	All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AIR	All India Radio
AP	Andhra Pradesh
ATIRA	Ahmedabad Textile Industry's Research Association
Banaras	Varanasi
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Bombay city	Mumbai
BPCC	Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee
BSS	Bharat Sewak Samaj
BSS	Bharat Sewak Samaj
Burma	Myanmar
CAG	Comptroller and Auditor General
Calcutta	Kolkata
CCI	Cricket Club of India
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
Char lands	landmass created by river changing course
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPSU	Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DCC	District Congress Committee
DIB	Director, Intelligence Bureau
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

DNC	Democratic National Conference
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
EPR	East Pakistan Rifles
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
FS	Foreign Secretary
Gauhati	Guwahati
GNP	Ganatantra Parishad
GOI	Government of India
Gola	Grain Market
HEC	Heavy Engineering Corporation
ICWA	Indian Council of World Affairs
IFS (B)	Indian Foreign Service (B)
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
INC	Indian National Congress
INFA	India News and Feature Alliance
Kashi	Varanasi
Kozhikode	Calicut
Madras city	Chennai
Madras State	Tamil Nadu
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
Ministry of SR and CA	Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs
MJP	Mahagujarat Party
MKP	Mazdoor Kisan Party
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member of Legislative Council
MP	Member of Parliament/Madhya Pradesh
NAI	National Archives of India
NANC	Nysaland African National Congress
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDC	National Development Council
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NES	National Extension Service

NET	Neuroelectric Therapy
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
Orissa	Odisha
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PM	Prime Minister
PMO	Prime Minister's Office
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
Poona	Pune
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
Prayag	Allahabad
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRO	Public Relations Officer
PTI	Press Trust of India
PWD	Public Works Department
Rajya Sabha Debates	Parliamentary Debates in the Twenty-Fourth Session of the Rajya Sabha, Official Report, Rajya Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi
Ramanathapuram	Ramnad
RBI	Reserve Bank of India
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary General, MEA
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
SP	Socialist Party
SS	Special Secretary
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series</i>
Taccavi	money advanced to cultivators by the government
TISCO	Tata Iron and Steel Company
UAR	United Arab Republic
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations/United Nations Organisation



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPCC	Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee
UPI	United Press of India
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
US/USA	United States/United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VIP	Very Important Persons
WH & S Ministry	Works, Housing and Supply Ministry

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*Some vignettes from this volume:*

- When M. S. Patel wanted to discuss matters with Nehru for three hours Nehru demurred: "Any person who wants three or four hours of my time goes down in my estimation."
- Nehru heard that a Maharaja had drunk too much at the British High Commission and had announced that he "hated the white caps and would like to kill the lot of them"; nevertheless Nehru asked him for his version of the incident.
- Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit asked Nehru to contribute £200 for "a young Parsi lad Zubin Mehta" for air passage London-Toronto-London.
- ⊗ When the West Bengal Government granted Mihir Sen £100 at Nehru's instance, he thanked Nehru with these words: "It is indeed interesting to learn that the Hon'ble Dr. B.C. Roy did, after all, find £100. 0s.0d. to help me, although he ignored even to acknowledge my letter and had refused to help as the Government did not have 'any funds'!"



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